

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

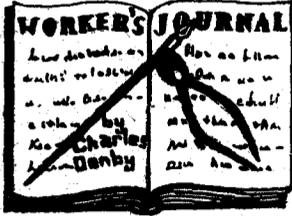
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## Alabama struggle deepens



by Charles Denby, Editor

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

I am turning my column over this month to Lou Turner to report on the latest developments in Alabama — Charles Denby.

In a special letter to subscribers and friends in Alabama which accompanied the April issue of *News & Letters*, Charles Denby wrote: "I believe that there is a greater crisis in Black freedom in my home state today than at any time since the days of the Civil Rights Movement nearly 20 years ago."

Like the Taylor family from Ohio and Pontiac, Mich., who were arrested in Montgomery, Ala. in February and beaten while in custody for defending themselves against two white police attackers, Denby had left Alabama long ago for the factories of the North. Like the Taylors he has never lost touch with "home", and has always written about the Black threads of the freedom struggle that bind Black working people of the North and the South.

### BLACK MASS MILITANCY

Today, once again the South has become the scene of Black mass militancy. Scenes from the Black freedom movement in Alabama have unfolded in quick succession since the Taylor family incident.

Montgomery has seen some 2000 community people turn out to the first mass meeting following the Taylor arrests. And since then there have been mass meetings every Monday night where 300-500 have attended. To free the Taylor family on bonds ranging from \$20,000 to \$40,000 some Montgomery residents have pledged their homes.

Even the Montgomery Advertiser had to declare in an editorial that "By now most Montgomerians suspect that

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## Black Chicago on the move

Chicago, Ill. — "This is a people's movement that says we can do it so let's do it. Not just for Harold Washington — he was a big part of it, but not the major part. If it had just been Harold Washington, all the nasty things they said about him could have turned things around. They used every trick in the book. It didn't work and the reason it didn't work is that the people banded together and decided that this is what we wanted to do."

So spoke one Black woman who worked hard on the campaign. Banded together is what Black Chicago did with a power never seen in electoral politics here. The more than 90 percent turnout of Black voters marked the beginnings of a new movement for self-determination that opens up the potential for new forms of organization that go beyond any Democratic Party politics.

### CHALLENGE BOSS-BLACK RELATIONSHIP

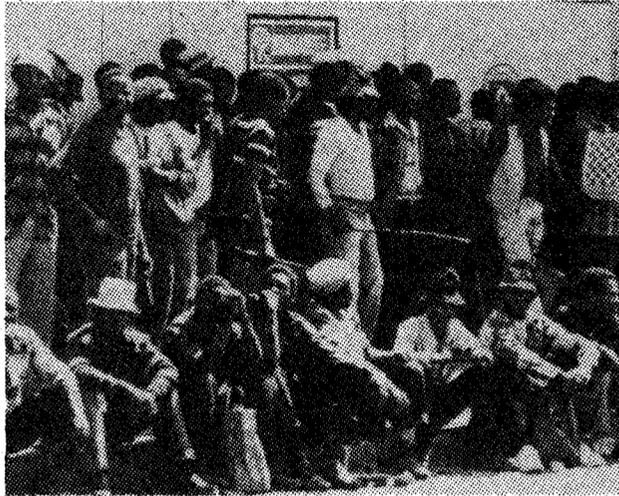
A Black man who had been a precinct captain for ten years before he broke with the machine over racism in the '60s spoke about how the system was before: "We always wanted a Black mayor but we were shut out. We in the Black wards had to carry our votes down to city hall and you were supposed to get so many jobs in return. But most of the jobs always went somewhere else; and the ones we got were the most menial."

"The system was like the sharecropper thing. You were supposed to split 50-50, but you know it doesn't work like that and come harvest time you were going to be broke. This kind of thing has been built into the fabric of Chicago politics over the years, what I call the 'boss-Black relationship.' But this election is the first substantial challenge to this."

The unified Black showing was augmented by the fact that Washington gained nearly 80 percent of the Hispanic vote and 18 percent of the white vote.

### THE RACISM OF CHICAGO

But white voters also turned out in record numbers to vote for Washington's opponent, Bernard Epton. The racial hysteria of the campaign also set a new Chicago record. The campaign slogan, "Vote Epton before it's too late," set the initial tone and it was downhill from that



South African metal workers have been active in wave of strikes that have swept the country in the last several years.

### MAY DAY, 1983

## Workers from Poland and South Africa to U.S. strive for freedom

by Michael Connolly

Ronald Reagan's public relations bandwagon proclaiming his "new economic recovery" received a rude shock, April 6, when he travelled to Pittsburgh to proclaim the Administration's latest panacea — retraining programs in computer "hi-tech." The grinning president was met by 5,000 furious unemploy-

ed, many of them laid off from steel mills, who had to be kept away from Reagan by cops with dogs. In this largest demonstration at any Reagan appearance since he took office, the workers' signs gave the lie to the Administration's claim that "America's on the mend": "We want jobs, not talk."

As Reagan spoke, the unemployment figures were underlining the demonstrators' charges that the recent anemic increases in production have meant no real creation of jobs. On the contrary, West Virginia's 21 percent unemployment rate in March set a record for any state since figures began being kept over 40 years ago. And unemployment for Black America nationally continued at levels over 100 percent higher than that for whites.

**OPPOSITION NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY**

Opposition to such unconscionable conditions kept appearing throughout the month of April. In California, workers from the closed GM Fremont plant rallied to demand that the UAW convention take a national strike vote to back up their right to jobs when the plant is re-opened as a joint GM-Toyota venture. And in Chicago, where unemployment and housing conditions have steadily worsened since the failure of "poverty programs" in the 1960s, a massive mobilization in the city's Black neighborhoods drew world attention as they succeeded in throwing an entrenched racist machine out of office.

Indeed, so deep is the continuing crisis of capitalism today, and such new forms has the revolt by workers against it taken, that both "official" economists and movement activists have had a fresh view of the world dimensions of labor thrust before their eyes. On the one hand they have had to contend with no less than 30 million unemployed in the OECD nations (the industrial "West"), as well as a decline in the real standard of living for factory workers in those lands of 15 percent since 1967. On the other hand they have witnessed a stream of demonstrations, strikes and street riots by employed and unemployed alike, from Argentina and Brazil to Ireland and France.

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— Mark Jones and David Park

# WOMAN AS REASON Marxism and feminism: divorce or reunion?

*Women and Revolution: A Discussion of the Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism. Edited by Lydia Sargent. Boston: South End Press, 1981.*

This collection of essays has a title that is most intriguing because it poses interrelationships between categories which many feminists are obviously re-examining for today's Women's Liberation Movement. Editor Lydia Sargent has an interesting introduction on the birth of the Women's Liberation Movement out of the elitist, sexist, male-dominated organizations of the Left in the late '60s. The major essay, however, is by Heidi Hartman, entitled, "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism." Hartman states her position as follows: "The marriage of Marxism and feminism has been like the marriage of husband and wife depicted in English common law: Marxism and feminism are one and that one is Marxism," concluding, "we need either a healthier marriage or a divorce."

Hartman argues that while categories of Marxism provide essential insight into the laws of historical development, Marxism is sex blind. She says that feminist analysis on the other hand, is blind to history and insufficiently materialist, and therefore, both Marxism and feminism must be drawn upon if we are to understand the development of Western society in which partnership of patriarchy and capitalism has evolved.

## UNDISTINGUISHED 'MARXISM'

However when Hartman writes about "Marxism," she makes no attempt to distinguish the Marxism of Marx (which she doesn't even bother to comment upon) from today's totalitarian states of the Eastern bloc who call themselves "socialist." Nor does she go beyond Engels' *Origin of the Family* as to what Marxism has to say on questions of women.

She stresses that since capitalism and private property are not the principal causes of the oppression of women, an end to capitalism will not result in the end of women's oppression. She concludes that while any change in patriarchy or capitalism will have ripple effects on the other, it is not inconceivable to think of socialist societies that are patriarchal!

Hartman is an example of those socialist-feminists who see socialism as a solely economic category or materialist substructure, and not as a full social uprooting including man/woman relations. She, along with other socialist-feminists, view Marx's goal and methodology as concerned only with the economic domain, and fail to see his writings as a full philosophy of liberation.

In the very same 1844 *Essays (Economic-Philosophic*

## Take Back the Night

Ann Arbor, Mich. — About 500 women and men gathered in the cold on the evening of April 15 for Ann Arbor's fourth annual Take Back the Night (TBTN) demonstration, organized by the Ann Arbor Coalition Against Rape. The timing of the demonstration was very appropriate, following a series of rapes recently on campus at the University of Michigan, which many women we talked to linked to the recent rape of a woman in New Bedford, Mass., and the horrible danger that a woman faces in this sexist society.

The coalition has taken on many activities both on campus and in the community, including establishing a fund for emergency medical aid to rape survivors, and an all night transportation service. Unfortunately, however, the demonstration itself didn't match up to these community activities, and raised many of the same questions we have faced in every Take Back the Night march.

I was very disturbed that there was not even one woman of color on the speakers' platform, because although there is not a large Black community in Ann Arbor, conditions of life and labor have made minority women the most vulnerable to rape and they have organized the fight-back both on the question of sexism and racism. Some of the earliest Take Back the Night marches in the U.S. took place in the Roxbury section of Boston protesting the lack of concern over the rapes of 13 women, 12 of whom were Black.

The biggest controversy of the night, and one which comes up over and over again, was whether or not men would be allowed to march, for while men active in the struggle against rape were welcome at the rally and would have a workshop the next day, the position of the organizers was that the enemy was this "women-hating culture" and that it needed to be "replaced by feminist culture," by women themselves.

But my question, and one which we discussed with several women marchers was, how do we replace a "women-hating culture" if we don't even mention that young boys and male prisoners and gays are also raped in this society? We had some lively conversations with women marchers who opposed the ban on men marching and who were deeply concerned about developing new human relationships from infancy to adulthood, based not on abstract "sister power," but deep dialogue between women and men.

— Miriam C. Drew  
Women's Liberation - N&L Committees

Manuscripts) in which he writes of alienated labor and the exploitation of capital, Marx hits out against "vulgar communism" and singles out alienated man/woman relations in class society. He writes of the man/woman relation as the measure whereby the humanity of society was to be judged at each point in history.

Marx made it clear that far from reducing freedom to a question of property forms, private or state, one had to guard against setting up any societal form that "negated the personality of human beings." Thus, the goal of his philosophy, which he called a "thorough-going naturalism or humanism," was to end the division between mental and manual labor and development of new human beginnings where "the free development of each is the precondition for the development of all." Any "socialist" society

## New Bedford: readers respond

I used to live in New Bedford, so the horrible rape there was especially close to me. Your column was magnificent. It's so true what you say about sexuality in our society being like a possession, a commodity to be used. I have seen this view in both men and women. The column is original in discussing sexuality as an "aspect of full personhood." I was glad to see this discussed in N&L.

— Looking for new human relations,  
Los Angeles

Your article brought together so much that is so often separated: the questions of rape and of sexuality, the lives of women active in movements for freedom from Ireland to the American Civil Rights Movement, and Marx's philosophy of revolution. The quote from Marx speaks so well to the condition of women in my home country of India, where in the rural areas there isn't even the sense that women should be treated equally. But the Women's Movement is growing in India, and women have been organizing against rape, against beatings by their husbands, and against low wages and high prices for food.

— Indian woman living in the U.S.

New Bedford was so terrible, so stunning, that it tends to numb the senses at first. I don't know when I would have made the connection to think about it in the way Suzanne Casey did in her article (April N&L), where she quoted that mind-opening passage from Marx's 1844 *Humanist Essays* on the "infinite degradation of man." I felt compelled to re-read the whole essay it came from, "Private Property and Communism". And then on into some of Marx's "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic." I began to work out for myself what I had heard Raya talking about on her lecture tour: that Marx's "new humanism" from the beginning was about not only new relations in production, but new man/woman relations. I wish there would be a serious study of these essays in the Women's Liberation Movement now, instead of some of the nonsense on sexuality that's printed.

— Subscriber, Detroit

## U.S. Auto Radiator

### Women's Liberation for us, not for management

Detroit, Mich. — At U.S. Auto Radiator the treatment of the women is quite bad. First there is favoritism of some women over others. A few of the women seem to be getting the dirtiest jobs and end up being transferred anywhere the company needs them at the moment. When some of the women complained that this should be done by seniority, the response is that seniority has no meaning except an extra week's vacation after three years.

We do need some type of women's liberation. Not one woman on a regular job makes as much as a man makes. But on the other hand we don't want women's liberation for some of the company personnel, if the company is going to use women's liberation for its own purpose — women supervisors would be just as bad as the men supervisors. We need women's liberation for us, not for the management.

One woman with 15 years seniority ended up getting her arm badly burned cleaning one machine. Then she had to drive herself to the hospital, get the arm fixed up and come back into the plant. Even after 15 years in the plant, what does the company give you? A pin and a \$75 U.S. savings bond! And this given on your break time so no production is lost. And still we have absolutely no pension plan, so what's a bond going to do for you when you retire?

One woman summed up work at U.S. Auto Radiator best when she said: "This place is worse than a prison. You have to work here because you need money to live."

— Woman worker, U.S. Auto Radiator

that still remained patriarchal would not, in Marx's view, be socialist!

One of the respondents to Hartman is Aziza al Hibri, a Lebanese writer whose writings deal with Third World women in particular. Her essay, entitled "Capitalism is an extension of Patriarchy, but Marxism is not feminism," defines capitalism as an advanced stage of patriarchy. To her this patriarchy is driven by man's desire for immortality, which unlike woman, who reproduces herself, can only be fulfilled through the process of production and control over women.

One can be appalled by her ahistorical vision, which credits the whole history of the development of humanity to man, as woman is reduced only to her role in reproduction. But the further shocker is that the movement of history turns not upon the dialectic of freedom as worked out by Hegel and concretized by Marx, but by "a movement dictated partially by the male dissatisfaction with the modes of domination." To al Hibri all of history is the male's struggle for domination.

## WHAT DIRECTION FOR WOMEN?

While she certainly correctly points out the sexism of much of the movement in the Middle East — the area of the world she is most interested in — where exactly can we go from here with her vision of women as having no historical role in a movement for freedom?

How far we are from Marx's vision which recognized all the human aspirations and drive for full freedom in movements to overthrow the old societies and create new ones. It was Marx who wrote, "Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment." Isn't that "feminine ferment" what we have witnessed in our own era in revolutions from Iran to Nicaragua to the Polish Solidarity movement? The utmost expression of Marxism for our day finds itself within all the new movements for freedom today, including most decidedly in feminism, with women demanding economic, social, political and sexual changes in society.

It is about time that women's liberation intellectuals caught up with this movement occurring today. They can only hope to do so if they take quite a different look at the relation of woman and revolution, one that begins with the Marxism of Marx and seeks to recreate it out of the revolutionary struggles of our day in which women are such a revolutionary dimension.

— Neda Azad



## Women-worldwide

A U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report entitled "A Growing Crisis: Disadvantaged Women and their Children" stated the increase in the number of poor families headed by women is "a time bomb in American society". Families headed by women are living in tremendous poverty and the number of these families has been growing since 1970. In particular there are Black and Hispanic female-headed households that face "sex-stereotyped education, sex-segregated jobs and wage discrimination", the report said.

In 1982, there were 33 reported attacks on abortion clinics in the USA, by right-wing "right to life" groups. An association of doctors and abortion centers known as the National Abortion Federation said these attacks include six firebombings of clinics and the kidnapping of a doctor. The attacks have increased on a local level, now that the anti-abortion groups have been unsuccessful in restricting abortion nationwide.

Very sketchy reports have begun to come from Iran that there was a march and celebration there on International Women's Day, by women who were not wearing the chador or veil — in a country where women have been whipped to death for this! We salute our brave Iranian sisters, and appeal to readers to publicize and support their continuing freedom struggle. Information, both in Farsi and in English, on the women's liberation struggle today in Iran, and on women's participation in the historic 1906-09 Iranian Revolution, can be obtained from Women's Liberation - News and Letters through this newspaper.

Two women from the Peace Camp at Greenham Common, England, will be touring the U.S. during May. Contact Susan Pines, Women's Pentagon Action, c/o War Resisters' League, 339 Lafayette Street, NY, NY 10012 for more information.

## Correction

The Indian women's liberation collective, Manushi, has asked us to inform readers that "Jyoti", who submitted the letter printed in the March, 1983 N&L, as a member of the Manushi collective, is a person unknown to them — ed.

## Theft of breaks forces Leyland walkout

Oxford, England — Another strike is taking place against British Leyland's (B.L.) constant demands for more and more productivity, this time in the Assembly Plant at Cowley. Over 4,500 workers are involved in strike action and about 3,000 have been laid off at nearby plants (including Pressed Steel which was itself recently on strike — see N&L, April 1983).

What triggered the strike was the company's demand that workers must give up the customary three minutes washing up period, twice a day. B.L. says this will mean 100 extra cars a week. Management simply posted notices saying washing up time must cease, and didn't offer any bonus payment in return for this extra work. This was to take effect March 28, but that day there was a mass

meeting and workers voted overwhelmingly to take strike action immediately.

### BREAKS CUT IN HALF

Much more is at stake than just the three minutes issue. Only last month B.L. was praising the workforce in the media about how many cars they were turning out, but now they are pushing for more. It's impossible to do what they are asking. Tea breaks have been cut from 20 minutes to 10 minutes. Supervisors talk to you without any respect at all. Instead of asking you to do something they'll just snap "You over there - do that."

When the strike began, B.L. issued a statement that they would agree to phase out the three minutes gradually, and spoke vaguely about the chance of extra bonuses. At another mass meeting the workers voted 8 to 1 to reject this and continue the strike. B.L. then called in union district officials for negotiation, but still wouldn't offer any concessions, apart from a longer period to phase out washing up time.

At another mass meeting April 14, Assembly plant workers voted by a very convincing majority to continue strike action. The Transport and General Workers' Union has made it official and will issue strike pay backdated to the start of the strike. The other union involved, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, representing mainly skilled workers, is expected to declare the strike official soon.

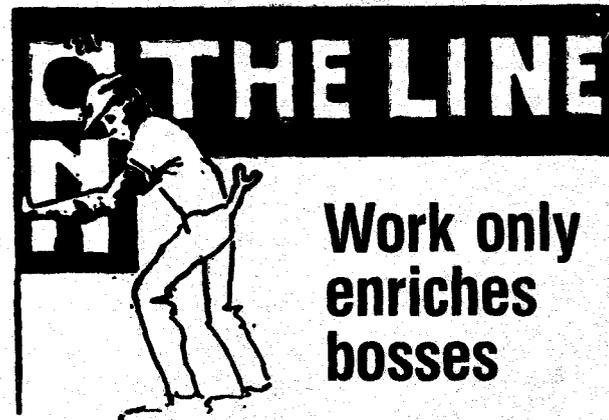
### B.L. ATTACKS FREE SPEECH

Stewards and other workers are being careful to avoid being quoted by name in the media as criticizing the company or giving their opinions because of the threat of victimization. If I stated my opinions openly to the press I wouldn't last two minutes in the job. The union district official gives all the statements because he's not on the B.L. payroll. It's the first time this has happened in any strike I can remember.

B.L. admitted the strike lost them 7,200 cars worth 45 million pounds in the first two weeks. They are prepared to accept this loss in order to smash the power of shop floor workers and get complete control of the situation. They want to direct, not negotiate; they call it "the right of management to manage." It's dictatorship, really.

The workers are not striking for bonuses, they want to be treated with respect and work in human conditions.

— Shop steward at B.L. Cowley.



by John Marcotte

Several Latin American workers in my shop said they were shocked at the way working people were treated here. "If any country should have an excellent system of Social Security hospitals, it is this one where workers pay so much in taxes. But here workers have to pay everything out of their pocket. If you're sick and have no Blue Cross, they won't even let you in the hospital. No, everything here is the dollar."

Then when a fellow worker retired, we observed how we'll never live to retire under this Social Security system. Now that they've raised the age to 67 and say it's still short of money, they mean to all but take it away if they can.

Of course when our contract was coming up, last year our bosses joined the new national pastime of crying broke, cutting overtime, sending out lay-off notices. All the while the union played along to scare the workers, till the ink was dry on another sell-out contract. Then we got busy again.

I could go on giving examples of what you see daily, in the shop, in the people you know, how the noose is tightening around our necks — the pressure is being applied to squeeze every dollar out of working people, while the rich get off richer than ever. But I think it is important to single out the way women and Black workers are treated.

When they hire in my shop, they have men's jobs and women's jobs. The jobs for men are skilled or where a skill can be learned, and pay more. The women's jobs are invariably the most monotonous, like light assembly, and pay at or near minimum.

There is one woman working in the press room because she was hired during World War II, and that certainly puts the lie to their claim that the jobs are too heavy for women to do. It was exactly the same at the last metal shop I worked at. There were several women left who were hired during World War II, and all the rest were men.

As to how Black workers are treated, my experience in various New York shops leads me to the conclusion that the bosses would still rather hire anyone before they'll hire a Black worker, especially a young Black man. The one exception was a night shift at one factory — we who worked there heard young Black workers were getting only half the wages paid by a New York state program against unemployment.

My message to those who rule industry and government is simply, you who sow the wind shall reap the whirlwind.

## Even hi-tech jobs vanish

Chicago, Ill. — On April 7, while 5,000 steelworkers outside the Pittsburgh Hilton chanted "Reagan you jerk, put us back to work!" President Reagan was inside telling a group of workers being retrained for computer work that they would get jobs. When one of the trainees, Ron Bricker, stood up and said, "I've been looking for a job for a year, and I can't find one," Reagan arranged for Bricker to get a job.

But when laid-off workers threatened to flood the White House with resumes, Reagan suddenly got cold feet. He knows as well as anyone else that the computer industry is aiming to produce systems that eliminate the need for programmers and technicians.

Most of the few jobs left are being transformed into unskilled labor, which is often exported, as Atari has just done, to Third World countries at starvation wages. As a technical computer analyst, I thought I needn't worry about finding a job. But now everyone in my department is going to be laid off except the lowest-paid unskilled ones and the highest-paid unskilled one — the manager.

The rest of us are finding out how hard it is to get a computer job nowadays. As many companies like mine search for ways to cut costs, they are turning to the computer center, which centralizes both computer capital and jobs, so many people all over the country can be replaced by a few in one location. Are those steelworkers being trained for my upcoming position — unemployment with a degree?

There is little use anymore in training capitalism's "surplus population" to fit like a different kind of cog in this dying system. What we need is a new human society where we aren't divided into the thinkers, the doers, and the surplus. That is why the only hope for people like me is in labor's struggle to take control of the machines we work on, and uproot this exploitative society.

— Computer analyst

## Workers battle GM on forced moves and jobs

by Felix Martin, Co-Editor

About 500 workers came to the local 216 (GM South Gate) union meeting on March 20, angry about GM's plans to ship 400 laid-off South Gate workers to the plant in Oklahoma. GM chose workers who were receiving GIS (Guaranteed Income Stream) payments, and said they would lose their GIS if they refused to go. We were saying that GM should accept volunteers for Oklahoma, and not force people to go.

Our local union "leadership" at first wanted to act like the matter was all settled. The very first people we heard at the meeting were representatives from different van lines, telling us why we should choose their moving company to help us get to Oklahoma!

### SHIPPED TO OKLAHOMA

Some workers had already received telegrams to report for work, on March 21, and some had already gone. After that, GM sent them another telegram telling them not to come, but many were already there. The workers requested a meeting with the union rep., Bob Melton, but he didn't show up. They wanted to get their four-hour call-in pay, but they never received it. The union did nothing. GM gave them the money to buy a ticket back to California.

At the local 216 meeting, one worker, Martin Douglas, expressed what we were all feeling when he said, "I'm not a slave who can be moved from one GM plantation in South Gate to another GM plantation in Oklahoma." When South Gate workers go to Oklahoma, they lose all their seniority. They could be laid off any time, after they uprooted their lives for the move. If GM can get away with forcing workers to go from South Gate to Oklahoma, without seniority, it will set a precedent for all the corporations to follow.

The workers at the meeting were demanding that our union represent us in a lawsuit against GM, so that GM should take only volunteers for Oklahoma. The union leadership didn't want to let us vote on this proposal, but we voted; it was almost unanimous.

If our own local leadership has not exactly been leading the fight against these corporation moves, it still is true that the international UAW leadership is even worse. Some local union leaders are feeling the need to respond to rank-and-file pressure, and this came out at the meeting of the sub-councils in New Orleans on April 8.

### VOTE ON GENERAL STRIKE

There, two sub-councils, one headed by Pete Beltran, president of the Van Nuys local, and one headed by Benny Burgess of Wilmington, Del., voted to authorize the 28 local unions in those sub-councils to conduct votes on whether to strike if the laid-off Fremont (Cal.) workers are not rehired by seniority when Fremont opens again as a joint GM-Toyota plant.

The day after this report appeared in the Los Angeles Times, the UAW international leadership denied that local unions would take a strike vote on the issue! Pete Beltran repeated that everything in the original Times was true. He said he could not understand why the UAW international now denies the Fremont issue was voted on in New Orleans.

These votes by the 28 locals are due to be held before the UAW Convention in Dallas, May 15. I am wondering whether Beltran really wants to help the rank-and-file, or whether he's more interested in getting support to advance himself in the international.

Burgess said he considered himself a supporter of the international, and that "The international union isn't the enemy, General Motors is the enemy." I say the international is the enemy also, because they take the same ground as the company. They think the corporations have to make a profit, which means more wealth produced by the workers going to the capitalists. Last year GM made one billion dollars in profits.

With all these questions, and particularly Oklahoma which affects us so directly, South Gate workers have begun to hold our own meetings, at our union hall but without our local leadership. Everyone says we have to do something, something has to change. We have begun discussing this together. It's only the beginning.



## Lives expendable at Puerto Rican refinery

Washington, D.C. — In February at the Gulf Refinery in Catano, Puerto Rico, Edgardo Borrero and Hector Baez were manually operating a 15-year-old boiler that had recently been converted from an oil to a carbon monoxide burner system. However, the proper monitoring instruments had not been installed. Needless to say, it was ordered to be put at full blast for production.

Hector and Edgardo were trying to control extremely high and dangerous steam pressure. Their only indication was an extremely "hot" boiler. The boiler exploded, killing Hector instantly and seriously burning Edgardo, who waited for medical attention while his body swelled an extra 57 pounds. By the time help arrived, it was too late.

The Gulf Refinery at Catano has no medical facilities, not even a first aid program, not to mention the complete lack of an adequate accident prevention and safety program. There is only one ambulance at the refinery with no qualified personnel to drive it.

Workers have repeatedly complained about this, as well as the fact that the boiler in question had caused some trouble in the past and was considered dangerous to operate. In short, workers feel that the deaths of their fellow workers could have been prevented, but that Gulf considers safety too costly and workers lives expendable.

A worker safety committee is spearheading the demand for an investigation of the accident, while the union has stepped in to mediate with the company in the investigation. The safety committee has long been involved in calling the company's attention to safety violations, but feels that now something serious should be done. They regret that it has to take the deaths of two workers to stir up concern.

As one worker put it, "Gulf has repeatedly ignored safety and accident prevention at the refinery, even though they know the dangerous and volatile materials we work with. But they have overlooked what is most dangerous and volatile at the refinery — the workers. Now they will ignore us at their own risk."

— Daniel S. Marcano

## Eugene V. Debs; West Virginia coalfield battles

# Labor, rebellion and socialism in American history

by Andy Phillips

Selecting May 1 as the day of national demonstrations against the martial law regime of General Wojciech Jaruzelski, Poland's outlawed but very much alive Solidarity movement continues a nearly 100-year-old tradition that began in the U.S. when American workers launched their nationwide struggle for the eight-hour day in 1886. Solidarity's action not only underscores the international character of May Day, it also dramatically reveals that it is not a "Russian" holiday, since the protests



Eugene V. Debs in front of Atlanta Federal Prison, 1921

were certainly aimed at Moscow's as well as Jaruzelski's totalitarian grip.

While the U.S. origins of May Day reached the stage of program proclamation in 1886, the agitation for an eight-hour working day actually began shortly after the end of the Civil War in 1865, when eight-hour leagues emerged at the same time that the first national labor unions were being organized. The General Congress of Labor, meeting on Aug. 16, 1866 in Baltimore, Md., declared, "The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labor of this country from capitalistic slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in all States of the American Union. We are resolved to put forth all our strength until this glorious result is attained."

### FROM THE CIVIL WAR TO WORLD WAR I

The period from the Civil War to World War I saw the transformation of the U.S. into the most highly industrialized nation in the world. It was a period marked by the consolidation of political and economic power in the hands of the industrial and financial robber barons, as well as the growing opposition of the workers to this process that demanded their submission to the dictates of capitalist economic development.\*

Two books dealing with this period, though from different vantage points, are *Life, Work and Rebellion in the Coal Fields: The Southern West Virginia Miners, 1880-1922*, (University of Illinois Press, 1981, 294 pages.) by David A. Corbin, and *Eugene V. Debs, Citizen and Socialist*, (University of Illinois Press, 1982, 437 pages.) by Nick Salvatore. Corbin's work details the objective historic and economic forces that compelled the creation of an indigenous militant and revolutionary class consciousness on the part of the coal miners in southern West Virginia, whereas Salvatore focuses on these same forces and their effects on Debs as he emerges from the confines of his birthplace in Terre Haute, Ind., to achieve national prominence as the most famous American socialist.

By the time the May Day proclamation issued from American labor, Debs had already achieved considerable national recognition as an eloquent orator and outspoken opponent of burgeoning capitalism's ruthlessly growing corporate power. Based in the railroad industry's brotherhoods, Debs gained prominence as a conscientious official who first reflected the traditional conservative attitude of labor's subservience to capital, but changed his views under the impact of railroad management's disregard for the welfare of the railroad workers.

\* See the *News and Letters* pamphlet, "On the 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S." for the growing influence of Marxists in this period.

Detailing Debs' frustrations and disillusionment with the narrow vision of the craft-oriented railroad brotherhoods, Salvatore comprehensively covers Debs' conversion into a confirmed industrial unionist; the spectacular success of his newly formed American Railway Union's strike against the Great Northern Railroad; and his subsequent involvement in the Pullman strike of 1894. Whereas Debs had been aware of the collusion between government and corporate power, he had never faced the full naked force of this alliance as then revealed in the declaration of martial law, the intervention of federal troops to break the strike, and, finally, his arrest, conviction and jailing in Woodstock prison in Illinois.

### DEBS AND SOCIALISM

While in Woodstock, Debs received socialist pamphlets and was visited by Milwaukee Socialist leader Victor Berger, who gave him the three volumes of Karl Marx's *Capital*. Of this experience, Debs wrote: "I had heard but little of Socialism . . . had yet to learn the workings of the capitalist system . . . I was to be baptized in Socialism in the roar of conflict . . . in the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle the class-struggle was revealed." His reading of Marx proved "the very first to set the 'wires humming in my system.'"<sup>\*\*\*</sup>

Debs, however, did not become a socialist theoretician, and always considered himself to be theoretically inferior to Berger. But despite Debs' feeling of theoretic inferiority, which consistently resulted in his failure to openly confront Berger's opportunism, he nevertheless maintained principled positions. He always challenged Gompers and craft unionism, castigating both as obstacles to the resolution of class conflict in the U.S. (unlike Berger who supported Gompers and the AFL), and passionately advocated industrial unionism.

The author discloses the fierce factionalism that divided the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the various brands of Socialists and the established labor leadership represented by Gompers. Debs disagreed with the IWW's disdain for capitalist politics and its direct action policies. But hopes for reconciliation were high following the historic Lawrence, Mass., strike of 1912, sparked when immigrant Polish women textile workers refused to accept a slash in wages and won through the united efforts of the IWW and Socialist Party. No sooner had the victory been won, however, than the factional bickering again arose to thwart unity.

The historic test of established international socialism came with the first World War in 1914, when the Second International, comprising the organized European socialists, capitulated to their own bourgeoisie's imperialistic war plans. Berger followed Karl Kautsky, head of the German Social Democracy and theoretic leader of the Second International who led the betrayal of the workers by voting war credits to the Kaiser, and supported America's preparations to enter the war based on Kautsky's positions. Debs, however, opposed Berger, Kautsky and U.S. war preparations, and spoke out against U.S. involvement in the World War. Charged with violating the Espionage Law of 1918, Debs was again jailed. While in prison, Debs ran for president on the Socialist Party ticket in 1920 and received nearly one million votes.

Although Debs and the Communist Party became opponents in the 1920s, Debs wholeheartedly supported the 1917 Russian Revolution calling himself "a Bolshevik." In addition, in 1917 Trotsky, during his visit to New York, singled out Debs to praise for his opposition to the war. And Lenin, in his 1918 "Letter to the American Workers," also noting Debs' principled anti-war stand, wrote: "I am not surprised that [President] Wilson . . . has thrown Debs into prison. Let the bourgeoisie be brutal to the true in-

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> A most direct link between Karl Marx and the American workers' movement in the period after Marx's death can be seen in the work of his daughter, Eleanor, who undertook a speaking tour of the USA in 1886. Her defense of the Haymarket prisoners, falsely accused of planting the bomb that exploded at the May Day rally to support the eight-hour day, is one of the finest statements yet made about the USA. Her work in this country, as well as her role in the creation of May Day as an international workers' holiday, has been too little recognized.

ternationalists, to the true representatives of the revolutionary proletariat! The more fierce and brutal they are, the nearer the day of the victorious proletarian revolution."

### SOUTHERN WEST VIRGINIA COAL FIELDS

Corbin's book, chronicling the history of southern West Virginia during the same period, discloses parallel developments, but in a more powerful manner. This is so because the contradictions between the miners and their families, pitted against the unbridled power of the coal operators, municipal, regional, state and federal governments, were open, direct and total.

By 1900, the coal-rich southern West Virginia region was owned by absentee landlords: Mellons, Morgans, Guggenheims, Pratts, U.S. Steel, railroads — even a British banking firm got in on the plunder. These powerful interests, with the help of the courts, literally swindled the land from the native owners, and by the turn of the century, 90 percent of Mingo, Logan and Wayne counties, and 60 percent of Boone and McDowell counties was owned by absentee landlords.

Each mine created its own community — the company town, houses constructed of rough wood and tar paper by the coal operators to house the miners and their families, plus the company store, school and church. With no running water or other sanitary facilities, grime, dirt and diseases were rampant.

Until 1910, union organizing efforts had failed, although the United Mine Workers (UMW) had spent millions to unionize southern West Virginia. The program of the UMW for higher wages and shorter hours did not address the primary concerns of these miners, many of whom could and did work their own hours and, though lowly



Southern West Virginia coal miners at the turn of the century.

paid, often made more than other coal miners because they worked more days.

A turning point was reached with the introduction of the Baldwin-Felts coal guards, company thugs hired by the operators to oppose union organization at first, but then expanded to terrorize and subdue individual miners and their families who dared to question any company action. By 1912, indiscriminate beatings, murder, rape, property destruction and looting became everyday occurrences, as well as jailing, firing and denial of company store purchases. The miners were not only wage slaves, they and their families were literally slaves at the total mercy of the coal operators.

The seething revolt churning in the Paint Creek-Cabin Creek miners in Fayette and Kanawha counties exploded over a wage dispute in April, 1912, launching one of the longest and bloodiest strikes in American labor history, and pitting the miners against the coal operators, mine guards, state militia and courts, the governor and, eventually, the UMW itself.

It was open, literal life-and-death class warfare, exemplified by two episodes. Baldwin-Felts guards evicting a miner's family one morning encountered a woman in

(Continued on Page 10)

## News & Letters

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# Native Americans: 10 years after Wounded Knee

**Editor's Note:** Ten years ago a Lakota woman who participated in the Indian occupation of Wounded Knee, S.D. told N&L: "From Feb. 27 to May 8 there was the Independent Oglala Nation, established within the boundaries of the state of South Dakota, USA. It was the first time we had ever known freedom. For 71 days there was power in the hands of the Indian people. Men and women stood side by side in the kitchen, in the bunkers, on patrol. The governing body of the Oglala Independent Nation consisted of every resident."

On this tenth anniversary of the Wounded Knee occupation we asked Native American activist Shainape Shcapwe to speak about what the ten years since Wounded Knee have meant to Native Americans.

I would have to say that economically the conditions of Native Americans haven't changed a heck of a lot. Indian fishermen in Michigan, like on the Bay Mills reservation, are nowhere. Many are on welfare, not fishing like they want to be. They were frozen out economically. And it isn't just in Michigan. On my reservation in Fort Totten, N.D. a factory was started after Wounded Knee, with CETA programs and government contracts. They set it up to be dependent on war production. It was planned to employ about 400 from different reservations, making parachutes for the Army and shell casings. Now the contracts are being cut off and they are constantly in danger of closing down, with no private contracts. Only 150 workers are left.

The factory in Shiprock, N.M. that received so much publicity is the same way — it's not nearly as big as it used to be. Even when it was hiring it was no good. I wrote about it years ago in N&L and called it "Sweatshops on the reservation."

After Wounded Knee the government also started some housing programs, but the housing is like the projects in Detroit. It's the cheapest kind of housing, and three years after they put it up for the factory on our reservation, it is falling apart. People are freezing in the North Dakota winter. They didn't take into account the environment.

## 'WE WILL FIGHT FOR THIS LAND'

Today people remember Wounded Knee. They will never forget it. But they are very careful now; they know where and when to talk. They are talking quietly among themselves on the reservations I know in North and South Dakota. They don't just run off and do any old thing, but they are thinking and planning about how to change conditions, how to challenge the powers on the tribal council.

Eight years ago I wrote: "The most important accomplishment we have made is not that we have found ways to make the white man listen to us, but that we have gained a new awareness of our own strength and ability." Today I feel that is more true than ever, because we are not ever going to put up with the kind of thing they tried to do in the 1950s, when they tried to get rid of the whole reservation system and move us to the cities — what they called "termination." Watt and Reagan want to try that again, but they will have much more trouble than they did in the 1950s. Watt and Reagan are running a public relations campaign now, saying that there is "socialism"



Wounded Knee, 1973

on the reservations, and hinting that termination of government aid is called for.

They are mistaken if they think we will just give up the reservations and leave. We will fight for this land, because it is all we have after America was stolen from us. In the 1950s they did "terminate" the Menominee and the Klamath, and they were working real hard to do the same on a lot of other reservations. People were willing to leave then and try it in the cities. My brother and I did. When we went to Chicago we had no idea what we would find. Today people know better; they wouldn't go because there is nothing for us in the cities. They know what the conditions are.

When I remember Wounded Knee today, it isn't the guns we had or the stand-off with the FBI and the marshals. It's how we organized ourselves and made Wounded Knee work despite the conditions of being under fire. It's how decisions were made and people of many tribes learned to work with each other. The generation that grew up since Wounded Knee feels differently about being Indian, about our culture. They know the struggle isn't over. Some of them are talking of getting real health care. Not the kind the Public Health Service brings to the reservation, but health care that considers people. The doctors we have now don't understand us. You talk to them and they don't hear what you are saying. Forced

sterilization was something they could practice so easily because it wasn't people they were dealing with, it was Indians.

## FEMINISM IN OUR MOVEMENT

I feel that it is much easier to talk about racism and about sexism in the Indian movement than it used to be years ago. But there is still a real need for feminism. I'm so sick of the way men often view women in our movement. It's like: "We're happy that you're here. Make food, watch the kids, and that's it."

On my reservation women still have to struggle, and we are getting stronger about it. We had a tribal meeting last November, a very important meeting to consider what to do about the government's offer to settle the suit we brought to get back the Black Hills. But they didn't want women in the meeting. Then they said women could come to it, but only men could vote.

I was opposed to accepting the government's money offer, and I wrote a letter about it. But they said women's votes shouldn't be considered because when the Fort Laramie treaty was signed in 1868, only men could agree to it. That was the way it was negotiated then, so they said that was the way it should be considered now. Many women protested and they had to let women participate. The offer was turned down and we are still demanding our land back.

Actually one of the most important parts of our movement today is in Central America. I just finished reading *Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak*. It was so exciting, so impressive, to see what the Indian people have done in Guatemala to organize themselves and rise up against oppression. Very few people on the reservations today know about this. I wish they did. It made me want to be in Guatemala and see it for myself. What they did, bringing 22 Indian nations together is what we need now. We have learned to join together with other aboriginal people around the world, but we still can learn more from Guatemala. I would say that ten years after Wounded Knee there is still a long way to go for us to be free in our own country.

— Shainape Shcapwe

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## CRISIS IN EDUCATION AND THE NEW STUDENT PROTESTS

When I opened my morning newspaper today and saw the Gardner Report (the Commission on Excellence in Education) with its headline that American education has failed, I thought they must have read last month's N&L, where Olga Domanski exposed the crisis in education and pointed to the way millions of youth are consigned to custodial education at best.

But as I read on through the findings and recommendations of this commission, I realized that their analysis of the causes of the crisis (i.e. permissiveness in the curriculum, too short school days and years, etc.) has nothing in common with yours in N&L. She puts the blame where it belongs — on the capitalist system: "The growing state of actual illiteracy in this land is a planned illiteracy, every bit as much as today's unemployment is a planned unemployment." I feel that our youth are being educated for jobs in fast food restaurants at minimum wages — or for no jobs at all. The only thing that will solve illiteracy in this country is to get rid of this horrible system — and now!

Angry parent  
Detroit

Young people are so much into drugs today. They really need something to commit themselves to that they can see bring about change. There was a three year study done on Cambridge, Md. which showed that there was hardly any criminal activity during the movement. People saw that through their activity they were bringing about some change in their lives. After the movement ended crime went up. I think there needs to be a way to bring the experience of the 1960s into contact with young people today. The government certainly won't show that period because it wasn't able to control youth, then.

Civil rights veteran  
New York City

At a meeting several of us were discussing the front page article on campus protests (April N&L). A young student said "Granted Kirkpatrick is a horrible person, but she still has a right to speak. I don't agree that we have a monopoly on truth; I've even been in the position of having to support free speech for Nazis."

I had to tell him what I felt, that "pure democracy" is a sham, that Kirkpatrick is representing a government that murderously suppresses free speech in Latin America. It isn't only that genocide is not debatable, but that what the students did was revolutionary. I appreciated the article very much, especially the focus on how youth are "expendable in the era of 'hi-tech.'"

Working mother  
Queens, NY

At the Black Studies Conference in Berkeley last month I met a student from U. of North Carolina who said his participation in the conference was the result of campus demonstrations protesting the lack of women and minority faculty. He wanted to find out what the students at Berkeley were doing with the issue of free speech against the way it was raised by the administration to defend Jeane Kirkpatrick's "right" to speak on campus.

Reader  
Oakland, Cal.

In the article on the protests at Howard University the students said, "We want a university to produce the Black mind." To me this means that we as Blacks want to develop our own minds. The schools try to train your thinking to be what they want you to be. This relates also to the whole question of the police in the Black community. They are there not only to physically harass you, but to harass you mentally as well. It is an attack on the Black mind.

Black worker  
Los Angeles

To me what's most important in the article on the crisis on the campuses by Olga Domanski (April N&L) comes out in

the conclusion, when she says that "history does not just repeat itself." She proves that the two decades since the original Free Speech Movement have brought us to a much higher stage today. So you begin to see this idea of a return to the past not just as reminiscence, but to see in those experiences new questions for today's movement. Maybe that way we'll even find some new answers also.

Librarian  
Berkeley, Cal.



U.S. LABOR:  
'DEFEND  
THE HUMAN  
BEING'

If you were a President, seriously concerned with the welfare of the millions of the unemployed, you would set up an office to assist those seeking work to find it. Reagan has done that. The Federal Jobs Information Center is just such a place. Nothing fancy — no desks, chairs, paper or pencils and, no employees! It is a closet-size office in the Federal Bldg. in Detroit open only from noon to 4 p.m., strictly self-service. It lists government jobs available. Of the 120 listed, only three were in Detroit. Drawers contain the usual government forms to be filled out and notices tell you where to send them.

By way of contrast, upstairs in the same building the Detroit offices of the F.B.I. are found. Plenty of activity there, housing no less than 300 agents, plus secretaries, desks, chairs and more paperwork than you can imagine. Our president certainly knows where to place his priorities.

Job seeker  
Detroit

The UAW Convention is being held this May, in Dallas, Texas. I want to know why. That's not a city where the UAW is strong, or where they're pushing to organize. I think the union leadership is scared of all the uninvited, unemployed workers that would show up, with something to say, if the convention were held in Detroit.

Unemployed auto worker  
California

I've worked three years trying to unite theory and practice in my workplace. An experience this week showed our type of unity when workers in my shop resisted longer work hours and supported those who were threatened to be fired for stopping machines. The supervisor asked why this was done, and we said: "You defend your machine; we defend the human being."

Latin American worker  
New York City

## CHICAGO'S ELECTION

When Raya spoke here I asked if she foresaw a mass labor movement rising again in this country. She said that she expects it from the Black masses first. Well, Harold Washington's victory has electrified something, I believe. In a sense it is "Black masses as vanguard," with the Black population of Chicago being the leaders and creators of this coalition of Black, Latino, labor and Left. The traditional coalition, with Blacks as "one ally," would never have worked. The fact is that with the racial divisions in Chicago and the USA working class, only Black masses as vanguard can work, even for reform, as in Chicago.

Factory worker  
New York City

I'm glad Harold Washington won in Chicago. But the racism of many whites, including quite a few white workers, was very disturbing. Before we go patting ourselves on the back for Washington's victory, I hope we will keep in mind the task we face to abolish that racism. It is

# Readers' View

true that it has always been the Achilles heel the bosses have successfully used to keep labor down in this country.

Health worker  
Detroit

## LIES ON LATIN AMERICA

Reagan's big address on Central America was the best collection of gross lies I have heard since WWII. And the way many of the Congressmen were applauding, you can see that they are no better. If you listen to Reagan, little Nicaragua is nearly a superpower, trying to take over the whole region by force. Meanwhile the USA — with its Army, Navy, Marines, CIA, its paid mercenaries, its hundreds of millions in aid to fascist dictators, its enormous corporate power — this USA, we were told, has only the interests of "encouraging democracy" in the region. If you believe that, you'll believe anything. Frankly, the whole thing sounded like a pre-war speech to me.

Plenty scared  
Detroit

**SOLIDAROSCI**

Recently I had a long discussion with a Solidarity member here in California, a man who was active in putting out Solidarity publications when he was in Poland. I guess the most exciting thing about him is that he is not afraid of talking about revolution. We talked for a long time about general strike, about the relation of local strikes, which were erupting all the time, to a national goal... We also discussed consciousness and what it is now — no change of directors, no cosmetic change will satisfy people anymore. They have had enough of that for the last 30 years.

Polish exile  
Oakland, Cal.

In Poland 90 percent of us would not allow ourselves to be fingerprinted. Our first experience with "freedom" in the West is that we are fingerprinted all the time.

Solidarity activist in-exile  
California

The reports of the official Polish government commemoration of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising made me sick. Did you know that Begin's Likud party sent a representative? It's great — Begin and Jaruzelski together! Begin, who justifies everything by reference to the Holocaust, is revealed as caring as much about its genuine legacy as a notorious anti-Semite. Both of them were lined up on opposite sides of the political fence from the last Warsaw Ghetto uprising survivor.

But the really hilarious part came when Jaruzelski met with the Israeli delegation. He appealed to them to ask their friends who "own the banks" to loan Poland some money! Can you believe it? Racists are never so exposed as when they open their mouths.

Jewish socialist  
Michigan

## STAYING ALIVE IN THE FACTORIES, ON FARMS

I sent this letter along with my tax return: "To the thieves it may concern. My plant, General Motors South Gate, closed its doors March 17, 1982. I have been unemployed since then. I fought two wars for this thieving system — 60 months in combat zones. How many trillions of dollars has this government squandered on "defense" since WWII — defense that is no defense at all!"

Next month I will be 62 years old, forced to retire because this system has

caused 12 million or more of us to be unemployed. I know this letter won't do any good, but I hope a big fat parasite will read this and find out some of us slaves are mad as hell. Signed: an unemployed worker who paid taxes on his unemployment benefits."

Furious  
Downey, Cal.

Two bankrupt Iowa farmers are on a 36-day protest trip to Washington, D.C., collecting worn-out undershorts in an outhouse they are towing on a manure spreader. They say they want to bury Reagan in undershorts. On the side of the spreader is a sign that says: "If your debts are free and clear, you can stand right up and cheer; but if you're like us you've lost your rear, so toss your shorts right in here." I hope Reagan chokes on them, the same way farmers are choking on his policies.

Farm union supporter  
Michigan

## BLOCKING NUCLEAR CARGO

Things are really hot here in Seattle. There've been quite a few demonstrations — most recently against taxing for military expenditure. A few hundred people marched downtown.

There was a lot of concern when the "white train" came through the region carrying nuclear warheads to Bremerton (Trident sub station). Small boats also tried to block the USS Michigan's arrival, the newest death sub. The protest against the nuclear cargo train was quite dramatic. People were willing to lay down their lives to stop this transport. It was scary because the potential death was almost realized — the train would not stop for protesters on its tracks.

Anti-war correspondent  
Seattle

## FROM AN INDIAN FEMINIST

I have just heard about you in Manushi and I would like to be in touch with you to exchange ideas and experiences on feminism. Will you send me a sample copy of N&L? I am especially interested in how to link up the problems of women to other problems in society — the relationship of the women's movement to the workers' movement.

I have been working in India for the last 15 years. At present I am working in a rural tribal area. It is the experience of these tribal women who made me interested in feminism.

Anxious for discussion  
Bihar, India

## ISRAELI HUMANISTS NEED YOUR HELP

The Israel Secular Humanist Association is a free-thinker stream established to direct an ideological struggle based on modern and classical secular humanism, and against the nationalistic concepts rooted in the Jewish religion and the Bible. The tendencies that hold power today wish to return the Israeli Jewish society back to ancient biblical days of Yehoshua Bin-Nun. Our struggle is against that murky stream that floods Israel.

ISHA publishes *The Humanist Alternative* in English. This journal contains translations of articles from our Hebrew publication *Breira Humanistit*, and we can make copies of July-Aug. 1982 and April 1983 issues available to your readers. ISHA publications could reach a much wider public if we had the means to improve the print and circulation methods. For example, we are very badly in need of a bi-lingual (Hebrew-Arabic) typewriter. To achieve our aims we need financial support. Contributions for this purpose will go for buying the necessary printing equipment. Any sum will be appreciated.

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

## MARXIST-HUMANISM: IN BOOKS AND ON TOUR

It is with great interest that I got Dunayevskaya's new book and the special number of N&L on Marx. I am especially interested in the part of her book dedicated to Marx's last work — the *Ethnological Notebooks*. This work is not yet translated into Italian, but it will be at the end of this year. As Raya shows very well, it is particularly important for showing the Marx-Engels relationship.

I am not quite in agreement with Raya that Engels prepared the distortion of Marx's thought which has had so large and dramatic a fortune (or misfortune). Engels, after his friend's death, had a difficult inheritance. He had to publish Marx's unfinished works, had to keep political relations with other social-democratic parties in the International, and finally had a sort of popularizing task, to spread Marxist ideas (including confrontation with the new positivism).

Probably Engels' utilization of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* was not on a great level. The popularizing character of the *Origin of the Family* could not reach the open, problematic aspect of Marx's work. But I think that the main question is the relationship with Hegel.

Subscriber  
Florence, Italy

I really enjoyed the panel Raya Dunayevskaya was on at the "Common Differences" conference held at the U. of Illinois-Champaign/Urbana, April 9-10. There were 400 in the audience and six women on the panel — from Iran, from Morocco, from El Salvador, a Native American, the Ecuadorian moderator and Raya. I didn't like the Native American woman very much because first, she talked to all of us in this multi-international, multi-racial audience as if we were the white U.S. settlers/invasers and second, because she said, "We can't triumph. All we can do is survive" on mother earth.

But, all of the women, except Raya, seemed to be just describing the past and the present conditions, even though sometimes very powerfully. That's why it was good to have Raya speak last. Not only did she beautifully critique what activity and description mean without philosophy but she gave a view of a revolutionary future "inherent in the present." I guess something got through because three of the women on the panel afterwards wanted our literature.

Feminist  
Chicago

If one is involved in any feminist organization or study group, it is obvious that we feel a need to think over the connection between Marxism and feminism again. I have to admit that Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation* and Marx's *Philosophy of Revolution* does bring out some important new points on Marx's theory of sex roles. The points Dunayevskaya makes on Marx's view of women in the 1844 *Essays* are known, but not widely in *Women's Studies*, but her points on Marx's work in the 1880s are truly unique. I do not think that anyone in the field of women's history has separated Marx from Engels' *Origin of the Family*.

However, let me say that I'm still not convinced that Marx has all the answers for us, or even that his method does. The question is: how do we get to a view of historical materialism that is informed by feminism's new contributions? I am open to discussion on this point.

Professor  
Maryland

The March edition of N&L came through the letter box a couple of hours ago, and I have just finished reading it. I always enjoy it so much, since it touches the vital issues that are often ignored by the capitalist press on the one hand and the self-styled revolutionary scribbles on the other. What I am trying to say is reflected in the attitude towards the centenary of Marx. Where Raya comes up with the "humanism" permeating his work, thus giving it a truly revolutionary

significance, that is totally lacking in the traditional approach.

Last night I watched the latest edition of the BBC series, "Karl Marx: the Legacy." It seems to be about almost everything but Marx and Marx's thought. It would, as a whole, have been reasonably acceptable in Stalin's Russia, but the last episode has the presenter standing at the Berlin Wall, declaring that "this is the real legacy of Marx"! David McLellan, undoubtedly the most thorough researcher of Marx holding academic position in the U.K. today, ordered his name removed from the credits, so disgusted has he been by the way Marx was misrepresented.

Long-time reader  
Sussex, England

Let me tell you some of the excitement I felt when I attended Raya Dunayevskaya's meeting in Madison, Wisc. It was great to see more and more students coming in, and during the lecture — which was structured around Rosa Luxemburg, but naturally took up Marx from 1843 to 1883 and to women's liberation today — there was the most responsiveness to Raya I've ever seen.

Just as soon as the discussion was over, lots of people rushed up to talk to Raya and buy literature. We were swamped by all the people who wanted to buy lit and to get their names on the mailing list. I hope we can make it the beginning of a solid organizational presence in Madison.

Young Marxist-Humanist  
Chicago

## FROM MARX CENTENARY CONFERENCE BATTLEFIELDS

The Marx conference in Winnipeg seems to have had more than a few confrontations. I talked to a friend who attended, who said that the participation of the feminists was of special importance. They seemed to equate Marxism with the Maoist-type Left parties in Canada, and evidently were convinced on this basis that Marxism was "just another male ideology for seizing power." They juxtaposed feminism to this, with much debate on all sides. Marlene Dixon really blew her cool haranguing the "petty bourgeois women." It doesn't seem to me that Marx was discussed very much in and for himself.

Graduate student  
Salt Lake City

Wouldn't you want to go to a conference that promised to "assess the historical significance of Karl Marx... Concentrating on the philosophico-humanist tradition, (it) will explore whether Marxism has any relevance to four areas of American life: work, religion, feminism and black culture"? There were many eminent scholars there, but what set this U. of Maryland Marx centenary conference apart from others was the significant Black presence. Yet it was not without some irony that the sessions on feminism and on Black culture were held at the same time. The irony wasn't lost on the Black participants, who likened it to the way Blacks and women are pitted against each other over limited affirmative action.

The academic Marx scholars speculated on the "hidden romanticism" in Marx here, the "hidden positivism" in Marx there, all the while dismissing the revolution in today's reality which brings Marx's philosophy of revolution to life. The idea that the Black and women's dimension was "hidden" from Marx (a popular view) could not sustain itself in the battle of ideas that opened on the floor of the conference.

Black Marxist  
Matawan, NJ

The New York Book Fair will be held May 13-15 at the 7th Regiment Armory at Park Ave. and E. 67th St. in New York City. The fair is a gathering of alternative and independent presses: Black, Women's Culture, and Radical.

## EDITORIAL

# Unleashing the security cops; binding our civil liberties

The Reagan Administration's "new guidelines" giving the FBI more leeway for investigation and infiltration of groups supposedly using "violence" to "achieve political or social change," have been left so deliberately vague that a *New York Times* reporter was moved to ask: "Could the FBI open an investigation of someone who urged a crowd of 300 college students to resist draft registration requirements?"

The "new guidelines," moreover, not only come at the very time a stream of reports have exposed the murderous and blatantly illegal activities of the CIA driving to overthrow the government of Nicaragua, but are part of a whole series of new rulings, each of which has been issued quietly, with no fanfare — and no outcry.

Several months ago, the Federal Court of Appeals ruled that the largest, best-funded, least regulated, most potentially dangerous and most secretive intelligence agency of the U.S. — the National Security Agency — may lawfully intercept overseas communications of Americans even if there is no reason to believe they are engaged in illegal activities — and, of course, send their summaries to the FBI.

(It is this agency which former Senator Frank Church stressed could easily turn their highly sophisticated computer system, supposedly used to "watch the Russians," against the American people, warning that should that happen "no American would have any privacy left.")

Earlier — indeed, almost as soon as he had taken office — Reagan had signed Executive Order 12333, which unleashed the CIA to once again conduct the very kind of spying on citizens that had supposedly ended after the Watergate Hearings, a full decade ago.

## THE LONG HISTORY OF THOUGHT CONTROL

What the investigations into the CIA and the FBI that followed in the wake of Watergate actually revealed is that, while Nixon's "Operation Chaos" may have appeared to be the most shocking and loathsome of counter-revolutions against the American people, the drive for "thought control" is integral to this repressive society and has characterized all the presidencies since the CIA and FBI were created. Indeed, J. Edgar Hoover got his training before the FBI was even created — as the right-hand man of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, helping him to unleash the infamous Palmer Raids during the "Red hysteria" that followed World War I and the successful revolution in Russia.

It has taken all the way to 1983, in two current lawsuits against the government, to bring to full light the 1965 murder of Viola Liuzzo by FBI agent Gary Rowe, during the Selma to Montgomery march; and the sickening role of the FBI in the crippling of Walter Bergman during the 1961 Freedom Rides. Nothing better proves not only the common mentality that unites presidencies as supposedly different as the "Camelot" Administration of John F. Kennedy and the reactionary regime of Nixon — but that it is the opposition at home, and not the "foreign enemy" that most worries all rulers.

That has always been the target, whether it was a JFK, who, in the wake of the disastrous Cuban invasion and the emergence of the Black Revolt in the South, declared that "the deeper struggle" was not with arms but with "subversion" and then inspired new rulings on the Smith and McCarran Acts; or whether it was a Nixon, hell-bent to destroy what had grown into the massive Black, youth and anti-Vietnam War movements, whose secret police compiled files on no less than 300,000 Americans; or whether it was those 1920 Palmer Raids, inspired not by the "reds and foreigners" proclaimed as the enemy but by the 1919 Seattle General Strike, the organizing drives in coal and steel, and by the sudden outburst of the first mass organization of Black masses in this country, led by Marcus Garvey.

## THE REAL 'EVER-PRESENT DANGER'

Reagan's current new rulings are likewise aimed precisely at the ever-growing opposition to his numerous policies in Latin America, to his racism, to the now permanent unemployment, and above all, to the insane drive to nuclear destruction. Just as he proved that McCarthyism did not die with McCarthy when he resurrected it to try and beat the power of the anti-nuclear, anti-war, freeze campaign, so it is abundantly clear that the Watergate expose of Nixon's crimes did not rid us of Nixonism.

That there has been no outcry at Reaganism's "new guidelines" may be in part because nobody really did believe that the spying had ever stopped. But the prospect is that the "thought police" of George Orwell's 1984 may well become the full, grim reality world-wide. The need is not to ignore it, but to fight it as the clear and ever-present danger it is.

\* This was the subject of the N&L Editorial on "The State of Civil Rights, USA, 1961," which appeared in the special issue that year devoted to the Freedom Rides. So important did those freedom fighters consider this Editorial which reached back to the history of Abolitionism and forward to today, clearly separating Marxism from Communism, that it was included directly in the pamphlet, *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*, published later that year by N&L. It is available in the Marxist-Humanist Archives, Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit.

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# Gloria Richardson: on Black freedom yesterday, today

*Editor's Note: In the spring and summer of 1963 the Civil Rights Movement exploded into a national mass activity, with Birmingham, Ala., Jackson, Miss. and the "Walk to Freedom" of 250,000 in Detroit. At the same time all eyes were turned to a small city on Maryland's Eastern Shore, in what was called "Maryland's Mississippi" — the city of Cambridge. There a Black community was aroused and began to march, with the dynamic leadership of a Black woman fighter, Gloria Richardson. In demanding full rights for Blacks in Cambridge, and in refusing to stop their demonstrations for anyone, they forced the authorities on June 14 to declare martial law, and to bring in the National Guard. Even this did not stop the struggle. Twenty years later Gloria Richardson is still devoted to the cause of freedom. Here are excerpts from an interview with her in New York where she now lives.*

Cambridge represented a turning point in the development of SNCC (Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee) and the Civil Rights Movement. I remember SNCC was angry with me when I supported Malcolm X's position on defending ourselves. It was because Black people in Cambridge had moved to a defensive position. I always said that our commitment to non-violence was only a tactic. Many people who weren't committed to non-violence were Black vets from the Korean War, for instance. Their attitude was that if the Cambridge Non-Violent Action Committee didn't work then another form of direct action would come. During the period of the National Guard occupation every house had been involved in the resistance.

I thought it was a mistake for SNCC to come from the outside into the urban areas like New York. Then they stopped working in the schools — that was their life-line. They over-extended themselves.

IN THE END there was more cooperation from poor whites because they had the same problems as Blacks. That came through labor organizations and food distributions. People were discontented with the unions and factories. Blacks in the unions spoke up to challenge the leadership and were supported by white workers. There was a strange cooperation and recognition between Blacks and whites in the garment workers union at that time.

Twenty years after Cambridge I thought the movement would be at a different stage — consolidating gains, not running behind trying to hold on to a few gains.

Many of us in the movement wanted to see its impact on the masses of Black people, but the government singled out individuals. At the same time, Black people haven't recovered from the successive waves of recession. I don't think affirmative action has done anything because they have made it voluntary. We know 20 years later that the Civil Rights Act is not worth anything because what they could give, they could take away.

I don't know how much they will allow a Black mayor in Chicago to do. However, the most significant thing about the Harold Washington election was the effect of the Black vote on Black Chicago — but now we must go beyond that.

THE NEW GENERATION realizes that the 1960s' gains have been taken away and it has made a cooperative decision to move to a state of rebellion. They should not make the mistake of stopping if they want to hold on to the gains made. The rebellion taking place shows that there are networks in the community. There is now developed local leadership rather than Black leadership coming in from the outside.



Gloria Richardson marching in Cambridge.

In the 1960s I became aware of the Women's Liberation Movement. One mistake is that Black women remained distant from the Women's Liberation Movement. Perhaps we as Black women should have had our own movement and organization.

When I was in Cambridge and in dangerous situations with men, role differences melted away. Now, unless there is a revolution there is no way to make that kind of change throughout society. Another mistake is that the Women's Liberation Movement drew away from the Civil Rights Movement, and now, when there isn't a Civil Rights Movement, the women's movement is up in the air.

IN MY FAMILY Black women were held up as examples; everyone in Cambridge knew that Harriet Tubman came from the same county in Maryland. Because Black women had to work, they always played significant parts in the movement.

Today Black women need to be involved to keep the thing humane, and to raise issues such as the kind of education their children are not getting, the environment, nuclear weapons, etc. They also need time to do it. Black women spend too much time in the home and kitchen. They need to get out of the church and into the community.

Shortly after I came to New York in 1965 someone

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

Mayor Folmar would defend almost any official excess — especially against blacks whose votes he never sought anyway." What the racist mayor did seek and received was the endorsement of the Advertiser when he ran for governor against George Wallace.

Montgomery police violence rang out again on April 9, when a plainclothes cop shot 23-year-old Bobby Joe Sales in the back. This time the response from the predominantly Black area near downtown Montgomery was swift and spontaneous as dozens of Black youth stoned police cars on the scene.

### EUFULA, ALA. POLICE VIOLENCE

There seemed to be nothing left to match the brutal hypocrisy of the Taylor incident and the indiscriminate shooting of Bobby Joe Sales six weeks later but the wanton violence that struck the small Henry County community of Eufaula on Easter weekend.

There, two Black brothers were stopped for an alleged traffic violation by two white Eufala police officers. An argument ensued, and the two unarmed brothers were murdered in a summary execution. The events that unfolded on Alabama's Highway 95 on April 2, and which have brought southeast Alabama to the verge of a movement comparable to the Montgomery Bus Boycott of nearly 30 years ago, claimed the young lives of two brothers — Hamp Russaw, 33, and 19-year-old Anthony.

The mass character of the funeral for the two slain brothers testifies to the depth of outrage felt throughout Alabama. That outrage began to articulate itself when the standing-room-only mass meeting at Eufaula's First African Baptist Church resulted in the decision to launch a boycott of downtown Eufaula businesses. Marches, prayer vigils, rallies and a voter registration drive are planned for the coming months.

Just like the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the movement coming into being in Eufaula has struck a most responsive cord among Black college students. In this case the connection is a direct one, for Anthony Charles Russaw was a student at Tuskegee Institute.

Tuskegee students have taken the lead in organizing marches and rallies in Henry County. The community and students have united in their determination to carry out the boycott. As student government president Barron Witherspoon declared, "For the Tuskegee Institute family this is a very important event. We want to let the world know that we are not going to be complacent." In its own way the Black community expressed the same determination to see the boycott through when it joined the choir at First African Baptist in singing, "I have gone too far to turn back now."

### MONTGOMERY POWER STRUCTURE

To date none of the policemen involved in the shootings and brutalization have been suspended. In fact, in the Taylor case one cop was promoted. Not only have the police wanted to keep Black youth in Montgomery out of the street, the whole white power structure has tried to keep the police excesses and Black response out of the news. Censorship even extended to Montgomery's white-owned Black radio station WXVI when it fired Black talk-show host Ralph Featherstone because he opened his call-in show to community discussion of the Taylor case. Other deejays at the station protested Featherstone's firing by walking out, and pickets have sprung up outside the station.

The role that some Black politicians have played in the confrontation between the Black community and the white power structure is but a caricature of the Black leadership that arose out of the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1955. Where the Bus Boycott gave birth to the Civil Rights Movement and the leadership of a Martin Luther

asked me if I thought there should be more women in leadership positions. I was stunned. I hadn't thought of the implications until a woman reporter said that they hated me in Maryland as much for being a woman as being Black. I really hadn't differentiated myself as woman, as much as Black, at the time. The movement today is not creating the same kind of Black women leaders as then. I don't think only involvement in the Women's Liberation Movement will do that; more is needed around mobilizing and fighting for Black rights.

The relationship between Black men and women needs to mature. The Black man is not a whole personality because of the fragmentation imposed on him by this society. He can act one way uptown, but has to act another way downtown. During the movement Black men and women shared the same goals, now there is an uncertainty about the goals. Of course, there are still those "crazy" Black men we applaud on the side.

I couldn't see being a Black man in this society. I would be either dead or pacified. The pressures on the Black man in white society rubs off on his other relationships. Black men and women were probably freest during the movement. Black men and women were freer in relationship to each other and in relationship to the larger society.



Funeral for Hamp and Anthony Charles Russaw of Eufaula, Alabama

King, the recent events have produced the spectacle of State Rep. Alvin Holmes walking the streets of Montgomery telling Black youth to be calm. And if that wasn't enough Holmes has asked that the National Guard be brought into the Black community!

One thing for sure is that something new is emerging in Alabama on this 20th anniversary of the historic March on Washington. As the scenes of the Black freedom struggle unfold it is clear that a new liberation movement is appearing in the cities, small towns and rural areas of the South. It is appearing in places that have not been the scenes of Black struggle since the movement of the 1960s rose up. Today's movement is determined to drive to a conclusion the unfinished American revolution.

— Lou Turner

## Quebec teachers fight

Montreal, Quebec — The teachers' strike is realistically over now, but the resistance and tactical fights aren't. On April 15, the unions voted without a true majority to accept the forced conciliation report (called the "Desilets Report"), but only as an amendment to the government anti-strike decree which we refuse to sign anyway (see March and April N&L).

At any rate, there were no champagne corks popping that night. Many of us believe that if we had kept striking a few days longer, we might have been able to bring down the government, but that's a big "if."

The legal battles are taking place on two fronts. One is that we are challenging the decree as unconstitutional. The second is the repressive effort of the government to force school boards to give out the names of strikers or to be cut off from all funding. Three school boards, the Montreal Protestant, Montreal Catholic, and Lakeshore have refused and have been taken to court. Furthermore the government wants to restructure education here, abolishing the school boards altogether to get total control.

But resistance to the government is high and pervades everywhere, and there are demonstrations against government ministers every time and place they meet. There is such a general distrust in the government — people don't believe in it anymore. Even civil servants are having a field day leaking embarrassing documents.

Among the teachers, despite discouragement and truncated paycheques, there has been no breaking of ranks, and we still want to negotiate. We've definitely got a lot of fight left and are going on with it.

— J.W.

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# From Poland to South Africa, workers strive for freedom

(Continued from Page 1)

It is this challenge to transform social reality that has suddenly brought May Day — the international workers' day established by American workers in the struggle for the eight-hour day nearly 100 years ago (see essay, p. 4) — to the front pages of the daily press. And nowhere is that more true than in two countries usually thought to have nothing in common — Poland and South Africa (Azania). Yet it is precisely there that the mass organization of "free trade unions", independent of government, management or party control, has meant "free" to fight for a whole new society.

## POLAND'S SOLIDARITY CALL FOR MAY DAY

When the underground leadership of Poland's Solidarity issued a call March 28 for May Day demonstrations, they suddenly stripped from that holiday all the debris of military parades and speeches by party leaders, revealing two classes in that so-called socialist state. The appeal ignored the pleas of Cardinal Glemp to call off the demonstrations — he termed them "artificial initiatives"

— and instead boldly re-asserted Solidarity's vision of Poland:

"For the authorities who have declared war on their own society, May 1 will be a day of uncertainty and fear. Once again they will find themselves surrounded by opportunists, careerists and members of the terror apparatus, and our own celebration of this holiday will show the world the truth about Poland... May 1 is a workers' day, not a day for paying tribute to the authorities. Workers have a right to celebrate it the way they think best... We appeal for demonstrations under the following slogans: Freedom for political prisoners. Stop the price hikes. The fruits of labor to society. Peace and Solidarity. Restore trade union rights. Restore self-management. Restore civil liberties."

It was this document, endorsed by Lech Walesa in the courageous secret meeting the underground leaders held with him, that forced the authorities to allow Walesa to return to his job in the Gdansk shipyard, if only to watch him more closely. Organizing for the May Day demonstrations intensified despite a series of arrests and trials by Jaruzelski's police apparatus, beginning with the trial of Warsaw factory workers April 6 and culminating with the arrest in Wroclaw April 24 of Jozef Piniór, one of the signers of the May Day appeal.

Far from these arrests — and hundreds of others in recent weeks for as little as possession of a leaflet — providing the regime with "breathing room," they have only underscored the continuing support of the Polish workers for Solidarity, the new form of union they built ten million-strong in the brief 18 months before martial law was ordered.

- In the factories and in the rural areas a passive resistance to the government's new work norms has crippled attempts to use barracks discipline as the path to "normalization of production."

- The new government-sponsored unions, proposed as the alternative to the now-illegal Solidarity, are meeting with a cold shoulder. Less than ten percent of the workers have signed up for them, and in some plants they have been limited to party members only. This is at a considerable loss to individual workers, since the regime has given these company unions power to administer vacations, bonuses, and the distribution of food coupons.

- One woman worker in a large textile factory, fired for Solidarity activity after 20 years in the plant, expressed the spirit of the resistance in an underground paper: "I see that people are discouraged, that they say: 'It's enough to have bread with mortadela.' But I think differently: I don't live to eat, I eat to live."

In dozens of such underground journals — in factories and on the farms, in high schools and colleges, and including *Tygodnik Mazowsze*, the Warsaw Solidarity paper published each Monday — a continuing discussion of the direction of the movement is now taking place. And it was in the Warsaw underground press that the idea first appeared to challenge the government's hypocritical "celebration" of the 40th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising by Jewish partisans against the Nazis, with an unofficial commemoration sponsored by Solidarity.

Unfortunately for Jaruzelski, the only Warsaw Ghetto uprising survivor still living in Poland turned out to be Dr. Marek Edelman, a Solidarity activist in Lodz interned for six days at the start of martial law. Refusing to attend the official ceremonies, he declared: "Forty years ago we did not fight merely to survive. We fought for life in dignity and freedom. To celebrate our anniversary here, where enslavement and humiliation are now the lot of the whole society, where words and gestures have become nothing but lies, would betray the spirit of our struggle."

As Solidarity members discussed Dr. Edelman's statement, it was decided that their own demonstration was necessary, "to show that opposition to anti-Semitism is a part of our movement. May 1 and April 17 (the day of the Solidarity commemoration) are one and the same." Despite police with submachine guns and water cannons, nearly 2,000 rallied at the monument to the Warsaw Ghetto fighters. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, who spoke for Solidarity there, was arrested moments later, but not before the demonstration had opened up a new perspective on the breadth of the Polish workers' challenge to society as it is.

## SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK TRADE UNIONS

It was in that same year of 1980 in which Solidarity was created, that Black South Africans began joining independent Black trade unions in massive numbers, in a wave of organizing that has not ceased today. From less than 40,000 members three years ago, the Black unions have now soared to more than 300,000 members, expanding into all major industries and all areas of the country. What is new about this explosive growth is that the challenge made by African workers is not alone to the abysmal wage scales (real wages haven't risen in South Africa since 1910!), but to the whole racist system of apartheid rule. The course of events in strike after strike proves that the Black union movement is inseparable from the struggle for the national liberation of Azania.

After the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement and its mass appearance in Soweto 1976, both rulers and ruled have had to recognize that South Africa would never be the same again. A crucial coordinating organization

which emerged from that rebellion, AZAPO (Azanian People's Organization), was immediately hit with the murder, jailings and bannings of its leaders. Yet five years later South Africa is seeing every day how the shock waves of Soweto reach into ever-new areas at the heart of its economic system, whether into the gold, coal and uranium mines, or into the rural areas where the bulk of Black South Africa is relegated.

Two years ago there was no effective union organization for Black miners. A wildcat strike at the Stilfontein gold mine was met by the firing of 1,600 miners and their immediate return to their "homelands" areas. Today the National Union of Mineworkers has already signed up 18,000 members, and mass rallies at miners' hotels are appearing everywhere. "Amandla!" (Power!) is the cry as union organizers demand that the Chamber of Mines recognize and bargain with the workers.

Another aspect can be seen in the virtually unreported events at the Beisa uranium mine where a methane gas explosion killed 16 workers, April 8. Workers said that the explosions were not uncommon, but what followed was very new: a sit-down strike at the mine shaft by hundreds of workers demanding safety. Like the Stilfontein miners, many of the Beisa workers were said to have been shipped to "homelands" to break the strike.

## FREEDOM MOVEMENT IN COUNTRYSIDE

But where for years the government has viewed the rural countryside as territory where security was guaranteed, where both "Bantustan" areas and "Black Spots" in white areas were pacified, new freedom movements are springing up in precisely in those places now. When Black farmers' organizer Saul Mkhize was murdered by police last month while protesting the removal of Africans from their long-held lands (now declared "white"), some 1,500 turned out for his funeral, singing and speaking openly for revolutionary liberation.

And as South African capitalism depopulated the countryside of men in its quest for cheap labor, many women who remained have joined Black Consciousness organizations as well. Thus the government has reserved its harshest attacks for unions like SAAWU, an Eastern Cape province union, which has insisted that its struggles on the shop floor are inseparable from its opposition to the creation of a phony Ciskei "Bantustan" in the rural area where many of its members are "assigned" by the apartheid system.

Despite such repressive measures, AZAPO was able to hold its Third Congress in February, with 300 in attendance, including 20 formerly held at the infamous Robben Island prison. The 37 AZAPO branches represented all parts of the country, and the union observers included the Council of Unions of South Africa and the Domestic Workers Association of South Africa. In the far-reaching discussion of the "present moment" of the liberation struggle, delegates considered how to combat the Botha government's plan for a three-chambered parliament (White, "Coloured" and Indian), as well as the dangers in the collaboration of "Bantustan misleaders" with state security police.

The striking parallels between the workers' movements in Poland and South Africa today are of course not merely due to the last three years of struggle they share. Nor are their ties even limited to the support the Black Consciousness Movement has offered Polish workers, and the fact that many Solidarity supporters have worked for Azanian liberation.

In challenging the whole basis of the capitalist, racist, sexist societies in which they live, Polish and Black South African workers in two very different lands have broken the narrow confines of what usually passes for trade unionism today. And in so doing, they have refocused attention on the true meaning of May Day — full human liberation.

\*Coverage of the AZAPO Congress, as well as reports and discussion on continuing struggles inside South Africa, appears in Azania Frontline, the Newsletter of the Azania Liberation Support Committee.

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

### Black studies meeting

The seventh annual National Conference for Black Studies was held in Berkeley, Cal., this past April. It attracted 500 participants, mostly Black professors and teachers coming from Afro-American Studies departments of predominantly white universities.

The conference took up a wide range of topics, covering subjects from "Religion and the Black Community" to "New World Africa: Socialism and Social Change." One of the obvious features of the conference was its international dimension. There were quite a number of African intellectuals and many of the panels dealt with the economic and racial problems of the Caribbean Basin.

Many of the papers presented were historical and analytical. However the reality of the Black situation was ever present in the lobby as individuals discussed the cutbacks and limitations on Black studies nationally.

### MARCUS GARVEY PAPERS

The plenary panel on the Marcus Garvey Papers was the most interesting. It included the well known Black intellectual St. Clair Drake; Claiborne Carson of Stanford, the author of a recent book on SNCC; and Robert Allen, former editor of *Black Scholar* magazine, among others. Carson set the tone of the panel by reviewing the literature on Garvey showing that any appreciation of Garvey "as ideas would be superficial if not related to the social movement." If you look at the period of Garvey, he said, there is a very broad movement of Black militancy, in the trade unions and in the context of their new urban environment. Discussion swirled around the contribution of Robert Hill, editor of the Garvey Papers.

However, Drake thought that Hill's introduction to the papers was "an interpretive essay" that was open to dialogue. What needs to be examined, he said, are the influences of the ideas of the 1920s on the movement, attitudes of the 'left' and the trade unions and why the 'left' said that Garvey had a petty bourgeois mentality.

### MARXISM AND BLACK STUDIES

The panel on "Marxism and Black Studies" promised to bring about a unity of academia and Black activism. Abdul Alkalimat of Chicago's Peoples College chaired this panel. He said in his remarks that "Marxism has consistently illuminated the Black struggle," and that the lag between Black activists and Black intellectuals had to be overcome. After stating the issue, Alkalimat turned the panel over to so-called Marxists who proceeded immediately to truncate the Marxism of Marx.

A woman representing one of these tendencies said in her opening remarks that the panel should be re-titled, "Leninism and Black Studies," because it was not until the latter part of the 19th century, when Lenin raised the organization question, "which Marx had never developed," did we have the organizational tool for Black liberation. She totally ignored the fact that Marx was an "organizational man" who had worked out the relationship of a philosophy of revolution to the organizational form in his Critique Of The Gotha Program.

A male co-panelist said that Marx was Euro-centered and that it was Lenin who discovered the colonial world and its revolution. This is far from the truth, once the whole of Marx's thoughts on the possibility of revolutions being successful in the so-called backward countries is understood.

Here, of course, we are not dealing with a question of knowledge or the lack of knowledge about Marxism, but rather the projection of an ideology of the vanguard party to lead, behind the so-called superiority of Lenin over Marx on organization and colonialism. Essentially the Marxism of this panel was an elitist Marxism that had nothing to learn from Black masses in their struggle for liberation.

## AZANIA FRONTLINE



No 1  
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30p

Newsletter of the Azania (South Africa) Liberation Support Committee

## Third Congress of AZAPO

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Azania Frontline, BM Box 4863, London WC1 3XX. Friends are asked to sustain with funds, news items, and solidarity reports.

## New study of Russia

Edgar Morin, *De la Nature de l'U.R.S.S.: Complexe totalitaire et nouvel Empire*, Paris: Fayard, 1983 (On the nature of the U.S.S.R.: totalitarian complex and new empire)

This is an important and timely study of Russian totalitarianism — published in France just after the accession of Andropov — by an anti-Stalinist and Left intellectual whose preface states: "I have not ceased to identify with revolutionary aspirations and I still believe in the possibility of a different society and a new humanity." Support for genuine freedom movements against totalitarianism such as Solidarnosc permeates this book.

Edgar Morin's astute and many-sided analysis puts politics at the center. He shows, for example, the limits of the term bureaucracy in describing the totalitarian Russian Communist Party of the 1930s which was in constant crisis and which "struggled against bureaucratic inertia," killing some bureaucrats as well as millions of workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals.

Writing in a country where for three decades major Left intellectuals such as Sartre tailented Russia and then China, Morin argues: "National Socialism was certainly invented by Hitler. But the Socialist Nation was founded by Stalin." He continues: "The most powerful illusion of the century resides not in liberalism, not in fascism, not in Hollywood, not in TV advertising, but in the concept of the socialist nature of the Soviet Union."

He goes on to point out the pernicious influence of such concepts, not only for the Left in the West, but also for the Third World revolutions. His dialectic is capable of showing, at one and the same time, the narrow Great Russian chauvinism which permeates Stalinism, and its international appeal to revolutionaries on their way toward becoming bureaucrats the day after the revolution: "the particularity of the totalitarianism emanating from Russia is totally universalizable."

On the other hand, Morin's political analysis lacks an economic or philosophical foundation. Where Raya Dunayevskaya's Marxism and Freedom was grounded in dialectical concepts such as state-capitalism versus mass freedom revolts from below, or the transformation into opposite of the great 1917 revolution, Morin's remains somewhat eclectic, underestimating the revolt today.

This becomes clear when Morin considers the Third World. Thus, Nicaragua, a new revolution fighting for its life against genocidal U.S. imperialism becomes to Morin a place where Russia, without direct intervention, was able "to confiscate a libertarian revolution and transform it into a totalitarian dictatorship."

To call Nicaragua, which certainly can be criticized, "totalitarian," comes close to falling into the trap of Reagan's rhetoric. That is unfortunately where Morin seems to end. For despite an astute analysis of "contradictions" in the Russian system, both of the Solidarnosc type and also contradictions within the ruling class, he ends with a vague concept of "democracy" versus "totalitarianism." That will not answer the yearnings of French immigrant workers or German anti-war youth, who already live under so-called "democracy" — racist, militarist, and in deep economic crisis — and against which they are in constant revolt.

Despite these limitations, Morin's study is an important one, far superior both to the American Russia specialists and to the other French political writers who are today translated endlessly in U.S. journals. — Kevin A. Barry

## Labor, rebellion, socialism in America

(Continued from Page 4)

labor who pleaded with them to allow her time to give birth. They threw her out, and her baby was born in a makeshift tent set up by the UMW. Coal operators rigged up what they called "The Bull Moose Special," railroad cars encased in armor plate and armed with machine guns that strafed every tent occupied by evicted miners and their families within range of the railroad tracks running through the region.

Now, however, there was a profound difference: the miners were also armed and eager not only to do battle, but determined to win. They killed every dehumanized Baldwin-Felts guard who came into their gun sights, and blew up trains, coal tipples and railroad tracks. After that first murderous "Bull Moose" rampage, the women prevented a return trip by tearing up the railroad tracks. It was this strike that inspired Ralph Chaplin, IWW editor, poet and songwriter who was covering the struggle, to write what became the battle hymn of the organized labor movement, "Solidarity Forever."

### COALFIELD BATTLES CONTINUE

The Socialist Party, active in the struggle, encouraged and supported the miners with both aid and theoretical justification for their actions, resulting in attracting many members and votes to the party, including new rank-and-file leaders thrown up by the struggle such as 24-year-old Frank Keeney, who not only took control of the strike but later became the president of UMW District 17 which covered the region.

Martial law declared by the governor and his ordering in of the state militia cowed the UMW leaders who accepted compromise conditions which excluded the main demands of the rank-and-file: recognition of the UMW and the abolition of the Baldwin-Felts guard system. Rejecting this betrayal of their demands, the miners engaged in protest wildcat strikes, ousted district union leaders, mobilized resources to resurrect strike tent colonies, and held huge mass meetings to plan a continuation of the strike. The unshakable unity of the miners — Black, white, immigrant, native-born, Catholic, Baptist, men and women — throughout the 15-month-long strike threatened anew. The operators capitulated and the miners won.

The miners' victory was short-lived, however. The coal operators closed ranks against the UMW, and the legislative bill outlawing the Baldwin-Felts guard system was simply not enforced, which gave the green light to the operators to reinforce their brutal terroristic system.

These tendencies, exacerbated by the super-profits coal operators realized during World War I while the miners made their usual "patriotic" sacrifices, culminated in the historic 1921 "March on Logan." Wildcat strikes following the war steered the coal operators, local, state and, this time, federal government in opposition to the miners. After years of suffering from escalating Baldwin-Felts terror, beatings and murder, aided and abetted by the state judiciary, legislature and executive, the miners vowed once and for all to eradicate the source of the Baldwin-Felts guard system from the face of the earth and to affirm their commitment to the UMW. This time the battleground was Mingo, McDowell and finally Logan counties. Pitched battles ensued between miners and company guards often abetted by state police, militia and even federal troops. In 1921, armed miners began to mass for the historic "March on Logan" ignoring court injunc-

tions, the governor's declaration of martial law and the dispatching of state police and militia to support the coal operators.

Occupying the mountain ranges surrounding Logan and Mingo counties, the well-disciplined army of miners, at least 20,000 strong, locked in gun battles with the operator forces for three days as the full impact of the miners' revolt fell upon a disbelieving nation. As the miners readied to launch their final attack, President Harding acted, declaring federal martial law and dispatching federal troops to disarm the miners. Unable to challenge the superior force of the federal troops, the miners surrendered. The class interest of the capitalists was again served by the federal government.

But Corbin astutely notes that these battles were "fought not for the narrow reasons of higher wages and shorter hours, but for justice, fraternity, and liberty, principles that were born of the miners' local experiences rather than any general ideology. The dynamics of the strike sprang not from the Socialist Party, nor the UMW, but from the rank-and-file."

From their own vantage points, both authors reveal the development of working class consciousness that grew to oppose the combined political and economic power of state and capital, as well as the unfinished character of industrial growth, worker activity and socialist thought.

Both books, two volumes in a series of works dealing with "The Working Class in American History," are very worthwhile. If these two books are characteristic of the series, published by the University of Illinois Press, they will provide much-needed understanding of the indigenous revolutionary spirit of the American working class.

## Young women writers

*Holding Her Own — An Anthology of Young Women's Works*, Chicago: Women Words Publishing Company, 1982.

*Holding Her Own — An Anthology of Young Women's Works* is just that — young women speaking for themselves. The authors are careful to point out that no one wrote for the book who was over 20.

The book is divided into four general sections. There is a vast array of art work, journal excerpts, autobiographies, two pieces by high school Black women which appeared in past issues of *News & Letters*, transcribed tape recordings, poetry and even a play about the early lives and present concerns of several high school women. They address all kinds of issues — contradictions faced at school, family problems, institutionalization due to drug use, menstruation, rape, incest, sex with boyfriends, abortion and lesbianism.

Yet the book left me wanting more. Take the statement: "Originally we intended to include a large section on working. To date we have received nothing on the topic. We reconsider what it is we wanted to say, reasons why nothing has been submitted become clear. The work that is allocated to young people is alienating. Work is a place we go, work is a place we are not ourselves... We have nothing to say about our work because our work has nothing to do with our lives... We work part time and our work is just that — part of our time, and not part of our lives."

I think this is a very true statement, for as one who is now 24 and started working when I was 16, I never felt, and still don't feel, that people ever asked me about making my job an integral part of anything. But, this does not mean I have nothing to say. Quite the contrary.

When this anthology was compiled it was 1980 and a great number of young people were unemployed and alienated by the jobs they had as clerks, as cooks at McDonald's, etc. Now, three years later, conditions are even worse. I would have liked to see some voices speaking out on youth unemployment and, even if we do get jobs, how alienating work is, because that is an important dimension of youth struggle.

I would have also liked to hear voices of youth, not just as victims of an oppressive society — depressed, often suicidal — but voices of revolt, desiring a change. This book, it is true, was compiled by Chicago women about the personal realizations of young women. The power behind their anger, frustration and hope comes through very clearly.

Yet I could not help but feel that the anthology would have been more powerful if it had also included voices of those who are raising other issues — like the young women I know who are questioning the sexism within the anti-nuclear movement, or those who feel an affinity to the youth in Soweto, South Africa, or those great Latin American freedom fighters, many in their teens and half of them women leaders.

*Holding Her Own* is definitely worth reading, definitely a welcome addition to the library of women's writings.

It is the first collection I've found of solely young women's writings, showing all the creativity and passions that we young women feel about being oppressed. As one author says, "We as women are an occupied people." What isn't heard so much, however is the voice that lets us hear what youth are for, the voice that says, "I'm for revolution and creating totally new human relationships."

— Rickie Rae

A challenge to all post-Marx Marxists

## Raya Dunayevskaya's Trilogy of Revolution

### Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution

**On Luxemburg** — "What Marx is tracing in the historical tendency of capitalist accumulation is what results from the disintegration of capitalism: 'From that moment new forces and new passions spring up in the bosom of society... Luxemburg's failure to see that, in what she was trying to trace with imperialism's rise, is the fatal flaw of her work. Luxemburg the revolutionary, tried to save Luxemburg the theoretician, by adding that 'long before' capitalism's downfall because of the absence of noncapitalist lands, the proletariat would overthrow it...'"

**On Engels** — "To what extent is Marx's 'spirit' reflected in Engel's own work, *The Origin of the Family*, which he had likewise considered a 'bequest' of Marx? Now that we finally have a transcription of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, we can see for ourselves... (There are) sharp differences between Engels' *Origin of the Family* and Marx's *Notebooks* whether these relate to primitive communism, the Man/Woman relationship..."

### Marxism and Freedom

**On Trotsky** — "Trotsky was compelled to create identification between workers' state and statified property that did violence to the very concept of socialism. Abstractions have ever been the refuge of ultra-leftists as for idealists. As a result, they can no more penetrate the dialectic in action than they can penetrate it in thought."

### Philosophy and Revolution

**On Lenin** — "There is not a trace of partyism in the *Philosophic Notebooks*, not even the old concept of 'the party of idealism' or the 'party of materialism.' What we are concerned with is not the monstrous myth of partyism in philosophy, but rather, the duality of the philosophic heritage. Far from publicly proclaiming his philosophic past, Lenin advised Soviet youth to study 'everything Plekhanov wrote on Philosophy...' and he reprinted his own *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*."

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**YOUTH**

**Students fight overpriced education**

**Solidarity at Vandenberg: soldiers and protesters**

**Sacramento**

Oakland, Cal. — Fifteen hundred students from all over California made the trek to the capitol building in Sacramento April 12 to protest tuition increases throughout the state's college and university system. The increases are being pushed by the new Reaganomics governor here, George Deukmejian.

What was different is that the bulk of these students came from the community colleges like Contra Costa College in Richmond where fee increases will hurt the most. The students weren't separating this issue from the whole attack on youth in this country, with banners like "Invest in brains not bombs" and "Deukmejian's policy: educate the rich, let the poor enlist."

In contrast, the speeches were mostly a stream of politicians lecturing the crowd on the need for lobbying and voter registration. It was too much when one speaker said we should learn to communicate our ideas to Deukmejian because he is a reasonable man. At that point the whole crowd started booing. — Marxist-Humanist participant



— News & Letters photo

A California state-wide rally in Sacramento saw 1500 students protest tuition hikes.

were fighting to "change a system so rotten" to a totally new one with greater freedom and creativity. Another said, "We've got to stop Reagan and his pal Deukmejian before they destroy any semblance of democracy in this country."

After the rally the students marched to the State Building to present letters and placards to Gov. Deukmejian's office. — Young Chicano Marxist-Humanist

**New York**

New York, N.Y. — Recently, the Committee Against Tuition Hikes at Hunter College organized a students' general assembly in the cafeteria. The cafeteria is a popular place for students, and it was planned that the microphone be opened to students so that everybody could express themselves on how to fight the tuition hikes.

Two hours before the activity took place, the dean called the Student Government and said that the activity could not take place, and if it did, disciplinary measures would be taken against the organizers. Twenty minutes after the assembly was supposed to start, the dean came and told us that we could have the activity, but, of course, many of the students who had come in support had left. — Hunter activist

**Los Angeles**

Los Angeles, Cal. — On election day, April 12, some 400 students from various community colleges and state universities in Los Angeles rallied against fee increases and tuition in front of the Los Angeles City Hall, while other students in Sacramento staged a similar demonstration in a "state-wide coordinated rally."

The student crowd at the L.A. rally was mainly composed of Chicanos and other racial minorities. Many carried placards that said such things as "Fee Hikes Unfair to Poor Students" and "Support Ethnic and Women's Studies." Many students I talked with were eager to have the April N&L with the Lead-Editorial on the campus protests taking place all across the U.S.

One of the students said that she felt a "spiritual connection" with what she was doing and what many students did in the '60s. Even though she wasn't aware of all that happened then, she knew that many of the youth

**Draft opponents: 'all are resisters'**

**David Wayte**

*Editor's Note: David Wayte was indicted by the Justice Department and was tried in November for refusing to register for the draft. Although Judge Terry Hatter dismissed the case, the government is appealing the decision. Excerpts follow from a talk given by David in April at a meeting of the California State Univ.-Los Angeles News and Letters Youth Committee.*

I know one thing. No matter what the consequences I will never register for the draft. I don't want to go to prison. I've never wanted to go. The idea scares me. I just spent nine days in Terminal Island because of Vandenberg. [See story on this page.] Although I know that I would survive in prison, that I'm safe as long as I'm doing what I believe in, I also don't really want to spend a few years. But I would rather be in prison than the military. If I had the chance all over again, I still wouldn't register and I will never register.

I believe a time will come when young people all around the world will refuse to fight for their governments and war will cease to exist. This is a first step. I don't think that peace is that far from us. I'm very encouraged by what's happening in Europe right now, by what's happening in this country — legal rallies and civil disobedience. We are taking the first steps and it will spread. Like I said, for me this is a beginning.

By refusing to register, a question arose in my mind, that maybe draft registration isn't the only issue for me to fight. There are lots of other issues. And I became more and more aware of them as I became more active. And I also became aware of the necessity to work in all of them. I think that all of us are draft resisters.

There are many ways to resist the draft. Being a public non-registrant is only one of them. I'm a draft resister. I'm also a human being, and I'm going to continue fighting for the rest of my life. I know that as long

as I'm doing what I believe in, I'm going to win. And as long as we all are doing what we believe in, we're going to win. There's a lot of power in belief, and we can stop the government, we can have peace.

**Matt Meyer**

*Editor's Note: Matt Meyer is a 21-year-old public non-registrant who has been speaking to youth throughout New York City. At one meeting, he responded to a question about the present state of the anti-war movement and the difference it makes for draft resisters.*

Although I have been talking mostly about the legal details, you are right in raising the question about the movement itself. It really is what will make the difference, and I consider myself a part of the movement first rather than some kind of conscientious objector. I'm sure the other three quarters of a million guys who didn't register had their own reasons which were different than mine. Maybe they just said, "No way will I let the government have my name for this." But suddenly it has added up to something very big.

Now the government's strategy is to direct attention to a certain type of youth — white and middle class. The Solomon Amendment [cutting education funds to non-registrants] does make it seem like the draft is just a campus issue. But this is because they know that draft registration has had the worst results in places like Puerto Rico and Washington, D.C. They know what groups like Black Vets for Social Justice are doing. So they would prefer to have a confrontation with people like me — long haired, student "hippie" types — because it would seem that we are isolated and don't have a community to support us. But the thing is I'm not so isolated.

After I decided what to do my mother wrote a letter to the Selective Service Board saying she would never register. That's why I keep saying, "Everyone is a resister."

*I do not think a newspaper should be symmetrical, trimmed like an English lawn. Rather, it should be somewhat untamed, like a wild orchard, so that it will pulsate with life and shine with young talents.*

— Rosa Luxemburg  
Letter to Jogiches, July 18, 1910

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**Academic Marxism stunts student interest**

by Ida Fuller

It was the desire to learn more about Marx's ideas of revolutionary transformation which led me to take a class in Marxism this past semester. There were 120 other students in that class with a high percentage of Black, Latino and Asian students.

Many students actively participated in the discussions and showed a special interest in understanding Marx's categories, especially in Capital. However, many traditional academic practices such as the omnipotence of the professor's opinion and the solely descriptive approach prevented the discussions from measuring the relevance for today of Marx's categories — whether they be economic, political, or social.

**THIRD WORLD STUDENTS**

It was fantastic to see that with the high percentage of Third World students in our class and the recent eruption of revolutions and rebellions in technologically-backward countries, notably Latin America, our professor still devoted half of his course to proving that the peasantry was inherently backward and reactionary with no notion of socialism and a new society.

When discussing the claim that under capitalism the worker is free to sell his labor power, the Black students in class quickly pointed out that even such a superficial "freedom" was not historically true for Black workers and slaves. Many wanted to know more about the role of racism in capitalism.

It was interesting to note that, according to our professor, racism, far from damaging the workers' struggles against capitalism, damaged capitalism by depriving it of a source of labor. Thus, the hard won gains of Blacks in labor were not seen so much as the result of their long struggles, as they were attributed to the desire of the capitalists to gain access to a larger labor force which previously could not be employed due to its color!

In our discussions, the category that capitalism cannot give room to the development of the productive forces was of interest to many of the students since the system always gives us the impression that we as workers, are not productive enough.

**NARROW ECONOMIC CATEGORIES**

Unfortunately, this category was only discussed economically. But socially it means that, free from the restraints of capitalism which tries to narrow down and dehumanize our creativity, our productivity can be much more immense in diverse branches.

However, today, technology and innovation, which have been stripped of their human aims, create an intellectual elite of computer-scientists, biologists, chemists and political thinkers in the colleges and learning institutions and, at the same time, an ever increasing de-skilled labor force stripped of all expressions of creativity and power over production.

Taking a class in Marxism is very different from taking any other course on ideas. Upon encountering Marx's writings one will find out that they are not just a set of ideas which interpret the world, but that they pose a deep criticism of our existing society along with a methodology which warns against the reimposition of existing contradictions. As Marx himself says: The point is not to interpret the world but to change it.

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

The recent television presentation by Ronald Reagan of his grand plan for a future deployment of a system of laser or pulsar beams aimed at destroying incoming nuclear missiles had two basic aims — to defuse the nuclear freeze movement which has gained overwhelming international support; and to get support for his proposed Pentagon war budget of \$239 billion, by scaring us out of our wits at the superiority of the "evil empire," Russia. What is so dangerous about these "reckless Star Wars schemes" (as Senator Kennedy called them) is that suddenly everyone begins to argue about "first strike successes" — as what started out as a conference aimed at disarmament accelerates into an increased arms race.

Reagan's scheme failed to convince anyone with common sense, especially among the scientists. One of the most respected authorities on nuclear weaponry, Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner, former president of MIT, said: "Most technical people doubt that anti-missile devices in space will work. But even if they do, it's wishful thinking to believe that they would provide impenetrable defenses. There are more than 10,000 or more nuclear weapons on each side. A defense system that would knock out 90 or 95 percent would be a miracle — and the remaining 5 or 10 percent would be enough to totally destroy civilization."

Louis Ridenour is a distinguished physicist and the

## 'Star Wars schemes' step up arms race

chief scientist of the U.S. Air Force. He wrote a paper in 1948 entitled, "There Is No Defense." His analysis and conclusions still hold. Jack Ruina and George W. Rathjens, both professors at M.I.T. and director and deputy director respectively of the Defense Department's Advanced Research Project Agency, in an article in the *New York Times* March 27, 1983, called the vision of hope for an "infallible defense system" on a par with finding the fountain of youth or a universal cure for cancer.

The debate in Congress is now shifting to the development of the MX missile. Each of these weapons will have ten atomic bombs each, placed in "hardened silos," perfect targets. It is the hope of the war planners that, with the pressing of a button, on less than ten minutes notice, they will be off and away at their targets. Will they?

Let us remember the launch of the space shuttle, postponed for three months while they changed engines and fixed defective parts, selected the proper date, watched the jet stream so it would not be blown off course, etc. There is no way that 100 percent effective response can be expected from even this missile system.

Reagan's scare tactics revolve around trying to prove that Russia's arms are superior to those of the U.S. His claim of 1,300 new Russian warheads fails to mention that none are capable of reaching the U.S. Opposed to them are 400 warheads in NATO hands and another 400 on U.S.

missile subs assigned to NATO. The U.S. has an additional 6,000 nuclear bombs available for delivery by aircraft. The facts show that the U.S. has about 2,000 more deliverable warheads than the entire strategic arsenal of Russia.

Reagan's new schemes are more retrogressive than those we saw during the Nixon days, and vitiate even the Nixon-Brezhnev arms "limitation" treaty of 1972. The majority of the American people know that Reagan has no serious desire to limit nuclear arms. Senator Cranston's statement — that Kenneth Adelman's appointment as new Chief Arms negotiator "lends credence to the widespread suspicions that the Reagan Administration is not serious about reaching an arms control agreement with the Soviet Union" — is the understatement of the year.

A *New York Times*/CBS News Poll shows that, by 64 percent to 25 percent, the American people favor a mutual freeze on nuclear weapons with the Russians. The fact that Reagan had to back down from his McCarthyite accusations that the movement is Russian-inspired will not stop him from more of those schemes any more than the flop of his Buck Rogers scenario will stop him from trying to dull the opposition to his "first strike" mentality. The only thing that will stop him is continued mass opposition to the nuclear holocaust actively being planned by both super-powers.

## Brazil

Street riots broke out in Sao Paulo, Brazil, April 4 and 5, at the end of a march by unemployed workers chanting "We are hungry." Two people died, 500 were wounded, mainly by police, 200 stores looted, and 566 people arrested.

The newly elected Sao Paulo state governor, Franco Montoro, was himself besieged at the governor's palace. A moderate opponent of the military government, he called in the hated and brutal Brazilian police, who everyone knows constitute themselves, when off duty, as KKK-style "death squads."

The hunger demonstrations originated in the vast proletarian slum of Santo-Andrade, where the great auto strikes of 1979-80 also developed. In this city of 13 million, Brazil's wealthiest and most industrialized, there are officially 700,000 unemployed and over one million under-employed. In Santo-Andrade, unemployment is officially 25-30 percent.

No sooner had Brazilian President Figueriredo termed the problem "confined to Sao Paulo's unique experience," than rioting broke out in downtown Rio de Janeiro, April 11. There the announcement of five job openings brought

some 2,500 job seekers to an office building, where police were called to control the crowd's building, where police were called to control the crowd's fury after hours of waiting.

The ensuing police attack on the crowd spread protests rapidly through much of the city. By the end of the month Brazilian government officials were negotiating with union leaders and corporate chiefs for new national jobs programs, despite Brazil's foreign debt of \$88 billion, highest in the world.

All across the most repressive region of South America — its "Southern Cone" — a wave of strikes and demonstrations by workers has shaken the governments of Chile and Argentina, as well as Brazil. What began last winter in Santiago, Chile as illegal union demonstrations for "Bread, work, justice and liberty," was joined there by student protests in mid-March.

By March 28, the wave of labor unrest had crossed the Andes to Argentina, where the government was stunned by the participation of nine million workers in a national 24-hour general strike. In the industrial provinces, some 96 percent of the workforce joined the walkout. Workers in Argentina have seen their standard of living fall drastically under an inflation rate of 200 percent.

## France



Thousands of students took to the streets in cities throughout France at the end of April protesting government changes in education. Medical students occupied the Arc de Triomphe (above), while riot police attacked with rifle butts a march of 4,000 law students. The country has also been the scene of recent demonstrations by farmers, as well as strikes by immigrant auto workers, coal miners and hospital workers.

## Reagan on Central America

Ronald Reagan's address to a joint session of Congress on Central America was both a verbal terrorist campaign against the Nicaraguan Revolution and a whitewash of the terrorist regime ruling El Salvador.

The frontal assault on the Nicaraguan Revolution was unmistakable. And it was not alone in words. Despite the word games played by the Reagan Administration about not participating in any acts which would result in the overthrow of the Nicaraguan government, this is precisely what the Reagan Administration is doing in arming and helping to train anti-Sandinista forces. If a full military operation has not yet been launched it is because no support for it is present among the vast majority of the American people.

But the same types of operations which led to the coup in Allende's Chile are at work in Nicaragua. One decisive difference is that in Nicaragua there has been the dismantling of the old military forces and the arming of the population. The Nicaraguan people reacted with outrage to Reagan's blasphemous attack.

As for El Salvador, Reagan's characterization — striving "toward an orderly and democratic society" — makes one think about the use of Orwellian 1984 language. The "security forces" there have murdered 35,000 civilians in the last three and a half years. The "democratic elections" consisted of groupings of right-wingers vying for power. It is against this background that the guerrilla forces have been able to win over ever growing sections of the country.

The U.S. Congress, feeling pressure from the American people, has not gone along wholeheartedly with the Reagan proposals, ones which now ask for an additional \$298 million in military and economic aid for this year and \$600 million for fiscal 1984. But rather than saying a full decisive "No" to Reagan's Central American war budget, they are looking for halfway compromises. It is not the Congress but the American people who will stop these war plans.

## 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 signaled 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 individually "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.