

Revolution is never practical until the hour of revolution strikes. Then it alone is practical, and all the efforts of the conservatives and compromisers become the most futile and visionary of human language.

— James Connolly, Workshop Talks

Concessions mean layoffs

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

On Dec. 27, U.S. Steel announced its third major cutback in employment in three years — the permanent layoff of 15,430 workers nationwide. Even the 102-year-old South Works in Chicago will be mostly shut down. Mills in California, Pennsylvania, Ohio and New York will be cut back or shut down entirely. And it's not just U.S. Steel that is shutting down; Bethlehem Steel and Kaiser Steel are also laying off thousands.

What struck every worker, I believe, is that the lay-offs came after 3½ years of concessions and give-backs. The United Steel Workers (USW) gave back \$3 billion at U.S. Steel alone. Workers' wages dropped over \$3 an hour. That's your standard of living going; its whether you can eat or pay your bills. And all the time the company said that if workers made concessions they would keep their jobs.

Now David Roderick, president of U.S. Steel, is praising

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Black World

Significance of Marcus Garvey study



by Lou Turner

The publication of the first two volumes of the massive Marcus Garvey and Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers in November, 1983, is a momentous event in the historiography of Garveyism. The Marcus Garvey Papers Project, supported by the National Historical Publications and Records Commission, is under the editorship of Prof. Robert A. Hill, the director of the Project at the University of California at Los Angeles.

The entire collection of over 30,000 documents, memorabilia and interviews with original Garveyites from many countries gathered by Prof. Hill is due to be published in ten large volumes. Six volumes will contain documents on Garveyism in the U.S., two volumes on the movement in the Caribbean and Latin America, and two volumes on Africa. The first two volumes just off the press contain a total of some 1,500 pages, including Prof. Hill's overview of the whole collection, to which we will return.

THREE HISTORIC CRISES

The most exciting aspect of the collection is that we get to hear Marcus Garvey speak for himself so that the reader can both view Garvey in his own time and historical setting and judge for himself what Garvey's relevance is for our day.

Three historic crises from two quite different historic periods show the relevance that the Garvey Papers have for

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*The Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association Papers, Volume I, 1826 - August 1919; Volume II, 27 August 1919 - 31 August 1920. Edited by Robert Hill. University of California Press, 1983.

Note to our readers

At a Jan. 1 expanded Resident Editorial Board Meeting the following resolution was passed:

"That the Black and proletarian dimensions of our movement continue to be represented on the front page of N&L in the form of two new columns to begin in the January-February 1984 issue: one entitled "Workshop Talks," to be written by Felix Martin and John Marcotte; the other entitled, "Black World," to be written by Lou Turner."

Real state of the union: hunger, no jobs, battered women and bloated military



Unemployment and hunger in Washington, D.C.

by Olga Domanski, National Organizer
News and Letters Committees

So great was the rage unleashed by the callous, dehumanized, pre-Christmas charge of Reagan's counselor, Edwin Meese, that reports of the rampant hunger throughout the land were not "authenticated", that it exposed to the world not only the swelling number of soup kitchens in every city of the land — including a traveling food kitchen operating within a block of the White House — but also the brutality of an Administration which dares to ask for still greater funds for its militarization while it searches for ways to make still greater cuts in food stamps for the poor. Indeed, the whole of American civilization has been put on trial, as its degeneracy pervades every aspect of its being — from its decrepit economy, to its battered wives and beaten children, to its engorged military.

If Ronald Reagan is under the delusion that his success as a strike-breaker against the militant PATCO union so early in his presidency means that he does not have to fear the threat of revolution that confronted Franklin Delano Roosevelt in the throes of the Great Depression, the mass outrage simmering in the land today will teach him differently.

No amount of media-hype, no number of newspaper headlines emblazoning the "plummeting" jobless rate, can make

the over nine million unemployed today disappear, even when the government now includes the military in the ranks of the employed; excludes from the ranks of the unemployed the nearly seven million Americans working only forced part-time, and disregards altogether the nearly two million "discouraged" workers who no longer even bother to look for work.

The use of part-time workers — long the practice of the super-exploitative fast-food chains — has exploded in the recent recession and now is also the prevalent practice in retail stores, insurance companies, and non-union factories. Adopted in large measure to forestall unionization, it allows the employer to avoid time-and-a-half requirements, eliminates fringe benefits, and has made medical care a luxury for many.

Increased Christmas retail sales without productive growth has nothing whatever to do with "growth of the economy." And productivity growth in the U.S. — which began its never-ending decline between 1965 and 1968, during the buildup for the Vietnam War — has virtually stopped over the whole last decade, as ever more and more is poured into militarization which contributes nothing to the economy.

REAL STATE OF THE ECONOMY: THE HUNGRY AND HOMELESS

Far from some euphoric claim of "economic recovery," the truth is not only that in the last week of December U.S. Steel closed down three more of its plants and partially shut down more than a dozen others — throwing 15,430 more steelworkers permanently out of work. Or that this shutdown

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North African youth, workers fight racism in France

It started in Marseilles, a proletarian center with such vicious racism present that the largest Moslem minority in Europe does not even dare to have one mosque with a minaret visible above it. It started in a country where 200 immigrants, many from North Africa, have met death in racist attacks since 1981, despite the fact that a social democratic government came to power in a landslide that year and promised increased minority rights, including voting rights.

It was a nationwide walk against racism, begun Oct. 15 to general indifference, by 32 mainly North African youths, which by Dec. 3 had become a mass march of 60,000 in Paris, whose leaders were received by President Mitterrand, who promised easier residence requirements for foreign workers, greater enforcement of existing anti-racism laws, and to "look into" voting rights for foreign residents. (Virtually all of France's racial minorities are prevented, by law, from becoming French citizens.)

MURDER OF NORTH AFRICAN

One of the march's leaders, Toumi Djaidja, had been shot by police this summer. In November, after the march began, a racist murder took place: Habib Grimzi, a 26-year-old Algerian, was murdered by four recruits on their way to join the Foreign Legion — they beat him and threw him off a

speeding train.

As the march moved slowly toward Paris, the headlines about neo-fascist election victories in several small towns on platforms advocating kicking out immigrants were taken over by something different. The anti-racist movement, dormant since 1981, rose up again stronger than ever: suddenly 2,000 sympathizers greeted the marchers in Lyon in November, and a few days later 1500 marched in support as they passed through Strasbourg — this time people marched carrying torches, with four Argentine musicians leading the way.

In Paris, it was not the usual march of well-ordered and regimented contingents from the CP, SP and trade unions. The young marchers who began the movement in Marseilles

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ON THE INSIDE

Two-way road between U.S. and Africa
by Raya Dunayevskaya p. 8
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WOMAN AS REASON

by Diane Lee

For the past few years there has been an outpouring of writings by Black women who have tried to respond to the many crises that Black women face. These writings are quite varied, ranging from novels and short stories to anthologies and bibliographies on Black women, and seek to reflect the inner depth, desire and dreams that Black women have when they oppose the existing reality being forced upon them. In 1983, a Black woman, Alice Walker, won the Pulitzer Prize for her work, *The Color Purple*.

Yet I am having trouble with many of these Black women writers today. Yes, they talk about feelings, but I don't see them really talking about the conditions of Black women. It is as if the conditions of the 1960s and the Black freedom movement that arose then, which after all helped to give birth to this new generation of Black women writers, no longer exists for them.

MARIA STEWART, SOJOURNER TRUTH

And yet far beyond the talents of any writer, even when it is displayed with great creativity in some of the works, is

Silkwood appeal wins

Detroit, Mich. — On Jan. 11, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned an Oklahoma appeals court and restored \$10 million in punitive damages awarded to the three children of the late Karen Silkwood by a jury which ruled against her employer, Kerr-McGee Corp., and found it guilty of negligence in her contamination with plutonium.

The ruling, which directly opposed the Reagan Administration's position in the case, that awarding punitive damages would conflict with federal laws imposing fines for safety violations, is a victory for Silkwood's family and supporters and a vindication for Silkwood herself, who actively worked to protect the health and safety of workers in the nuclear industry. The company, however, still plans to fight the judgment.

It was this fight that led to Silkwood's death in a mysterious car crash as she was on her way to discuss serious irregularities at the Kerr-McGee Cimarron facility with a *New York Times* reporter. Her fight was not explored as fully as many of her supporters had hoped in the current film, *Silkwood*. Many feel that the impact of Kerr-McGee's constant and daily harassment of Silkwood is muted in the movie by devoting too much time to personal details of her life. While it is necessary to get a feel for Silkwood as a person, why is so much time spent on her sexual life and that of her friends, particularly women friends? The movie also does not mention the original trial or bring in any of the facts uncovered in investigations.

Despite its flaws, however, the film does create a chance to make the case of Karen Silkwood and its implications for today known much more widely. The *Karen Silkwood Fund*, (1324 N. Capitol St., NW, Washington, D.C. 20002) including supporters who worked with Silkwood's father to bring the case to trial, has asked for help in making the whole story known. They urge viewers to read the well-documented works: *The Killing of Karen Silkwood* by Richard Rashke and *Who Killed Karen Silkwood?* by Howard Kohn.

There are two Silkwood Amendments being proposed. One is the Silkwood Nuclear Reform Amendment to the Federal Atomic Energy Act, which would require a vote by local residents before a state could allow the nuclear industry to engage in any activity which would endanger them. The Silkwood Defense Fund also plans to initiate action for a new statute to the Federal Civil Rights Act which would protect activists like Karen Silkwood from private conspiracies to violate their civil rights.

Please help tell the whole story of Karen Silkwood, a heroine for both the labor and Women's Liberation movements.

— Suzanne Casey

Anchorage CLUW formed

Anchorage, Alaska — A chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) has been formed by a committee from here including restaurant workers, IBEW and the Anchorage IWW. The response from rank-and-file union women to the first three organizational meetings was most encouraging. Restaurant workers were represented by some of the active core group that is working within the local to monitor the call outs, challenge sweetheart contracts and run for office.

Women in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) came because they are continuing their court battle stemming from contract negotiations in 1975 when men who were employed as linemen, installers and repairmen got 10% higher raises than women telephone operators, clericals and sales reps. They say they're worth 10% less than men and will go to the Alaska Supreme Court to prove it. Women never will catch up if men keep getting more money just because they have traditionally made more.

Apprentices came from Plumbers and Carpenters; shop stewards from the International Association of Machinists (IAM), NALC and Anchorage Municipal Employees Association (AMEA). Women already holding office in their unions responded enthusiastically when asked to share their knowledge about conducting formal meetings and helping their sisters through the maze of tactics, strategy and basic knowledge needed to challenge the male-dominated unions.

I'd appreciate hearing from rank and file women in CLUW chapters in the "lower 48" to learn what CLUW has accomplished since its inception in 1974 and to figure out where it might go. We've gotten very little information from the national office so far.

— Ruth S.

Questions of theory for Black women writers

this rich history of Black women who have been part of, indeed inspirers of, a revolutionary movement against the racism and sexism in this class-ridden society. The activities of these women have often raised questions of crucial importance — what should our role be in a freedom movement; how do we develop our intellectual capacities; how do we build new relationships between women and men — questions that the new Black writers have failed to fully take up.

It is for this reason that I was excited to read the chapter entitled "An Overview by Way of Introduction; the Black Dimension" in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. This chapter, in part two on "The Women's Liberation Movement as Revolutionary Force and Reason," traces the dimension of Black women in the revolutionary movement in the 19th and 20th century. Two Black women orators and activists became so alive to me through these pages: Maria Stewart, who has been rarely discussed and almost completely hidden from history, and Sojourner Truth, perhaps the most "known" Black woman of the 19th century, discussed by both historians and feminists.

Both of these women seem to me to have profoundly grasped the conditions of Black women in their lifetime. What I mean by this is that their lives were not alone ones of being revolutionary individuals, which they certainly were, but of being revolutionary women who were also part of a whole movement of activity and thought in their day. The power of Dunayevskaya's presentation is that she refuses to separate the revolutionary individual woman from the movement of the day.

Take Maria Stewart. In 1831 she was the first American-born woman, white or Black, to speak in public. That year, 1831, was also the year of the greatest slave revolt in U.S. history, led by Nat Turner. For Maria Stewart, the Black dimension was very crucial both within Africa and the U.S. Here is how she described herself: "... I am also one of the wretched... daughters of the descendants of Africa... Look at many of the most worthy and interesting of us doomed to spend our lives in gentlemen's kitchens. Look at our young men... They can be nothing but the humblest laborer, on account of their dark complexion..."

FEW CAPTURE TOTALITY

It is precisely this integrality of race, class and sex that Maria Stewart constantly expressed. And yet so few of today's writers are able to capture such a spirit in their writing.

Sojourner Truth, a spellbinding orator of the 19th century, speaks to us today. As an almost legendary Black woman, she expressed a profound revolutionary spirit. Although she appears in many historical writings and has often been quoted by feminists, the question is — do we really see her as an activist, thinker and leader? And, do we

Letter from India: Marx, feminism, Third World

Ed. Note — The following are excerpts from correspondence from a feminist in India.

I will write about my work and involvement. I wish we could start regular study groups on feminism, but that is a dream at present. My involvement with the local tribal women is reduced to some informal and sporadic meetings. The small issues we take up are for very immediate needs — trying to get the medical facilities from the government which they are supposed to get but never reach them.

There are only two literate women in the whole area! With them also we have taken up the issue of property land rights in the Supreme Court. We are aware that even if we win the case, it will remain ineffective unless there is a very strong women's organization and that does not exist at present. But at least the issue has been raised, and this was unthinkable a couple of years ago.

Feminism is a recent phenomenon in India, though in the last three years it has been picking up fast, but it is rather limited to middle class women's groups in cities. I myself thought of feminism as a "bourgeois women problem specifically of those who are obsessed with being raped." [Now] we have regular meetings with different groups of friends. Our common concern is Marxism and we discuss issues related to the present Indian situation, through Marxist analysis. In these meetings a few of us try to bring women's issues.

Coming to your last letter, I fully agree that abolition of private property does not mean an end to sexism. Marx was right in being aware of the limited freedom of women in pre-capitalist society. There is sexism and the beginning of class differences. What is very unclear to me is the beginning of women's oppression in the division between mental and manual workers as it applies to our own situation. How did this division start and how are you trying to overcome it in your own group? From where does it come?

There are some tribes in India where matriarchy exists even today. It struck me how much power they have at home — property rights, education, unlike men — but socially, men have the powers. There are many points on "Marx and the Third World" that I would like to discuss. Can you send me five copies more? I am sending you information about struggles in our area, in some industrialized pockets and the role of women in them...

*The pamphlet, *Marx and the Third World*, by Peter Hudis, is available from News and Letters for \$1.00.

"hear" her expressions today, not only as poetry, but as revolutionary theory?

The conceptions of geographical place and time take on an entirely new meaning when Sojourner Truth speaks to those who fought slavery but refused to extend the fight to include women: "My friends... I come from another field — the country of the slave. They have got their liberty — so much good luck to have slavery partly destroyed; not entirely. I want it root and branch destroyed. Then we will all be free indeed." And, "... I only count my age from the time I was emancipated. Then I began to live."

But what is new for us today is that Raya Dunayevskaya, in her work, is the first to pose a full view of Sojourner Truth's life work: "When Isabella became free and wanted to throw away her slave name, she included her entire philosophy in her new name... her name tells us more than just the fact that she had broken with male domination."

What woman writer has ever posed the integrality of the Black Dimension and Women's Liberation in this way? For today's Black women writers, it becomes necessary to seriously root one's writings in history and to see great individual women, not separated from the mass movement for freedom.

Isn't this way of capturing the revolutionary spirit one that makes a work of literature universal and part of the future movement for our liberation?



women-worldwide

Although the military dictatorship in Argentina was replaced last month by a new government headed by Pres. Raul Alfonsín, himself a human rights activist, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo have continued their weekly vigil as they have for seven years, demanding that more be done to locate those among the 6,000 "disappeared" not yet accounted for and joining other human rights groups protesting the new government's plans to prosecute only top junta leaders — and in military (not civilian) courts.

"Get Hitched... and Don't Stop at One." This headline announced Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew's plans to "help" women university graduates marry and produce genetically superior and better educated children. His plan, which has outraged women, offers financial incentives only to educated women, to counteract the "lopsided" way in which educated women are having fewer children than other women, causing a "decline in levels of competence, the economy and society."

Information from off our backs

Seventy percent of the world's population has uncertain sources of drinking water, subject to contamination. Women can spend up to six hours a day hauling water for domestic use. In the Sahel region of Africa, women carrying heavy jars of water on their heads may cause complications in childbirth. For more information and a list of resources, send \$5.00 to the International Women's Tribune Centre, 305 E. 46th St., NY, NY 10017. Newsletter #20 is entitled "Women and Water."

On Dec. 1, the Roman Catholic Church released a new set of restrictions on sex education of Catholic youth. The document includes "guidelines" that attack sexuality, ban artificial birth control methods and ostracize gays and lesbians who it says have a "social maladaptation" with "no moral justification." The Vatican's neanderthal views also hold that only through the sacrament of marriage can one realize "... a love that is human, total, faithful, creative, which is marital love."

Reagan's war on poor

Concord, Cal. — Ronald Reagan's continuous domestic war against the poor is yielding heavy casualties, most of them women and children. In Contra Costa County, a region that is home to both the most affluent as well as some of the poorest residents of the East Bay, the "feminization of poverty" continues at an unprecedented rate.

Some social agencies here put the number of single-parent families headed by women at 50% or higher. Many of these same agencies report that the average wage for women is 53 cents on the dollar compared to wages earned by men doing comparable work. This is nearly six cents less than the appalling national average of 57 cents.

Working mothers are forced into low-paying jobs; at the same time they must feed, clothe and house small children. Often they must provide costly daycare in order to work.

One woman in Concord earns \$475 a month. From this she must pay \$375 rent and care for her two small daughters. The tightening of eligibility requirements for food stamps and ADC programs as well as the decreased levels of funding for these programs has forced the poor to new levels of desperation. The incidence of child abuse as well as all other forms of domestic violence is at an all-time high in Contra Costa County. The victims of domestic violence are invariably women and children.

While business and the high-income friends of the Reagan Administration may find much to be pleased about in the "rosy" economic forecasts for 1984, the deepening contradictions within the whole of U.S. capitalism continue to intensify. That intensification translates into very real human suffering, a matter of absolute indifference to the Reagan Administration.

Labor can build on Greyhound strike

by John Marcotte

I was on the Greyhound picketline in New York on Monday, Dec. 19 when word came from the ATU that the new contract had been ratified. After seven weeks of strike, in which one striker was killed and hundreds of picketers arrested, the new contract imposes a 14% cut in wages and benefits for the next three years.

"This contract is a defeat for all of us," said a bitter picketer. "All the bosses are watching. If Greyhound can do this to us, 13,000 strong, they can bust anyone now. And Reagan's behind them. The postal workers will be next, then the hospitals, then the police. It all started with PATCO."

Another picketer called the contract "blackmail:" "Greyhound said if we rejected this contract we'd lose our seniority and be out of a job. I have 15 years in this job and I have a big family, but I say the hell with it, if we fought this far we have to go all the way to victory."

BROAD STRIKE SUPPORT

Though the top union leaders' sell-out is nothing new, there was something very new about this strike, as even one hour on the picketline would show you: scores of poor people, in New York mostly Black, Latin and Caribbean, passing up Greyhound's half-price tickets and forming long lines at the Trailways counter, despite the added hardship of changing buses and round-about routes this often meant. The constant presence of transit, postal, and hospital workers, Teamsters, public employees and others on the picketlines. Five Black youth striking up a discussion with

one of the supporters about the meaning of the strike, ending in their donning picket signs and joining the line for awhile, leaving shaking hands and wishing luck.

One young woman handing a rose to one of the picketers as she hurried by, saying, "Don't take s--- from them." A supporter who liked to call Greyhound "Reaganland" told us, "Everytime there was a mass picket planned I would stand on subway platforms and as each train came in I would offer the motorman a bunch of leaflets to distribute at the barn. I never, never got no for an answer."

There is no doubt that actual, organized support at the rank-and-file level went far beyond the PATCO strike. Worker after worker at the mass rallies in New York of over 2,000 expressed strong support and concern that they were next if Greyhound workers lost. But what did ATU and AFL-CIO leaders do with all this support, the sympathy of the riding public and the strategic location of the bus terminals in the center cities?

No unions tried to stop the scab buses. Picketers told me Teamster drivers deliver the fuel, and they should have been called on to honor the picketlines. The NY Transit Workers' "Committee for a Fighting TWU" called for their union to mobilize their whole membership into the picketlines and call a nationwide transport strike in solidarity and Greyhound strikers. They got no response. Even though my union, District 65, gave office space and turned out several dozen stewards and staff for the rallies, no serious attempt was made to turn out the rank-and-file.

RANK-AND-FILE HELD

A picketer told me, "Greyhound never negotiated in good faith. They said me, 'or leave it. I guess they wanted to test us.'" The Greyhound strike was a test alright. The Greyhound workers held fast, skilled and unskilled, men and women, Black, white, Latino, Asian. They and their rank-and-file supporters, tested the test with flying colors. They have given the whole labor movement something to build on. It is the union leaders who have once again failed.

The next labor struggle will have to take up where the Greyhound strike left off. Rank-and-file workers will have to rely more and more on themselves, find ways to bypass the union leaders and organize their own strikes, their own support and their own victories. We have all grown from this strike.

N.J. bus strikers rally

Newark, N.J. — On Dec. 8, there was a mass picket line here in Newark in support of the Greyhound strike. Several hundred people showed up, and the company cancelled its runs during the picketing.

Afterwards we went to a meeting in the plush hotel next to the bus station. The crowd was militant. The meeting was really just a rally, orchestrated by New Jersey's top labor bureaucrats. By and large, the labor officials pushed the idea of voting for Democrats to solve our problems, and had a couple of Democratic politicians give speeches.

Of interest, however, two top union officers put forward the idea of a one-day nationwide work stoppage against the employers' attacks. Everyone loved the idea, although most people knew it was demagoguery on their part. It would have been useful if the network of activists we're organizing in New Jersey were tighter. We could have shouted that they call such a strike in New Jersey (as the only real way to push for a national action). A lot of people would have backed it.

— Sam F.

UMW Convention — groundwork for 1984 strike?

Morgantown, W. Va — Concern over a proposed selective strike strategy instead of the tradition of nationwide strikes of the United Mine Workers dominated the UMW Constitutional Convention held the week of Dec. 12 in Pittsburgh. The UMW delegates at first rejected this idea, incorporated in a package resolution backed by UMW President Rich Trumka designed to strengthen his power over both his Executive Board and the national negotiation process.

Charging that Trumka's package would give him almost dictatorial power and destroy the democratic gains achieved under the victorious Miners for Democracy reform movement launched a little over a decade ago, convention delegates voted down the package by a more than 2 to 1 vote. Stung by this overwhelming defeat, Trumka modified his proposals and reintroduced them on a piece-meal basis. This time around, he achieved most of what he wanted.

The following actions were approved by the delegates: the bargaining council was abolished; a two-thirds Executive Board is required to veto any strike proposal by Trumka; a strike fund assessment, 2.5% of wages until \$70 million is reached; the dues freeze was lifted and can go up from \$31.20 to \$38; political action assessment was raised from \$7 to \$10, rejecting an increase to \$25.20. The delegates beat back two efforts to raise pensioners dues.

While Trumka declined to be specific about what he would be demanding in the contract negotiations before the strike deadline of Sept. 30, the delegates expressed very strong sentiments for the restoration of the Health and Welfare Fund medical plan given up during the last contract, and greater strength for the safety and mine commitment. They also affirmed their determination to reject any effort on the part of the coal operators to try to turn their Retirement Fund over to private insurers, as they had done with the Health care of the miners and their families.

Also approved was a Trumka proposal that would permit him to hand-pick his own negotiating team if he decides to engage in selective strike action. That is, if he decides to strike the captive mine owners, the commercial producers,

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from Page 1)

workers at his plant in Fairfield, Ala. He announced that since they made extra big concessions, beyond what workers gave up at other mills, the company would create 1,500 new jobs there. And he said that the 15,000 lay-offs could have been avoided with more concessions. He is trying to play worker off against worker, right into a death trap.

The fact is that the only way a worker can live under capitalism is from the crumbs he gets from building this country. We have built the steel mills, the railroads, the mines, and now they are taking back even the crumbs. We have already given up what it takes to live. The capitalists today remind me of what Marx said about them over 100 years ago: they want workers to work 24 hours a day for them, and live on nothing but air. Mr. Trumka, when was the last time you had to buy groceries or pay utility bills? He understands nothing of our lives.

The union leadership doesn't understand much either. I read about one local union leader in Pittsburgh, Cal. who was surprised by the lay-offs. He said, "We were led to believe that, with the concessions, the employment of steelworkers would stay intact." If he had been listening to rank-and-file workers of the International, he wouldn't have been so easily fooled.

The truth is that every concession workers give finances their own destruction and lay-off. The company just uses the money to invest in automation or military production that will destroy jobs. It has never been clearer.

This concession question was also what everyone was talking about during the Greyhound strike. I had a chance to view the development of the strike close up, in talks with dozens of striking Greyhound workers at the picket lines and at a mass meeting called by the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) in Los Angeles.

SACRIFICE AND LOSE YOUR JOB

ATU Regional Director C.B. Robinson defended the final concessions contract, arguing "either sacrifice or lose your job." Robinson said the strike fund had only \$6 million while Greyhound had over \$80 million in assets. "The workers got caught with their pants down. They didn't expect Greyhound to hire strikebreakers," he said. Workers got restless by the end of his speech, which lasted two hours.

Then it was announced that any worker who wanted to could take the floor — so long as you spoke only two minutes. Dozens of workers walked out in disgust.

A worker told me, "I'm tired of them telling us that we can't fight now, we have to sign and wait to fight another day. There is no another day. By the next contract a lot of us will be gone. You can't feed a family on \$4,000 less a year."

Some workers said they don't expect Greyhound workers to beat the concessions all alone, that it would take unity with other workers and the unemployed. As a worker in auto for 20 years I can see a lot of truth in this, because Greyhound has so diversified its investments that it can make money even without the bus line. One worker told me, "If the workers got together in one big union like they did in Poland you wouldn't hear them talk so much about concessions."

The workers in Poland had no strike fund when ten million of them organized Solidarnosc. It is the power of millions coming together to fight the company on their ground by creating new organizations cutting through the divisions among workers that produces a power no amount of money can match. As long as workers have their union leaders doing their thinking for them, they will be blamed for every strike lost, and told again and again to "sacrifice or lose your job." Then they will lose both ways.

eastern operators or western operators, he can pick his negotiating team from anywhere he wants to without having to get approval from anyone.

The last time the tactic of selective strikes was used occurred during the historic 1949-50 miners' strike. That strike lasted for nine months, but it took the action of the rank-and-file, which took over control of the strike, to finally win that struggle. At that time, over 80% of the nation's coal was being mined by UMW workers. Today, less than 50% of the coal is mined by UMW workers.

The delegates gave Trumka a lot of room to negotiate, but insisted that they would not accept any concessions.

— Andy Phillips

U.S. Steel's decline

The closing or dismantling of 20 U.S. Steel plants is but the latest indication of the collapse of the American capitalist system. Over the last decade, U.S. Steel has fought all efforts to upgrade its plants, to conform to U.S. anti-pollution laws, and to make its products competitive with the world market. It has invested its profits in other industries and blamed its problems on labor.

The basic law under which capitalism works is: you have to compete in the world market, or go bankrupt. U.S. Steel failed to invest in modern steel-making equipment as have Korea, Japan and Brazil. Steel has the most modern steel plants in the world. U.S. Steel complements most foreign competition from Korea, while the U.S. government maintains 40,000 troops in Korea to protect that dictatorship and its slave wages.

American capitalism cannot function without government subsidies in the fields of agriculture, shipping and numerous other industries that require protective tariffs and regulations to protect them in the marketplace. Capitalism, in its declining years cannot even sustain the structure required for everyday life. The billions devoted to war aims suck the country dry to produce useless weapons that are obsolete before they get out of the factories.

— Peter Mallory

Auto workers look for real strike solidarity

Los Angeles, Cal. — The leadership of Local 216, UAW, was approached by the leadership of the striking UAW members of McDonnell Douglas to donate \$50,000 from our local funds to their strike fund. This would appear to be the right thing to do, because the UAW International is robbing the membership of Local 216 of over \$200,000 anyway, since our GM plant is closed, and the money in our local treasury is not being used for us.

The way most of the unemployed workers of Local 216 feel about this is that they don't want the International to get their money, so it would appear that they would be willing to give it all to the strike fund of the McDonnell Douglas workers. But some had other thoughts also.

"I would be for giving it all to the strike fund if it would help labor," one said. "But the leadership of their local union has already lost that strike by letting management work and bringing in scabs through the picket line." Another worker said, "To give them more money for what — so the leadership can keep them walking the picket line longer?"

"I am for my money being spent to help the labor movement," a third worker remarked. "I would like for our money to go to organize the unorganized; I would like to see all workers in one union, controlled by the workers themselves — and that includes the unemployed. Then we could take on capitalism."

I am in agreement with these workers, because the International Union has become another bureaucracy that feeds off the working peoples' backs and has taken the grounds of management to keep workers working and the economy looking good — and to hell with the workers' lives or thoughts. I am against the union leadership controlling our money and doing our thinking for us.

What we need is a new way to fight capitalism. We can't fight capitalism by matching them dollar for dollar. We only have ourselves. Together there is no power on earth that can stop us.

— Local 216 unemployed worker

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Real state of the union: hunger, no jobs, battered women

(Continued from Page 1)

was but the continuation of the crisis which has seen the steelworkers' union membership fall from 1.4 million as late as 1979 to less than 700,000 today. (See "Workshop Talks," p. 1).

It is that what Marx foresaw as a "permanent army of the unemployed" has moved from theory to hard fact today. The real measure of capitalism's decrepit economy, in this "richest country in the world," is the rampant hunger throughout the land that no number of Presidential Task Forces can hide from view.

Not only have more and more women and whole families been seen in the bread lines everywhere, but the Salvation Army has reported that children comprise the majority of its clients, for the first time in its history. The president of the Illinois chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics has reported a 24% increase in admissions to Cook County Hospital for malnutrition complications like wrinkled skin, diarrhea and dehydration.

And everywhere, it is the Reagan Administration which has been charged with exacerbating the plight of the poor and unemployed through the unconscionable cutbacks he had engineered in the most basic needs of the poor — from the one million cut from food stamps this year to the 2,700 schools nationwide forced to drop out of the federal school lunch programs.

Even more shocking is the swelling tide of the homeless, which the Department of Health and Human Services has now estimated to be a full two million — the very same number who were homeless in the worst days of the Great Depression. Indeed, where every city then had a shanty "Hooverville," a brand new "Reaganville" test encampment has now been erected in Lafayette Park across from the White House to bring home the plight of today's homeless.

As in the '30s, the homeless are everywhere. But their character today is new. More and more they include whole families, more women, and many more young people. In San Francisco's seven shelters the median age is only 35. Those who cannot find any shelter at all live on the streets, in abandoned buildings, in subways or parked cars. In New York City, over the three-day Christmas weekend, 16 of these homeless died from the cold as temperatures fell to sub-zero readings.

Perhaps more appalling still are the latest reports of infant mortality in the nation. While it has been steadily declining over the past 30 years, in cities like Detroit Black infant deaths have increased so drastically in the past four years in a row that they now double the national average. Nationally Black infants are twice as likely to die in their first year of life as white babies, and three times more likely to have birth defects.

Nationally, too, while the rate of unemployment did drop statistically for all other major categories of the unemployed, for Blacks it increased — from 17.7 to 17.8 percent. For Black teenagers, it has reached the shocking "official" level of 49 percent nationwide.

FEMINIZATION OF POVERTY

Nowhere is the perverted nature of this racist, sexist, exploitative society seen more sharply than in the attempt to blame the shocking poverty — of Black America, especially — on the shoulders of the women. Just as Daniel Moynihan at the height of the Civil Rights Movement in 1965 had reported to President Johnson that the growing number of Black families headed by women (then a quarter of all Black families) was the cause of their poverty, so today (when that number has doubled to half) the "breakdown of the traditional family structure" is being blamed for undoing all the Black economic gains of the past three decades.

We are evidently supposed to forget that the unemployment rates of Black and Latina women are consistently at least twice that of white males. That even with a job, women still earn only 57 percent of what men earn. That the "feminization of poverty" is not an exclusively Black condition. Women, Black and white, constitute the large majority of the impoverished today. Two out of every three adults in poverty are women, and three out of every four of the elderly poor are women.

It is this degenerate reality of capitalism today that has seen the Women's Liberation Movement addressing more and more this economic battering of poor, working-class and minority women, at the same time that it has forced exposure of the truly horrifying physical battering of women and children that has been a "way of life" — or death — for untold numbers. So horrendous has that battering become that a Federal Task Force on Family Violence has recently been appointed to take testimony from victims across the country over the next six months. Already we know that half the homicides of women, nationally, are the result of husband or "lover" violence. And homicide has become one of the five



"This year the pigeons are feeding her."

leading causes of children's deaths, with parents or step-parents responsible for a third of them.

Nor is that all — thought it surely is the ultimate! — that child-abuse includes today, when 13% of our 17-year-olds are functionally illiterate, when the poorest people in the land are the children, when one child in six gets no health care, and when a quarter of a million try to commit suicide annually.

How could Marx have foreseen the depth that capitalist society's degeneration has reached today — with its Automation and permanent unemployment, its high tech and hunger; its battering and brutalization — when he wrote, 136 years ago: "The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties... are torn asunder..."

REAGAN'S WARS AT HOME, ABROAD — AND IN SPACE

The utter depravity of capitalist society today is seen most starkly of all in the insane drive to war that has characterized Reagan's regime from the moment he took office

three years ago this month. Within the next few months both Russia and the U.S. will have shorter-range nuclear missiles nearer each other's territory; thousands of nuclear-armed Cruise missiles will be stationed on American submarines and thousands more on Russian ships.

Most frightening of all, the arms race is about to be launched into space — in the words of the Air Force Space Command, to "make conflict at the upper levels of military violence [doublespeak for nuclear attack] again thinkable." And in true Orwellian 1984 language, they dare to call the bill now before Congress to initiate these new Space War preparations the "People Protection Act!"

The hundreds of billions these plans would require may well make the \$250 billion President Reagan has just authorized for military appropriations — while he continues to hunt for ever more social expenditures to cut to the bone — look like a drop in the bucket.

Meanwhile, in his war at home against the American people, the "Great Communicator" has been using every means at his command to turn around the forces of revolt aligned against him:

- In his very first attack on labor during the PATCO strike in 1981, he set the line which private industry has been following ever since, as they have counted on the depth of the recession to supply them with their needed scab-labor. The assault has been launched against unions everywhere — from Phelps Dodge in Arizona to the Cunningham/Apex Drug Stores in Detroit, and from Continental Airlines to the Greyhound strike just concluded.

- While women's liberationists have increasingly joined with civil rights, peace and labor forces, and the "gender gap" has widened more and more to show women to be one of Reagan's most formidable foes, he has called upon an Hispanic woman, Linda Chavez, to be his mouthpiece. As staff director for the new Civil Rights Commission that was supposed to be a "compromise" after Reagan effectively killed the old commission in existence since 1957, her first recommendations called for major changes against affirmative action, racial quotas, court-ordered busing and bilingual education.

The masses determined to remove Reagan this year will no more be fooled by his selection of Linda Chavez than by his selection of a few Black conservative stooges to tell the world there is really no hunger in the land. They not only know that the "evil empire" they have to fight is Ronald Reagan, himself, they know that militancy — of which we have seen plenty this past year — is not enough.

Because they are the "new passions and new forces" for reconstructing society that Marx pointed to in his greatest work, *Capital*, and that our age has witnessed as a whole new movement, they are looking for those new forms of struggle that will not separate the fight against Reaganism from the total uprooting of this racist, sexist, exploitative society.

*See Flora Lewis' article, "Lemmings in Space," *New York Times* Jan. 6, 1984.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands 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*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

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

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

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

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

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Felix Martin Labor Editor
Eugene Walker Managing Editor

EDITORIAL *El Salvador: The Kissinger Commission, the rebel offensive*

As President Reagan's Commission on Central America, led by former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, was drafting its report calling for a "new alliance for democracy and prosperity," El Salvador continued to bleed.

At the army post of El Paraiso, the bodies of over 100 Salvadoran soldiers killed at the end of December during a rebel attack were laid upon flatbed trucks, driven ten miles to a cemetery at Chalatenango, dumped into two long trenches, with no attempt to identify who they were, and covered with earth by a bulldozer.

Two days later four cattle trucks swept into the provinces of Santa Ana and Sonsonate, forcing teenage boys onto the trucks. They were driven to the garrison in that same Chalatenango, ordered off the trucks and into the barracks and thus into military service.

Such is the manner whereby cannon fodder is produced by the government of El Salvador and its handmaiden of death, the United States.

During the period of this savage burial and new roundup for death, the U.S. State Department offered its compliments to the El Salvadoran government for its supposed forthright actions to get rid of death squads (which are in large part government-sponsored) by arresting ONE person for the death three years ago of two U.S. land reform specialists and by exiling to foreign posts TWO suspected death squad directors. For the murders of tens of thousands of Salvadorans, none have been arrested.

The draft report of the Kissinger Commission is calling for an astronomical increase in military aid to El Salvador of \$400 million in additional funds in 1984 and 1985. It calls for the repeal of the provision in the Foreign Assistance Act which bars American aid being used for support of police forces and for internal surveillance activity.

HUMAN RIGHTS DISAVOWAL

As a short-term measure the Reagan-Kissinger Commission wants to create an El Salvadoran elite rapid-reaction force of 1,000 men with an additional 1,000 soldiers in training and reserve. This force is to combine helicopter troops, parachute troops, attack aircraft and ground scouts.

The Commission's human rights proposals, which call for linking these huge increases in military aid to a requirement for periodic reports of human rights progress, was promptly disavowed by the White House. Reagan, emboldened by his invasion of Grenada, had already pocket-vetoed the Congressional requirement for semi-annual certification of human rights progress in El Salvador.

The unholy alliance which has produced this report under Kissinger's direction and with the assistance of those like UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick, is only providing a-

Salvadoran refugees: no freedom here or there

Editor's Note: Below we are printing excerpts from an interview with a young Salvadoran refugee about conditions which drove him to the U.S., the problems of being a refugee here and his hopes for returning to his country.

I'm a high school student who left El Salvador because of the political state that it is in. Many high school students have been murdered; just as many as workers and peasants. I had friends who were murdered. They would be taken out of their houses and would later be found strangled, tortured, etc. And others who had nothing to do with radical ideas ended up the same way. The problem in San Salvador was that, as a student, I had been marked as an enemy.

One time, hanging out in the streets of San Salvador, I saw a demonstration where innocent bystanders were picked up and beaten. That startled my senses. At school, myself and other students picketed for better educational facilities. Our pictures were taken and they were supplied to the National Guard and from then on, we were harassed.

Many of my friends were captured or ended up "disappeared." Anyone relating with them, ended up with the same fate. And then the Salvadoran army needed to find recruits. They forced youths to enter the army to fight "subversion." Neither I nor my family wanted any part of that. When they started coming to our district to recruit, my parents set up a way for me to get out of that situation.

TRAVEL TO THE U.S.

With the help of some other people, I was able to get to Mexico. I was lucky enough to get a passport and my trip was arranged via "coyotes" for entry into the U.S. via Tijuana. All this was arranged before I left San Salvador thanks to the financial sacrifices my family made for me. A lot of people back in my country don't have the opportunity for the relatively easy trip that I had. For them, they risk their lives getting out another way, much more dangerous than you can imagine. But I too, nevertheless, was in some danger of getting caught, deported, murdered.

In this country we are about 500,000 scattered all over the U.S. For many Latino refugees, the United States is the door to many opportunities. And they end up finding out that there are no jobs, no security for them. The language, the customs are all so different and this presents a critical situation for a refugee who needs a job, clothes, health care, education. Because there is none. The majority have to work and work and work to be able to survive and all the time with the risk of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) on our backs.

The U.S. government considers us just economic refugees and not political ones affected by the lack of human rights in my country. But we're here because of that. The position they take against us Salvadorans and Guatemalans is ghastly.

partisan cover for the genocidal policies that the Reagan Administration has been pursuing.

Former U.S. Ambassador Robert White issued his own report on behalf of the Commission of U.S.-Central American Relations which stated that in the three years since President Reagan took office, the U.S. had committed some \$228 million in military aid to El Salvador, and in that period the Salvadoran military, security and death squad forces "have murdered over 20,000 unarmed civilians."

Inside El Salvador Roberto D'Aubuisson, the death squads' foremost sponsor, has opened his campaign for the presidency, with elections scheduled for March 25.

How can this genocidal destruction of El Salvador be stopped? The death squads, the forced induction into military service, the U.S. sponsorship of war, now augmented by the Kissinger report, the phony March presidential elections, all offer no way out. Only continued death and decimation lie along those paths.

THE SALVADORAN REVOLUTION

But within El Salvador, there does lie another pathway. It is that of a full social revolution, one which has been unfolding in a number of ways including the widespread guerrilla activities of Salvadoran rebels. The guerrilla dimension of this El Salvadoran social revolution has made important advances recently. In a period of three days they destroyed the Fourth Brigade headquarters of the El Salvadoran army at El Paraiso and have blown up the Cuscatlan Bridge over the Lempa River, the major road link between the central part of the country and the four eastern provinces.

The rebels' ability to mount such operations, at a time when they are not getting substantial aid from Cuba or Nicaragua, exposes the falsehood that they fight only because they are supplied by those countries. The Salvadoran rebels have been able to carry on an intensive guerrilla warfare because of the indigenous support they have within El Salvador. Their military victories are rooted in mass support for a genuine social revolution. Only through such a revolution is a genuine peace possible.

It is this concept of a full social transformation that we in the United States need to express our solidarity with, as we oppose the further militarization of the Salvadoran conflict that the Reagan-Kissinger Commission calls for. Now is the time for support to the rebels in El Salvador as part of a movement of a whole continent, a continent aflame with the idea of freedom. Our support is not limited to exerting pressure for a U.S. withdrawal of military and economic oppression. It is as well a solidarizing with the idea and activity for a social revolution, and thus willingness to take part in a discussion of freedom ideas that are an absolute necessity to make a full social transformation a reality.

Many refugees when they get caught are unaware of their rights, are read their rights which are incomprehensible to them. Or they are asked to sign papers which make it seem like they want to go back to El Salvador. But, in truth, they are signing their own death warrants.

We have to unite against things like the Simpson-Mazzoli law and try to work out solutions by soliciting help from churches, other solidarity committees, from the American public who have been generous enough to give us medical facilities, food, and clothing. The American people must also be made aware of our situation; not only our need to be recognized as political refugees and be granted political asylum, but also they must understand why we are in this situation and what their government is doing to create this situation.

NEED SOLIDARITY OF PEOPLE

Many refugees flee to Honduras only to get butchered by American-made weapons wielded by American-trained troops. The more this country gets involved in our country, the more the fear of the Salvadoran people increases, the more refugees come to the U.S. The American people must come to understand this, so they might pressure their government on our behalf; so that the situation will be improved both for us in this country as well as in our own; so that we can go back to our country.

For more information or to offer assistance, contact: The Central American Refugee Center, 123 S. Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles, CA 90057 (213) 484-4962.

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- DETROIT: 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm. 316, Detroit, Mich. 48211 (873-8969)
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- FLINT: P.O. Box 3384, Flint, Mich. 48502
- LONDON: British Marxist-Humanists c/o 265 Seven Sisters Rd. London, N4, England

Fuera Pinochet



RETORNO A LA DEMOCRACIA

Palomas are small leaflets which are thrown from windows and roof tops, or stuffed up car exhaust pipes. It is one way of spreading ideas and calling for demonstrations in Chile. This one reads, "Out with Pinochet, Return to Democracy."

Native Americans resist government policy

Editor's Note: The Indian reservations of the Northern plains states suffered terribly in the mid-December deep freeze. We asked Shainape Shcapwe, a Lakota woman, to talk about what the conditions of this winter meant about Native peoples' fight for survival.

Families on the reservation are living on what is like federally-sponsored ADC (Aid to Dependent Children) programs. It is individual grants that allow for budgeting of individual living. But the pre-fab houses that the government sponsored were not made for this weather. Therefore a lot of people began living together in order to survive. They began communal living.

But as soon as folks began to do that, the government came in and cut the grant, saying well you are sharing expenses, so we won't give you as much. They are kind of squeezing people out of the grants and then saying you can't live in the type of individual housing they have. You are either going to freeze, or when you get together you are going to starve.

What a lot of people on the reservation are saying is that this is just one more way that the government is putting us in the position of deciding that it isn't worth living on the reservation, and forcing us off somewhere else.

I was talking to one man who lives on the reservation I come from, Ft. Totten, and he said it isn't only that they are making it hard to live in a communal way, but that they are putting the squeeze on to get us out of there. They are hoping that we will get discouraged and decide to go. There is a big effort to get folks off the reservation.

I talked to him in the midst of that terrible cold spell and he was talking about the need for blankets and for canned food and hoping that some centers would send it. He was telling me about how the organizations that used to do volunteer assistance, like the Salvation Army which would provide transportation, pick people up and take them to the clinics, were now saying that they couldn't afford to use the trucks in this way anymore.

And when the Tribal meeting occurs someone from the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) comes out and talks about an alternative to living on the reservation. He felt there was a pretty determined effort to break up the reservation and that it was real demoralizing and harmful and he felt it was another form of genocide. But he also said that in spite of all this, people still felt the need of being there and trying.

He felt that the communal living was helping, because it was going back to a really shared responsibility for the problems. We may have done it out of necessity, but it doesn't mean that we didn't want to do it.

During the time of more Indian activism, the government had to be more underground in dealing with us. They spent a few years being very sneaky about it. But now the government is really out there and not feeling hesitant. The backlash against us is pretty hard. But I don't think the government is going to find it that damn easy to get rid of us.

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'LIVING' IN REAGAN'S AMERICA: FOR JOBLESS, HOMELESS . . .

Is it possible that Reagan is living on a different planet than the rest of us working people? When he speaks about life in this country, it doesn't seem to have any relation to what I see in Detroit. Go down any main street in the middle of this city and you will see unemployed standing around. The other day I happened to drive by a soup kitchen and there was a line over a block long waiting for lunch! Check out the number of closed factories and abandoned houses. It is growing in every neighborhood, while GM, Ford and Chrysler announce record sales and profits. Only they are using more and more robots and fewer and fewer workers to do it.

I am sick of all the politicians and union leaders who are supposed to be fighting Reagan, and do it so timidly that he gets his way on everything. But there is a lot of hatred for this system among people I know. They do not speak timidly about it, and I think there is a battle in the making.

Unemployed worker
Detroit

The remarks Edwin Meese made about the "doubtful" hunger in this country goes right along with the thinking of the fat hogs who slop at the trough of the working class. How could those that live like parasites off the bent backs of labor think any differently? What gets me is when they have the unmitigated gall to pass judgment on those who must grovel for a crumb of food to keep themselves alive, while they keep squealing for more to be taken from the plates of the hungry.

It reminds me of what we used to say in the mountains, where I come from: It is getting to be hog-killing time. In this country, it is well overdue.

Soup lines veteran
Los Angeles

Have you seen anything on the news or in the paper about the homeless people here? Since I work at a free clinic for them, I decided to do a speech in my Spanish class about the problem. I figured out that there are over 1000 people living in downtown Seattle streets with only the clothes on their backs. About 70% of these people are Vietnam Vets! The remaining are mentally retarded, alcoholics and drug abusers, and mentally ill (that applies to the vets, too). A couple days after I gave the speech, a reporter did an article on the overcrowding at the shelter and there was some TV coverage.

Student
Seattle, Wash.

Edwin Meese's comment that Scrooge got "bad press" because, after all, Bob Cratchit lived in a house, not a tenement, his wife didn't have to work, his son had a job and they could afford a Christmas dinner, reminded me of what Marx said about the Capitalist dream of the "House of Terror" in *Capital*:

"An ideal workhouse must be made a 'House of Terror,' not an asylum for the poor. . . In this 'House of Terror,' this ideal workhouse, the poor shall work 14 hours a day, allowing proper time for meals, in such a manner that there shall remain 12 hours of neat labour.

"The 'House of Terror' for paupers, only dreamed of by the capitalist mind in 1770, was brought into being a few years later in the shape of gigantic 'workhouse' for the industrial worker himself. It was called the factory. And this time the ideal was a pale shadow compared with reality."

The worst conditions that Dickens' imagination could produce are now "a pale shadow compared with reality," just as the ideal Scrooge is "a pale shadow compared with reality" of Edwin Meese.

Spirit of Christmas Present
San Francisco

. . . AND FOLKS STILL IN SHOPS

The GM/Toyota deal at Fremont not only was the world's first and fourth largest auto companies getting together as well as the approval of the U.S. government, in an unprecedented break with its own anti-trust laws, but also the UAW International betraying its own members. All are rushing to embrace Japanese robotized production.

The irony is that this is coming just when Japanese unions, especially Denki Roren, the All-Japanese Federation of Electric Machine Workers' Union, are breaking with cooperation with management over robotization which they blame for the new permanent unemployment in Japan. It has especially effected the hiring of full-time female high school graduates. Denki Roren, which has over 400,000 members esti-

mates that 50,000 of their members have lost their jobs to automation. What scares them is that this loss is with the present 100,000 robots in production in Japan, while the best estimates are that by 1989 there will be between one and three million robots in place.

Worried
Oakland, Calif.

Art Steel workers remember the story they gave to N&L in Sept. that warned the foremen that they were "pushing the workers around like robots" but to remember that one day "the company will throw them out like trash." That day came very soon. After the November strike, workers went back to work but the foremen were not called back. One foreman had 35 years with the company. He reported to work but was called to the office and told, "Who do you think you are? If we want you back we'll call you."

Observer
New York

This new contract will cost us \$2 an hour. It will be a long three years. Now they will throw everything at us: lay off those with less seniority, try to make the rest work harder. They've been taking our pictures on the picketlines since November. I don't care. They know who I am. I tell you one thing, they will get less work out of us now.

Greyhound striker
New York

Wisconsin judge Dennis Flynn has found three UAW Local 72 stewards, John Drew, Todd Ohnstad and Jon Melrod, guilty of libel in a case brought against them by five foremen and ex-foremen at AMC. The judge denied the jury the chance to make the decision when he saw the case was going against the foremen. The charges are for articles in *Fighting Times*, a shop paper edited by the three. AMC is reportedly paying the foremen's legal expenses in flagrant violation of labor law.

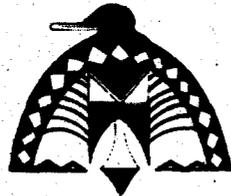
The three stewards will appeal this new and vicious tactic to shut up all workers' opposition. Their legal expenses will exceed \$50,000. Contributions can be sent to:

Union Free Speech Defense Fund
207 E. Michigan
Milwaukee, Wis. 53202

DENBY ON MONTGOMERY 1955

Thank you for printing Charles Denby's report on the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott again. I had read it in his *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, but I guess you appreciate a piece like that a lot more when the author is gone from among us. It is a magnificent example of Denby's unique viewpoint, which was always so different from the official one of the union presidents, the civil rights leaders, or the radical parties. He never loses sight of the fact that it was the ordinary Black people of Montgomery who made the boycott; no one told them when or how. Not even Dr. King, not even Ms. Parks. It was a real beginning for the South, for the whole country, but hardly anyone realized it at the time. Denby did.

Student
Detroit

**MICHIGAN INDIANS ORGANIZE**

This year started off with a victory for Northern Michigan Ottawa and Chippewa people. On Jan. 6 they learned that their 20-year-long fight to win federal status as a reservation on the Leelanau Peninsula near Traverse City had finally succeeded. Without federal reservation status, none of the 5,000 members of the tribes were eligible for any U.S. government benefits, despite the fact that they have had about two-thirds of the land of Michigan stolen from them. The reservation as approved would only recognize 12.5 acres as theirs.

Last summer I visited Peshawbestown, the site of the reservation, and saw for myself the contrast between the summer homes of wealthy whites and the poverty of the members of the tribes. Yet I saw something else also. Indian fishermen, who had won back treaty fishing rights eight years ago, had just built their own retail fish store to sell their catch — at prices below those in supermarkets. They also opened a new tribal council office and created a beautiful pow-wow grounds behind it. Native American self-organization is still ongoing there.

Civil rights veteran
Detroit

Readers' View

WOMEN'S LIBERATION'S ONGOING DISCUSSION

I appreciated the back-and-forth on Nicaragua and the view of Adrienne Rich in the last two issues of N&L. First the way Michelle Landau went ahead and wrote about what she was thinking. Then it elicited a response, a different viewpoint, from Terry Moon. The paper needs this kind of initiative. Discussion and dialogue are so important now; they have almost been lost in the Left movement.

Central American solidarity worker
New York City

I read the pamphlets *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought and Latin America's Revolutions* and then re-read the N&L columns on Adrienne Rich and Nicaragua. I found the pamphlets really excellent — they filled in large gaps in my knowledge (also their format was very professional). In one of them I think I found something that answers the question you posed (December N&L) on Adrienne Rich. The answer lies in the distinction between "bourgeois women's liberation" and "revolutionary women's liberation." You, I take it, are revolutionary feminists. Ms. Rich is definitely, like many others in the establishment media, a bourgeois one. Such women as the latter really do not want to disturb the status quo. . . . What can they know about the full personhood that you want, and that I want, and the women of Central America want?

When thinking about this, and thinking about what was said in the pamphlets concerning Africa, American Blacks and the Caribbean, I think the main challenge we all have is to get rid of the bourgeois leadership that does not truly represent the masses . . .

Gloria
Yardley, Pa.

I liked very much the way "Feminist, Bihar, India" (Readers' Views, December N&L, simplifies the housewife role: " . . . Marriage is very much of an economic institution to get free labor." Wow! USA feminists should seize on that.

Long-time reader
Hastings, Neb.

NEW DIMENSIONS, DEBATES IN ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT

In November I participated, as a student, in organizing a successful peace march here which focused on the Euromissiles. We turned out almost 400 people, a record for this small, conservative community. Among the marchers were churchpeople, senior citizens, students and 50 farmworkers. Farmworkers and local peace activists have tread common ground before: picketing and boycotting Napa's Inglenook Winery over wage-cuts.

The Coalition has decided to stay together to build on this connection between the various constituencies. This is a particularly important milestone in the racial politics of this community. The message to white peace groups struggling with outreach to the Third World community is clear: it can be done, but the ball is in your court.

Anti-nuke student
Napa, Cal.

In response to the young Latina from L.A. who rejected the army, according to your November issue, I wish to thank you for seeing that no bargain education is worth your life or anyone else's! The armed services use various forms of bait for the young and inexperienced. You can help educate more of the victims. Congratulations, and please contact me through N&L for information on Veterans Against War.

Woman veteran
Berkeley, Cal.

About the major issue in the Peace Movement is the desire of some to water down unilateralism by diverting CND into the Freeze Campaign. All complicated by the fact that many Freeze advocates have no such intention, and really do see that as just an additional way of campaigning.

Industrially there's more sound and fury about than action. Any one confrontation might become generalized; it's hard to say. Most workers are cowed by the fear of redundancy (unemployment), and the fact that Thatcher was re-elected testifies to the

widespread mood of despair. . . . But there is also an underlying mood of bitterness and resentment, which might flare up and push leaders into real action rather than mere verbal attacks.

Laurens Otter
Wellington, England

The forms of protest in Poland are not limited to street demonstrations. The Polish punk group SS20, which later changed its name to Deserter when they could not get posters printed with their name, alters the lyrics of their songs during concerts to say, "We want to beat ZOMO" (the hated riot police) and "Don't be afraid of Jaruzelski."

Solidarity supporter
Chicago

A California judge cited five anti-nuclear protesters from the Livermore Action Group for contempt of court and threw them into maximum security at Santa Rita County Jail, Dec. 8. They were in the courtroom for the trial of 214 activists arrested in the massive June 20, 1983 blockade at Lawrence Livermore Labs. The judge had demanded that these and other activists in the courtroom remove black armbands they were wearing in protest of his refusal to allow in testimony any of the defendants' reasons for blocking.

One man, on being told he was in contempt of court when he refused to remove his armband, responded that "This court is in contempt of justice." And yet the jury still had to deliberate for 3½ hours before finding the protesters guilty, even though they had openly admitted to sitting in the road.

Laurie Cashdan
San Francisco

**DEFENSE NEEDED FOR CHILEAN DISSIDENTS IN PRISON**

On Dec. 29, Gen. Gordon, Commander-in-Chief of the Chilean Secret Police, informed the press that his forces had detained four opposition leaders: Rafael Ruiz Moscatelli, a social worker; Gustavo Cepeda, textile labor militant; Andres Galarnakis, ex-student leader and Vladimir Barcelli, graphic technician. No information was given in regard to the reasons of their detention, nor place of detention, because according to the laws of the dictatorship, people can be detained and held "incommunicado" for 20 days.

We are requesting that all Chileans, Latinamerican friends and Northamerican friends send urgent cables to General Pinochet. Here is a model cable: "We demand the immediate release of Gustavo Cepeda, Andres Galarnakis, Rafael Moscatelli and Vladimir Barcelli, and that their human rights be respected."

For more information, contact:
Secretaria de la Solidaridad
con Chile
P.O. Box 942
New York, N.Y. 10025

EDUCATION FOR ELITE ONLY

I liked your November youth column "Education for privileged few" because that is exactly what I've experienced. My inner city high school was so poor and understaffed that students were never paid attention to in their studies or family problems. So the majority of the students kept failing and a minority of select students were bused to better schools in white neighborhoods.

I faced the problem of getting into college. But there were no grants. Instead I found a job as a bilingual teacher. Here too there is little funding and students are forced to learn English when they have no real base in their own native language in order to learn a second one properly. The result is that these students don't learn either language well and are treated as "failures."

Latina youth
Los Angeles

GRENADA: COUNTER-REVOLUTION, REVOLUTION, AND THE NEED FOR DIALOGUE

The events in Grenada should give all of us pause. I don't just mean Reagan's invasion, but also the murder of Bishop and destruction of the revolution from within. When you consider that Grenada's revolution took place in 1979, the same year as the Iranian revolution, and then realize that both of them ended with the murder of revolutionaries from within the movement it is shocking. How many soured and aborted revolutions do we have to live through before we re-organize our philosophy of revolution?

That is, I think, the great feature of the new pamphlet, "Grenada: Revolution, Counter-revolution, Imperialist Invasion." The events in Grenada are a point of departure for Dunayevskaya's sober new view of the last three decades in which the movements from practice swept the world and declared Marx's Humanism to be its battle cry, and yet were not equal, by themselves, to the task of creating a new society. I have just begun to study her analysis, but I think that it goes a long way toward proving that the most urgent need of the movement now is a full discussion on what is Marxism, Marx's Marxism. If we don't answer that question we will be stuck with this nightmare society.

Worried
Michigan

The Dec. N&L article by Raya on Grenada was a "whodunit" with every dot and dash documented to show what a faker our President is. You can't organize an invasion overnight unless you're completely prepared for it, and Reagan was.

Old politico
Los Angeles

The question of counter-revolution within the revolution as Dunayevskaya takes it up in her Political-Philosophic Letter is a very serious one, and especially so at a time when it has been revealed that El Salvadoran leader Salvador Carpio did in fact order the murder of co-revolutionary Anaya Montes. It was a very shocking thing to many people in the movement. A worker at Art Steel said that he believes it is just a question of ego, that the leadership gets too big for its britches. Yet, I don't think we can leave it at this. In the Letter, Raya calls Bishop's attitude to the consciousness of the masses "ambiguous." There is a need to make the movement from below explicit, to say what it means for the perspectives of our movement.

Thinking hard
Manhattan, N.Y.

The Black Dimension was a very important factor in Reagan's fear of the Grenadian Revolution. You are correct to point out that when Bishop said his revolution was the first in the "English-speaking" Caribbean, what was really meant was that it could leap to inspire 30 million U.S. Blacks. That connection has been true historically.

Dubois pointed out that the Haitian revolution at the beginning of the 19th century may have helped spark slave freedom movements in the US and also forced curtailment of the open slave trade.

Black activist
California

In the Grenada situation it is important to see mistakes which the revolution of 1979 shared with Chile — the need to build a base for the revolution was not really carried out. If the people don't have the gun, and it's only a special group running things then that's a problem. Today we see the need to clarify what is the role of the people in building the new society. Can it be left to a couple of leaders at the top?

Chilean socialist exile
In the USA

Grenada

you were day and night
as if hit by a tidal wave
or an earthquake
but you are so conscious
that you were violated and mis-
treated
by the Yankee invaders,
fighting and spoiling with no right to
you.

Grenada

never lose the faith and the hope
because there will some day
be sung in your streets
the word "freedom"
Your joy and your sorrow will turn
to pain
and what you once dreamed of
will yet come to be for you

Grenada

never cease to struggle
Your icea will always be in
every man and woman who is
conscious of
the freedom and the peace of your
people

Dominican worker
New York

I can't agree with your emphasis on the murder of Maurice Bishop by Gen. Austin and others. Yes, I am sure they did it, and yes, I am sure it opened the way for the U.S. invasion. But where does that line of reasoning lead? The main enemy is still U.S. imperialism, and I can't see getting too far off the track on other subjects. Maybe Castro was right to let the Grenadians figure it out for themselves.

Student
Chicago

What struck me very much in the Political-Philosophic letter on Grenada was the comprehensive, philosophic dimension that Dunayevskaya gives to internationalism. Here was Castro explaining Cuba's very important and very necessary help to Grenada in terms of construction workers, medical personnel and so forth,

stressing the very limited military presence of Cuba on Grenada. Castro emphasizes Cuba's non-interference in the internal disputes of the New Jewel Movement, and in fact appears not to have been informed of them by Bishop.

But Dunayevskaya asks what is internationalism if Marxists revolutionaries don't discuss the problems of a revolution. Don't discuss how a new society is constructed but reduce all to tactics, material support and so forth. It is not that these are not of crucial importance. But what it seems to me is being pointed out in the Grenada Letter is that of equal importance, in fact of greater importance, is a type of internationalism which makes no separation between material support for a revolution in the making, and the support for the development of revolutionary ideas which are a material weapon in a social revolution.

Activist
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Editor's Note: Copies of our new pamphlet, "Grenada: Revolution, Counter-revolution, Imperialist Invasion," which includes the full analysis of those events by Raya Dunayevskaya, as well as an eyewitness report of the mass freeing and army murder of Maurice Bishop, are available from N&L for \$1.00, postage included. See ad, p. 10.

'WHITE NIGHT', 1984

Thousands of angry demonstrators surged through downtown San Francisco at lunchtime and then took the streets at night Jan. 6, when Dan White was released from prison. White served only five years after murdering both San Francisco Mayor George Moscone and gay Supervisor Harvey Milk in 1978.

Obviously many gay leaders as well as the police were afraid violence would erupt the way it did on "White night" in 1978, when gays took apart city hall. There was no violence this time but our outrage was heard as we marched through the streets blowing whistles and banging pots. I noticed that many anti-nuke activists joined the gay community demonstrations.

Furious
San Francisco

MANDEL'S STUNTED MARXISM

When Ernest Mandel recently gave a talk on "Contemporary Debates in Marxist Theory" at the Univ. of Michigan, several of his points made me angry. One was his view that the masses of unemployed workers today present a threat to the success of revolutionary working class organization. I reminded him that in Marx's Capital, at the culmination of capitalist development, Marx posed the

reserve army of unemployed as a subjective, revolutionary barrier to capitalism's continued degradations.

And to Mandel's view that only the proletariat of the industrialized world could build socialism, I brought up the ongoing influence of the Central American revolutions on the youth of societies.

Here, the serious attention that Marx gave to the non-capitalist lands of his day especially his last decade reflect a different regard for the Third World than Mandel's. In response to my questions, rather than defending his positions as the correct interpretations of Marx's views, he claimed to be a "humble student of Trotsky", passing over Marx completely.

A humble student of Marx
Detroit

NEW SOCIALIST STIRRINGS IN SMALL-TOWN AMERICA

Thanks for the copies of N&L. I am not an activist per se, but I do have strong feelings against things wrong that I share with my friends. I attend high school, and also work in a restaurant at sub-minimum wage levels. In school we are taught about the "evils of communism." (As they see it, state ownership equals communism.) I do believe a better society could be forged, to finish the revolution. This is why I'm subscribing to N&L, to hear the voices of freedom-fighters here in the USA.

There is no one I know of here knowledgeable on Marx or Lenin's thought. However, my town is a "one-street town," an agricultural community in eastern Pennsylvania, so there are not many young people who believe in Marxist philosophy here...

High school student
Rural Pennsylvania

I have been most interested in listening to the tapes of N&L and of Freedom Ideas International. I am visually impaired and this is the only way that I could have access to the type of information... It's hard to say what triggered my interest. I work with federal programs, and prior to that taught Economics. I can see clearly how the working people are treated and how so many are exploited and I am always looking for ideas to bring about needed change.

Walla Walla (where I live) is an agricultural community that is very conservative. It is hard to talk about how food stamps actually subsidize that industry rather than the seasonal workers. It is clearly not a popular view. I need fresh and different ideas to work with.

Tape subscriber
Walla Walla, Wash.

Ed. Note: N&L is available on tape cassettes for the visually impaired for the regular subscription price. Contact N&L for details. Freedom Ideas International, a quarterly movement journal, is available from Our Right To Know Braille Press, 640 Bayside, Detroit, Mich. 48217.

PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard**
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- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis**
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New Introduction to American Civilization on Trial

A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road

Editor's Note: As part of our celebration of Black history month we are printing Raya Dunayevskaya's 1983 introduction to the new edition of the *News & Letters* pamphlet, *American Civilization on Trial*.

On this double 20th anniversary of the famous 1963 March on Washington and the first publication of *American Civilization on Trial*, the struggle continues. The planned August 27, 1983 March on Washington is taking place when the deep economic recession spells out Depression for the Black world, not only in terms of unemployment — especially that of the youth which is an incredible 50 percent — but in the whole field of civil rights, where that supreme artificer, President Reagan, is trying to roll back what civil rights struggles had achieved over the past two decades.

Reagan's retrogressionism makes it more imperative than ever not to leave these stark facts at the factual stage alone. Otherwise, all we could report is that the Magnolia Jungle we described in our first edition is as steaming as it was when Bull Connor unleashed the fire-hoses, vicious dogs and cattle prods against teenagers in Birmingham, Alabama and four young Black children were blown to bits in a church there — after which Schwerner, Chaney and Goodman were tortured and murdered in Mississippi, and Viola Liuzzo was gunned down and Rev. Reeb clubbed to death following the Selma to Montgomery March. Indeed, that jungle is still at such white heat that Black youth in Florida have erupted in revolt for three years in a row.

The truth is, however, first, that what was won through the last two decades was inseparable from the intense new forms of revolt. The turbulent 1960s witnessed the birth of a whole Third World, central to which was the Black Revolution both in the U.S. and in Africa. Secondly, inseparable from and simultaneous with that, was the Marxist-Humanist banner that *American Civilization on Trial* raised in the context of the whole 200-year history of the U.S., whose civilization had been put on trial and found guilty.

In a word, to separate a philosophy of liberation from the struggle for freedom is to doom us to yet one more unfinished revolution such as has characterized the U.S. from its birth, when the Declaration of Independence was meant for white only and left the Black enslaved. It was because this history, not only as past but as present, remained racist on the 100th anniversary of the "Emancipation Proclamation" that the Introduction to *American Civilization on Trial* was entitled: "Of Patriots, Scoundrels and Slave Masters."

Historic Turning Points: Slave Revolts, Women's Dimension, Anti-Imperialism

What *American Civilization on Trial* disclosed was that, at each historic turning point of development in the U.S., it was the Black masses in motion who proved to be the vanguard. Take the question of the slave revolts leading to the birth of Abolitionism, which had created a new dimension of American character. It is not only, as we pointed out, that "They were inter-racial and in a slave society preached and practiced Negro equality. They were distinguished as well for inspiring, aligning with and fighting for equality of women in an age when the women had neither the right to the ballot nor to property nor to divorce. They were internationalist, covering Europe with their message, and bringing back to this country the message of the Irish Freedom Fighters." It is that the vanguard nature of the Black dimension in the Abolitionist movement has much to say to us today — even when it comes to Women's Liberation.

Take so simple a matter as a name, specifically Sojourner Truth's name. Keep in mind what the question of choosing a name means in today's Women's Liberation Movement, which has discussed widely the question of not bearing one's husband's name. But did anyone other than Sojourner Truth include a whole philosophy of freedom in a chosen name? Listen to her story. She said she "talked with God," told him she refused to bear a slave name, and asked what should she do? "He" answered her as follows: Sojourner the world over and tell everyone the truth about American democracy, that it doesn't exist for Blacks. That was how she decided to call herself "Sojourner Truth."

Woman as Reason as well as Force has always been hidden from history, not to mention philosophy. Yet, as early as 1831, the very year Nat Turner led the greatest slave revolt, Maria Stewart spoke up in public — the first American-born woman, white or Black, to speak publicly. Her appeal was to:

"O ye daughters of Africa, awake! awake! arise! no longer sleep nor slumber but distinguish yourselves. Show forth to the world that ye are endowed with noble and exalted faculties. . . How long shall the fair daughters of Africa be compelled to bury their minds and talents beneath a load of iron pots and kettles? . . . How long shall a mean set of men flatter us with their smiles, and enrich themselves with our hard earnings: their wives' fingers sparkling with rings and they themselves laughing at our folly?"

Total deafness to women shaping history extended into the 20th century, even when it wasn't a question of the rights of any single person, but when whole masses in motion fought — and won!

In Africa, in 1929, tens of thousands of Igbo women had self-organized against both British imperialism and their own African chiefs whom they accused of carrying out the new British edict to tax women. It took our age and a new Women's Liberation Movement to bring forth just such pages of history.¹

The vanguard nature of the Black dimension is seen also

in the struggle against imperialism at its earliest appearance. Take the question of the Spanish-American War, Blacks sensed its imperialist nature and became the very first force in the world outside of Latin America itself to organize an Anti-Imperialist League in 1899. In a word, whether the focus is on the Civil War in the U.S. or the world anti-imperialist struggles, the Black masses in motion showed their multi-dimensionality.

In the very same year that the Anti-Imperialist League was formed, in a different part of the world the revolutionary Marxist, Rosa Luxemburg, wrote:

"At present, Persia and Afghanistan too have been attacked by Russia and England. From that, the



Black Union cavalrymen bring in Confederate prisoners during Civil War.

European antagonisms in Africa too have received new impulses; there, too, the struggle is breaking out with new force (Fashoda, Delegoa, Madagascar). It's clear that the dismemberment of Asia and Africa is the final limit beyond which European politics no longer has room to unfold. There follows then another such squeeze as has just occurred in the Eastern question, and the European powers will have no choice other than throwing themselves on one another, until the period of the final crisis sets in within politics. . . etc., etc."

The birth of a whole new Third World in our age cast a new illumination both on Luxemburg's flash of genius on imperialism's rise and on the little-known page of Black history concerning its early anti-imperialist struggles. The struggles today have reached a new intensity, and they are multi-dimensional. As we witnessed in the anti-Vietnam War struggles, it was the Black youth who first articulated the defiance as "Hell, no! We won't go!" Yet it has become clear since the 1960s that even the greatest actions need the direction that comes from a total philosophy of freedom. What is needed now is to concretize such a philosophy of freedom as the reality for our age.

Emergence of the Third World as Marx Foresaw It

What *American Civilization on Trial* reveals is both Marx's deep American roots and his Promethean vision. Take the succinct way in which Marx pinpointed the situation in the Civil War at its darkest moment, as the war dragged on and the Southern generals were winning so decisively as to produce a defeatist attitude in the North. Where others looked at the military forces, Marx looked at the forces of revolution: "A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves. . . a war of this kind must be conducted along revolutionary lines. . ." (Letter from Marx to Engels, August 7, 1862).

From his very first break with capitalism, as he discovered a whole new continent of thought and of revolution which he called "a new Humanism," capitalism is what Marx critiqued and fought against throughout his life. Here is how he described the origins of European capitalism:

"The discovery of gold and silver in America, the extirpation, enslavement and entombment in mines of the aboriginal population, the beginning of the conquest and looting of the East Indies, the turning of Africa into a warren for the commercial hunting of black skins, signaled the rosy dawn of the era of capitalist production." (*Capital*, Vol. 1, p. 823, Kerr edition)

The unmasking of Western civilization's racism by its Black dimension in revolutionary moments of mass upsurge makes imperative a most serious return, on this centenary of Marx's death, to his critical, revolutionary unmasking of Western civilization's capitalist foundations. Just as in the U.S., so in Britain, Western civilization has been put on trial by the Black dimension. This became especially sharp with the April 1981 Brixton rebellion. Like the famous Kerner Commission Report following the 1967 rebellions in the U.S. and the current investigations into the Miami rebellions, the British government has produced its own Scarman Report on the

Black British rebellions. While the tone of the British report is more outraged than its American counterpart at the stripping away of Britain's fetishism about its vaunted "civilization," Lord Scarman nevertheless found that "the disorders, like so many riots in British history, were a protest against society by people, deeply frustrated and deprived, who saw in a violent attack upon the forces of law and order their one opportunity of compelling public attention to their grievances." Being in the business of empire longer than the Americans, however, the British authorities are more expert in recognizing historic continuities in the new forms of revolt against their rule. Thus, in its very first paragraph, the Scarman Report observed that "the petrol

bomb was now used for the first time on the streets of Britain (the idea, no doubt, copied from the disturbances in Northern Ireland)."

Frantz Fanon was absolutely right when, in our age, he wrote: "Two centuries ago, a former European colony decided to catch up with Europe. It succeeded so well that the United States of America became a monster. . ." The extreme urgency of dealing with that global monster today demands that the struggles be tightly woven together with a total philosophy. As we work it out for our age, what is needed is a concentration, at one and the same time, on 1) the trail to the 1980s from Marx's last decade, and 2) revolutionary Black thought.

It was in his last decade that Marx discovered still newer paths to revolution. Present-day existing state-capitalisms calling themselves Communist, like Russia and China, have totally abandoned both the philosophy and the actuality of Marx's "revolution in permanence." Marx, on the other hand, began introducing fundamental changes in his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, which disclosed his new perceptions of the possibility of a revolution in technologically underdeveloped lands before the technologically advanced West. Take the simple word "so-called" placed by Marx in the title of the final part of *Capital*: "The So-Called Primitive Accumulation of Capital." Though that word has been disregarded by post-Marx Marxists, it touches the burning question of our day — the relationship of technologically advanced countries to the technologically underdeveloped Third World. What Marx was saying with that word, "so-called," was that it simply wasn't true that capitalism's carving up of the Asian and African world characterized only the primitive stage of capitalism.

To further stress that technologically advanced capitalism has not at all left behind the so-called primitive stage of turning Africa into "a warren for hunting black skins" and forcing them into slavery in "civilized" countries, Marx subordinated the whole section of Part 8 and made it integral to Part 7, "Accumulation of Capital." There it reached its highest point — the concentration and centralization of capital. Thereupon, Marx added a whole new paragraph to the 1875 French edition of *Capital*, which showed that this continued outreach into imperialism "successively annexed extensive areas of the New World, Asia and Australia."

As Marx then turned to study pre-capitalist societies — be it of the Native Americans, the Indians in Morgan's *Ancient Society*, or the Australian aborigine designated by Marx as "the intelligent Black," he hit out against anyone trying to transform his chapter, "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" into a "Universal." Marx insisted that he had been describing the particular, historic stage of Western capitalism; that other societies need not follow that path. If they did, they would "lose the finest chance ever offered by history to a people and undergo all the fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime."

Revolutions in Philosophy and in Fact

Marx's projection of the possibility of a revolution coming first in technologically underdeveloped lands achieved

2. Marx often singled out the deep relationship between Irish revolutionaries and all other minorities. A new projected 11-volume documentary study, covering the impact of Garveyism on the U.S., Africa and the West Indies, reveals the revolutionary relationship between Garveyism and the Irish struggles in the early part of the 20th century. Vol. 1 (1826-1919) and Vol. II (1919-1920) are due off the press in November, 1983, edited by Robert A. Hill (Berkeley, Cal.: Univ. of California Press). See also "British Civilization on Trial," in the May-June, 1981 issue of *Marxist-Humanism*, journal of British Marxist-Humanists, available from *News & Letters*.

1. See Judith Van Allen's "Aba Riots or Igbo Women's War" in *Ufahamu* 6: no. 1 (1975). An elaborated version also appeared in *Women in Africa*, Nancy Hafkin and Edna Bay, eds. (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford Univ. Press, 1976). See especially a global view of revolutionary women in Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, pp. 79-112.

Between the U.S. and Africa

a new meaning for our age with the emergence of a whole new Third World, as well as new mass struggles and the birth of new revolutionary forces as reason. The Black dimension in the U.S. as well as in Africa showed that we had, indeed, reached a totally new movement from practice to theory that was itself a new form of theory. It was this new movement from practice — those new voices from below — which we heard, recorded, and dialectically developed. Those voices demanded that a new movement from theory be rooted in that movement from practice and become developed to the point of philosophy — a philosophy of world revolution.

Our very first major theoretical work, *Marxism and Freedom*, cast in the context of that movement from practice, was followed by a series of pamphlets in which the voices of all the revolutionary forces — workers, Blacks, women and youth — could be heard: from *Workers Battle Automation to Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves*, and from *The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution to Working Women for Freedom*.⁵ Indeed, it was not only the voices of the Freedom Riders we heard in 1961, but the story of the magnificent Black women in Mississippi who called themselves "Woman Power Unlimited" and came to the aid of the jailed Freedom Riders.

American Civilization on Trial cast a new illumination on the two-way road between Africa and the U.S. via the West Indies by showing that what, to the capitalists, was the triangular trade of rum, molasses and slaves, was, to the Blacks, the ever-live triangular development of internationalism, masses in motion and ideas. This triangular development remains the dominant force to this day.

In our epoch, the dynamism of ideas in Africa comes out in sharp focus as we contrast it to the weary American bourgeois ideologues who declared the 1950s to be "the end of ideology" just when a whole new Third World emerged. As against what the capitalist ideologues wrote then, consider the 1959 speech by Leopold Sedar Senghor to the Constitutive Congress which united Mali and Senegal:

"A nation that refuses to keep its rendezvous with history, that does not believe itself to be the bearer of a unique message — that nation is finished, ready to be placed in a museum. The Negro African is not finished even before he gets started. Let him speak; above all, let him act. Let him bring like a leaven, his message to the world in order to help build a universal civilization. . . . Let us recapitulate Marx's positive contributions. They are: the philosophy of humanism, economic theory, dialectical method."

It is true that Africa, too, has since undergone many retreats, as the Union of Mali and Senegal has broken up and Senghor has retrogressed in thought, as well. It is not true that the mass freedom struggles have abated. Nor is it true that Senghor represents all of African thought. Frantz Fanon was the opposite both in thought and in act, and it is his philosophy that is alive as far as South Africa is concerned and, indeed, can become a foundation for today's freedom struggles worldwide. It was this new stage in the two-way road that we presented in our 1978 pamphlet *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*.

If we return to the year 1959, when Senghor made the Address to his Congress, we find that to be the same year that Frantz Fanon addressed the Second Congress of Black Artists and Writers meeting in Rome, where he said: "The consciousness of self is not, the closing of a door to com-

munication. Philosophic thought teaches us, on the contrary, that it is its guarantee. National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension."

Furthermore, this was not philosophy for its own sake or history as past, because Fanon was contrasting the Black worker to the Black intellectual in that battle against colonialism:

"History teaches us clearly that the battle against colonialism does not run straight away along the lines of nationalism. It so happens that the unpreparedness of the educated classes, the lack of practical links between them and the mass of the people, their laziness, and let it be said, their cowardice at the decisive moment of the struggle will give rise to tragic mishaps." (*Wretched of the Earth*, p. 121, Grove Press edition)

In this, too, Fanon's vision saw far. Which is why the final chapter of the 1973 work *Philosophy and Revolution* — "New Passions and New Forces: The Black Dimension, the Anti-Vietnam War Youth, Rank-and-File Labor, Women's Liberation" — quoted the American Black auto worker who gave the philosophy of Humanism its sharpest edge: "There is no middle road anymore. The days we accepted 'we have to take the lesser of two evils' are gone. You have to go to the extreme now. Racism is the issue here, and to rid ourselves of that, to be Humanist, we need a revolution."

The Black Consciousness Movement today recognizes Fanon as a great Third World theorist, at the same time that they recognize Steve Biko's unique creativity in the Soweto uprising in 1976 and in founding their great new movement. This is precisely why South Africa's barbaric apartheid system murdered Biko in September 1977.

It was no accident that Charles Denby, the Black production worker-editor of *News & Letters* since its birth, felt impelled in 1978 to add a new Part II to the story of his life which had been published in 1952 as *Indignant Heart*. Thus, Part II of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* begins with the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the very year *News and Letters* Committees were born and ends with a chapter on "The Worldwide Struggle for Freedom" which discusses "the American Black identification with Soweto and Biko, with Fanon and Caribbean thought." It becomes clear why this story of Denby's life, North and South, which sums up a half century of freedom struggles, from the struggles of rural Blacks in the South to the wildcat strikes of Black workers in the North, concludes with this Black worker's declaration, "I consider my story as part of the worldwide struggles for freedom."

It is in Azania (South Africa) that the most exciting events are now unfolding, revealing how the mine workers there are both organizing and thinking their own thoughts. A simple word — "Amandla!" (Power) — tells how new a stage they have reached. It is this word which Teboho Noka, an organizer for the National Union of Mine Workers, used in order to stress that not only are they fighting for different conditions of labor and higher wages, but for "Amandla" — adding: "It shall be ours." It is that feeling of fighting for nothing less than freedom which transforms the struggle from a mere trade union battle to one for a whole new society.

Like Marx in his day, Frantz Fanon, in our age, declared his philosophy to be a "new humanism," as he developed it most originally in his *Wretched of the Earth*:

"Comrades, let us flee from this motionless movement where gradually dialectic is changing into the logic of equilibrium. Let us consider the question of mankind." (p. 254)

"For Europe, for ourselves and for humanity, comrades, we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man." (p. 255)

"This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others." (p. 197)

Mass Unrest Today and the Need for Truly Human Foundations

Just as it was the Black dimension which sounded the alarm against U.S. imperialism's first adventure in the Philippines and the Caribbean at the turn of the century, so

today it is the Latino dimension which is opposing Reagan's imperialist actions in Central America and the Caribbean. The gunboat diplomacy which saw the United States invade again and again — from Cuba and Nicaragua to Panama and Honduras in the period from the turn of the century into the 1930s — has returned in a vicious new form under Reagan. His policies of installing right-wing dictatorships and attacking the nascent Nicaraguan revolution seemed aimed at engulfing all of Central America in a "regional" war — that is, getting the Latin American countries to fight each other for the benefit of U.S. imperialism. The revolutionary opposition arising from within Central America — indeed, all of Latin America — extends to the Latino dimension right here within the U.S. At one and the same time, all are united in working to stay Reagan's counter-revolutionary hand, and by seeking out and expressing the dimensions of national minorities, sex and class are creating new pathways toward social revolution, in Latin America and in the U.S. itself.

The mass unrest today throughout the world, the deep recession we are in, and the many political crises we face compel intense new activities — whether on the production line or in the massive anti-nuke campaign or in the Black revolutionary movements — unseparated from a new passion for philosophy and revolutionary direction. That revolutionary direction can be seen as we sum up how Marx worked it out concretely for his philosophy of "revolution in permanence" in relation to the Black world.

Marx's reference in the *Ethnological Notebooks* to the Australian aborigine as "the intelligent Black" brought to a conclusion the dialectic he had unchained when he first broke from bourgeois society in the 1840s and objected to the use of the word, "Negro," as if it were synonymous with the word, "slave." By the 1850s, in the *Grundrisse*, he extended that sensitivity to the whole pre-capitalist world. By the 1860s, the Black dimension became, at one and the same time, not only pivotal to the abolition of slavery and victory of the North in the Civil War, but also the restructuring of Capital itself. In a word, the often-quoted sentence: "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the Black skin it is branded," far from being rhetoric, was the actual reality and the perspective for overcoming that reality. Marx reached, at every historic turning point, for a concluding point, not as an end but as a new jumping-off point, a new beginning, a new vision.

In the specific case of the Civil War in the U.S., it was not only a question of theory or of national action, but one of international organization as Marx established the International Workingmen's Association to come to the aid both of the North, especially the Abolitionists, in that Civil War, and of the European working class struggles, especially the Polish revolt against Russian Tsarism. As Poland shows us all over again today, freedom fighters do not give up their struggle even when compelled to work under the whip of the counter-revolution.

There is no doubt that we are on the threshold of new revolutionary beginnings in the Black world in this Marx centenary year. The 20-year history of *American Civilization on Trial* and world development has seen not only capitalism's drive to war threaten the very existence of civilization as we have known it, but also its absolute opposite; revolutionary masses in motion. The Reagan retrogression — and the ceaseless struggles against the attempts to push back all the gains of the past two decades — gives urgency to this new fourth, expanded edition (and fifth printing) of *American Civilization on Trial*.

The absolute challenge to our age is the concretization of Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence." The Black dimension is crucial to the total uprooting of existing, exploitative, racist, sexist society and the creation of new, truly human foundations.

Raya Dunayevskaya
for the National Editorial Board of
News & Letters, August, 1983

- This paragraph was left out of Engels' English and German editions. It is discussed in Chapter 10 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, "A Decade of Historic Transformation: from the Grundrisse to Capital."*
- Marx's letter to the journal which had published a critique of his work by the Russian Populist, Mihailovsky, was written in November, 1877 but not published in Russia until 1886 after Marx's death in 1883.
- The full development of Marxist-Humanist philosophy in the U.S., under the title "Marxist-Humanism, 1941 to Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S." is on file and available on microfilm at the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.

On the 65th anniversary of the death of Rosa Luxemburg (January 1919) learn about her revolutionary life in:

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Her entrance on the German scene:

Rosa Luxemburg's very entrance, May 1898, into the German arena, center of the Second International, shook up the largest and most prestigious of world Marxist organizations — the German Social-Democratic Party (SPD). From the start, she became a subject of contention — contention that has not abated to this day.

Her anti-war writings:

In her dark and dreary prison, Luxemburg — isolated from everything that was going on outside, even though she had worked out a network for getting some news in and smuggling her writings out — at once set out to write the first comprehensive anti-war pamphlet to come out of Germany. *The Crisis in the German Social-Democracy* has retained its fame to this day, known by the signature she used as Junius.

Her dimension as feminist:

To scrupulously follow Luxemburg's life, in revolution or out, leaves no doubt whatsoever that, no matter how intense her love for Jogiches was, including even the fact that both were revolutionaries with the same theoretical and political goal, no cataclysmic change in her relationship with Jogiches would any longer direct her life.

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BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

President Reagan's two-pronged attack on the tiny Black island nation of Grenada and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission has once again revealed the close connection that exists between imperialism and racism. Not since the last years of the 19th century, when U.S. imperialism defeated Spain in the Caribbean, have we witnessed such sudden welding together of jingoism and racism. Both of these aggressive acts have brought to light the Administration's ingrained racial bias and its callous determination to crush with massive military force any freedom movement that would radically change class/race relationships in the world.

The vigor and energy that the Administration put into the attempt to silence any criticism that the Civil Rights Commission might direct towards its racial policy indicated that it was not just the Commission's panel that was under attack but the very idea of Black civil rights.

Reagan is dead set against affirmative action and busing — two issues that involve the right to equal employment and equal educational opportunity. These issues have been on the agenda of Afro-American civil rights movements for ages. And for ages they have been opposed by conservatives and racists who have never stopped building political and social redoubts and trenches to stall and to subvert their realization.

The present Civil Rights Commission that Reagan would like to turn into the image of his idea of Black rights came into being because masses of Afro-Americans were beginning to right the wrongs of Jim Crow, beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1956-57, by methods of direct action that eventually sparked the anti-Vietnam War Movement of Black and white youth.

That Black mass movement turned the country around; it put an end to more than three-quarters of a century of presidential indifference to civil rights violations, and caused Congress to enact the first Civil Rights Bill since 1875.

An important element in Reagan's rise to political power was his opposition to the Black mass movement. He was an outstanding supporter of Senator Barry Goldwater's campaign to try and defeat the Civil Rights Act of 1964. He later

Imperialism's tie to racism

justified his position by saying that he agreed with the spirit of the act but thought it was a bad piece of legislation. When he was Governor of California, he attempted to get the Open Housing Act repealed and conducted a crusade against "welfare cheats."

But just to catalogue Reagan's transgressions against Black rights runs the risk of failing to see that his racial ideology transcends him as a person and is representative of a basic, historical element that has always been a part of the social and political practice of this country, carried on by both liberals and conservatives. The so-called compromise that Reagan struck with Congress regarding the composition of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights panel was another classic American political "solution" in determining the place of Afro-Americans in American society.

The history of Presidential and Congressional action on Black civil rights has been one continual compromise that has stood like a series of milestones marking the high tides and ebb tides of the Afro-American freedom movements. Many of us may not know that the Black mass movement that took to the streets in the late 1950s and set into motion one of the world's greatest civil rights movements demolished the Hayes-Tilden compromise of 1876 which ended Reconstruction with a "Southern solution to the Negro problem."

This solution was worked out between Northern monopoly capitalism and their Southern cohorts in a drive to trample underfoot all Black, labor and farmer opposition to its rise to dominant power in the United States. It was this concentration of economic, political and ideological power that set U.S. imperialism on the course of becoming the dominant power in the Caribbean in the late 1890s.

Frederick Douglass, at that time, became so overwhelmed by the sudden demise of Black legal rights that he asked whether "American justice, American liberty, American civilization, American law, and American Christianity could be made to include and protect alike and forever all citizens in rights which have been guaranteed to them by the organic and fundamental laws of the land."

This question is even more relevant today than it was when it was raised almost 90 years ago.

Mozambique today

Mozambique remains the most exciting socialist experiment going on today in Africa. At the December African Studies Association Convention in Boston, where Marxism and revolution was debated everywhere — on critiques of Tanzanian socialism, on women, on South African trade unions and on the legacy of Amilcar Cabral — none was more exciting than the panel on Mozambique, which drew an overflow audience.

This Black country of 13 million on the border of South Africa is facing unprecedented challenges: mass starvation, destruction and massacres by a thousands-strong counter-revolutionary army based and trained in South Africa, and bureaucratization and over-centralization in the post-independence socialist government.

MOZAMBIQUE ON THE "FRONT LINE"

After long years of guerrilla warfare beginning in the 1960s, the FRELIMO guerrilla movement founded by the martyred theoretician Eduardo Mondlane won independence from Portugal in 1975. Almost immediately, peace changed again to war as Rhodesian racist troops invaded and battered Mozambique mercilessly until the ZANU/ZAPU victory of 1980 when Rhodesia was transformed into Black-ruled Zimbabwe. Mozambique was in fact the main base area of Robert Mugabe's victorious ZANU during this whole period, and suffered as much as Zimbabwe itself from the war.

Since 1980, the focus has moved to South Africa itself, and Mozambique continues to allow the African National Congress and other groups to maintain headquarters. South African attacks have become incessant. Like Reagan in Central America, the South Africans do not directly invade Mozambique — but they train, base, and arm to the teeth the thousands of counter-revolutionaries. The latter, whose leaders live as "honorary whites" in big estates in South Africa, make no attempt to win popular support.

They seek only to demoralize and destroy by massacre and torture of FRELIMO officials and sometimes whole villages, and by destroying transports and even ambushing and otherwise stopping efforts to distribute food to starving regions. That plus a severe drought and the economic crisis has meant that no less than 100,000 Mozambicans have died of starvation in 1983, while 700,000 are in immediate danger.

REVOLUTIONARY CRITIQUE FROM BELOW

Far from giving in to this pressure, the people of Mozambique have rallied behind FRELIMO, volunteering to fight the contras, just as they withstood the war of independence and the Rhodesian terror raids. At the FRELIMO Fourth Party Congress last spring, and in its preparatory meetings in grass roots areas, the masses poured forth their anger against the privileges and arrogance of officials, against over-centralization of politics and the economy, and against needless shortages of basic goods.

President Samora Machel backed the critics from below against his own leadership, and the Congress initiated a wide-ranging series of democratizing and decentralizing measures.

It is not that Mozambique's socialist experiment should be viewed uncritically as some of the Left are doing — we can certainly question and criticize the use of flogging, as under colonialism, to punish thieves, or the policy of deporting the unemployed from the capital — but we must also recognize the tremendous achievements and potential of this long-struggling movement which is today directly confronting the South African racist war machine on a daily basis.

— Kevin A. Barry

Ex-soldier tells how to not fight Reagan's wars

Los Angeles, Cal. — Reagan's invasion of Grenada really showed me that the government is preparing itself for war. I think in this situation, every Marine is thinking about how to go AWOL. I can say that as a person who was in the Army for 11 months. The only reason I registered was that it was during peace time, and an opportunity to find employment.

But it is very difficult to last long in the Army. In the first year, many dropped out because you hear one thing from the recruiter and experience a very different reality after you actually sign up.

First, they put you in a three-month period of training in boot camp. Every morning an officer wakes you up, and gets on your case all day. You undergo the worst humiliation in those three months. Coming out of it for me was a miracle.

Then you become a soldier with a daily job. We made sure to sabotage the work as much as we could, whenever an officer was not around for even a few minutes. We all talked about how much we hated the Army and learned tricks from one another to disturb the order.

Of course, I never wanted to stay, and the minute I heard about the possibility of war in 1981, my doubts disappeared. I went AWOL four times to deliberately cause my discharge. The fourth time it worked and they let me go.

Contrary to what the government makes you believe, most youth don't enter the army to fight or go out and kill people. Many of us are Blacks and minorities who don't give a damn about this system. They tell us, "You are all one color" when we enter the service. But that is just another one of the lies that the recruiters tell you. Racism is what you face every day.

After I left the army, I was unemployed for a while and now I work in a glass factory. But this job is no better. They watch you every minute and make you work like a dog to "earn your wages."

I think a lot of young people feel the way I do. That is why we should listen more to those who go AWOL.

— Black Ex-GI

BLACK WORLD**Significance of Garvey study**

(Continued from Page 1)

our day. The first crisis arose in the period between the 1917 East St. Louis anti-Black pogrom and the "Red Summer of 1919" when race riots swept the country and the infamous Palmer raids that J. Edgar Hoover spearheaded against "subversives" gave the Garvey movement its first impetus as it caught a new stage of Black consciousness.

Against the backdrop of these racial crises Garvey's appeal to the Black masses declared: "America, that has been ringing the bells of the world, proclaiming to the nations and the peoples thereof that she has democracy to give to all and sundry . . . has herself no satisfaction to give 12,000,000 of her own citizens . . . over the brutal murder of men, women and children for no other reason than that they are black people seeking an industrial chance in the country that they have labored for three hundred years to make great."

The second period discloses how very different is the understanding of Marcus Garvey by a generation like that of the 1960s versus the attitude of Black intellectuals in Garvey's time. Where an intellectual like W.E.B. DuBois helped to railroad Garvey out of the country, it was the Black power generation of the 1960s which revived Garvey, although doing so without fully breaking from the "talented tenth" elitism of DuBois, who Garvey fought.

And thirdly, what emerged with the world ferment following the Russian Revolution led Lenin to recognize in national democratic movements in imperialist lands such as Garvey's, a new dialectic of liberation. In turn, Garvey had himself recognized that "Bolshevism . . . is going to spread until it finds a haven in the breasts of all oppressed peoples, and then there shall be a universal rule of the masses." Later, at the time of Lenin's death Garvey was led to eulogize him as "the world's greatest man between 1917 and 1924."

The point is that as against American Marxists, Black and white, Lenin was virtually alone among Marxists of the period who saw the revolutionary dimension of Garvey and the movement he led.

This inescapable "Red dimension" of the Garvey Papers brings us back to Prof. Hill's introductory overview to the whole ten volume collection. The comprehensiveness of Prof. Hill's grasp of the documents can be found not alone in his overview, but is seen as well in the scholarly Pan-African biographical sketches appended to Volume I and in his quite erudite footnotes to both volumes. One of the new

insights into the historiography of Garveyism that Prof. Hill documents is the parallel between Garveyism and Irish nationalism.

It is precisely such creative scholarship that then makes it difficult to comprehend why, in his overview, Prof. Hill didn't fully bring in the impact of the Russian Revolution upon Garvey which the documents themselves point to. In being critical of Black "talented tenth" solutions to the Negro question, Garvey was not afraid of "Red" when it meant masses in motion. Nor is it a question of disregarding the contradictions in Garvey, which makes it all the more imperative to finally examine the dialectic of Garveyism as a Black world movement from practice.*

Just as anyone seriously looking for the key to Garveyism's emergence out of the triangular movement of Black thought and revolution between the U.S., Caribbean and Africa cannot ignore the actual writings of Garvey's *Negro World* as presented so magnificently in these two volumes, so must there be as well a grappling with the birth of Black Marxism in the U.S., its relation to the Russian Revolution and to the writings of Marx. Only then can we fully pursue the dialectics of Black self-determination both as it arose historically and as it impacts upon the world today.

The originality, organizational capacity and inexhaustible posing of the question of the Black dimension as world civilization, as international dimension, is to be found within the documents of the Garvey movement. That is what brings Garvey to life. That international dimension of Garvey's *Negro World*, his seeking the Black question as a world question, is part of what impelled us to name this new column *Black World*. For Marxist-Humanism the Black dimension, as Black masses as vanguard of the American Revolution, of Black as a world color of revolution, has been an integral part of our four decades of development. That is what we hope to present in this column in the period ahead.

(To be continued)

*For a view of the development of the American roots of Marxism in relationship to the Black question see the 4th expanded edition of *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard*. A quite important work on Garvey and UNIA is Tony Martin's *Race First: The Ideological and Organizational Struggles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association*. Greenwood Press, 1976. Especially relevant to this point is Ch. 10, pp. 221-272.

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75c

YOUTH

Latin American support work

by Ida Fuller, youth columnist

The question of how to work in solidarity with Latin America has become crucial at a time when the threat of U.S. intervention is increasing every day. This is why I would like to sum up two types of solidarity work I have been involved in, to reach a direction forward.

Recently I attended a lecture by Central American trade unionists on tour. The speakers — a construction worker from Guatemala, a woman teacher from El Salvador, and a shoemaker from Nicaragua — not only showed the effects of U.S. intervention on Central American and American workers, but also expressed how they were chosen to speak for the union when they became revolutionaries. As Marta Alicia Rivera expressed it: teachers began to link their struggle with those of workers and peasants "realizing that wages and benefits for teachers meant little if most Salvadoran children were too hungry and poor to go to school."

Study and Struggle

To me these revolutionary unionists were such a contrast to union bureaucrats in this country who claim to represent the workers but only sell them out. That is something anti-intervention activists could share with striking and laid-off American workers. And that is the perspective with which I went to the next meeting of my campus group which had sponsored the tour.

But I was so disappointed to see that no time was set for a discussion including what the group was for besides "no intervention." The committee members and the new people who had come as a result of the trade unionists' talks, were just given leaflets to distribute, tables to set up, and then the agenda moved on to the next activity.

In contrast to that, look at another solidarity activity I have been involved in, with Latina high school students interested in a study of Latin America's unfinished revolutions and Marxist-Humanism. We realized that being Latino, woman, worker and youth all at the same time makes one so much more revolutionary, so we wanted to base our activities on the freedom ideas we were discussing.

This is why, when a woman was raped in school and the news was kept hidden from the students, we could respond in a total way. We had a discussion about rape and produced a leaflet out of it, not only questioning the school principal but the sexism of male students and the oppressiveness of the whole education system. Thus ending: "We want the administration to treat us like thinking human beings by immediately informing us of such incidents. We also want to get involved in the process of decision-making for our own safety."

The response was especially enthusiastic from the Black and Latino students who turned a lunch break into a discussion going beyond this single rape. They discovered another secret rape which had occurred two years before; they questioned why the number of Black and Latino students who are bused is shrinking, and why there are privileged magnet classes for a few and terrible classes for the rest.

Thus, at our next meeting, a few more Latinas joined us to continue the discussion and find out more about Marxist-Humanism. As one Latina put it: "When my parents work hard for weeks and then still can't meet our expenses and go into debt, or when our parents treat us like a piece of property and imprison us at home, to me that is rape too. What

this capitalist system has been doing to us is rape."

In contrast to the first activity when a new beginning for Central American support work was not followed through and related to the freedom struggles in this country, the second activity made the Latino dimension inseparable from the U.S. freedom struggles. Indeed we started with a discussion of Marxist-Humanist ideas and followed through with those ideas as to not separate the immediate activity from our vision of a new society.

Students against nukes

Chicago, Ill. — I went to a meeting of STOP (Student-Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War) on Nov. 19. It brought out 350 kids representing 56 high schools in the Chicago area. Every race was there, with Blacks having the most representation. There were more girls than boys.

The reason so many came to the STOP meeting is that they were concerned about the nuke issue. They wanted to learn about it and what they can do. It shows that youth really are concerned about this.

They say youth have the most creative minds. Yet adults are making things so we can't use them. Reagan and Andropov are busy deciding the world's fate. They shouldn't be allowed to do that.

I've been to a lot of anti-nuke demonstrations beginning with New York, June 12, 1982. Some marchers just go out to show they are against the nukes but they don't go beyond that. If you just march, that is not enough. It is all one big web — the nukes, racism, what is happening to the steel workers. The fact that the U.S. invaded Grenada and Central America relates to nuclear policy.

You also have to think about how to get the kind of government that will work for all people. We have to think about what a society would be like. I can't say what that is. I don't think anybody can. It is up to people to get together to work that out. That has to be part of what we can do. After a government is overthrown, you can get something even worse.

— Student, Whitney Young High School

Youth in Revolt

Commemorating Karen Silkwood Day, Nov. 13, more than 400 women and children scaled a fence at the U.S. military base at Pine Gap in the Australian Outback, and fought with police, who arrested 111. They had set up a peace camp there two days before with the demands of nuclear disarmament and closing U.S. bases in Australia.

U.S. Air Force Lieutenant Joann Newak won release, at the end of August, from military prison to which she was sentenced for a lesbian relationship (see Youth column, June, 1983 N&L).

— Thanks to *Citizen Soldier*

Students at numerous schools in Czechoslovakia have been distributing leaflets and petitions opposing Warsaw Pact plans to station more nuclear missiles there, prompting the government to send propagandists to the schools and call for the expulsion of any students involved.

Several young people held an anti-nuclear vigil in Moscow's Lenin Hills, Dec. 11, under the guise of a remembrance of John Lennon. Police destroyed an anti-nuclear poster and arrested three youths.

In Boston, several hundred people disrupted a conference of missile manufacturers and researchers in December by picketing, sitting in, invading the conference, and releasing 1,000 cockroaches in the hotel as a reminder of just who would survive "the day after."

— Thanks to the *Nuclear Resister*

Students who put out a high school newspaper in Oak Lawn, Ill., have been protesting censorship by the high school administration. The students, backed by the Student Press Law Center, have threatened to sue if the principal continues prior review of the paper.

Another view of Nov. 12 Washington demonstration

Jim Mills' Youth column on the Nov. 12 protest in Washington in the December N&L did capture the spirit of many of the marchers. Yet I disagree with presenting only that positive side when I and others I marched with feel Nov. 12 showed the crisis the organized solidarity movement is in.

Numbers do not mean everything, but we do have to consider what it means that where 80,000 marched several years ago and 50,000 in March, 1981, a divided movement could only turn out 6,000 last July and now, after planning for six months and right after Reagan's terrifying invasion of Grenada, the movement could only get 20,000 to Washington.

When Mills quotes one marcher as saying this march was "more unified than the one on March 27, 1981," I have to wonder — more unified or more limited? I remember the horrible analysis of New York CISPES leaders right after the '81 march, when they reduced the march's tremendous multi-dimensionality to "El Salvador got lost in all the issues," and they set out to make damn sure the next march would be totally controlled by them.

Then to say that "the speakers on Nov. 12 did not seem to catch the newness" is quite an understatement. I believe the speakers were deliberately chosen for their political timidity or "acceptability." They were horrible. It is the old Left

Missile plant arrests

Editor's Note: Fifty-one anti-nuclear blockaders were arrested in the week of Nov. 25-Dec. 3 in front of Williams International plant at Walled Lake, Mich., where Cruise missile engines are produced. A University of Michigan student discusses her participation in the action:

I heard that there were "plants" — planted by the Oakland County Sheriff's Department — at the meeting we had, a training session on Nov. 27. All the people who were interested in action — informational and supportive included — came. It was openly advertised. At that meeting, some plainclothesmen were sent in to take notes. At the pre-trials, when some people pleaded not guilty, Williams had to show why these people should be prosecuted. Then the plants came forward.

Originally, for many of us, it was conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor they charged us with. But it was too vague, so the Oakland County prosecutor's office changed it to more specific charges of conspiracy, like conspiracy to trespass.

This is one of the things they've pushed the hardest for because it's in the spotlight. If there was a precedent, it should have been like last Easter when folks cut a hole in the fence around Williams. They were charged with trespassing and violating the injunction against protests. They served a total of five days. County Prosecutor L. Brooks Patterson likes to be in the spotlight since he's a real hardliner.

While we were in jail, we had to watch television every other day. We were alarmed by news of planes shot down over Syria, and there was a lot of discussion about that. The Middle East and Central America are a basis for starting a war that could start a nuclear catastrophe. Seeing planes shot down, we discussed the irony that the bomb could be dropped while we were still in jail.

Report on British demos

London, England — After the first Cruise missiles arrived at Greenham, there were spontaneous demonstrations there (organized through the Greenham women's network), and many arrests with the police becoming very heavy. The demonstrations lasted a few days, about 200 women were arrested while Michael Heseltine (Minister of Defense) said that any demonstrators getting into the base could be shot on sight.

He had to retract his statement later, but as Parliament discussed the arrival of Cruise and the debate around dual key, which means Thatcher would have a say also, a mass demonstration took place outside the Houses of Commons with 300 arrests as the police and horses fought to keep access to Parliament open.

These mass arrests are obviously the tactic to criminalize the movement and break its "mass character," however the whole nuclear debate has mushroomed over evidence that the Windscale Nuclear recycling plant, which receives nuclear waste from all over the world, re-processes it then dumps it into the Irish Sea. It then comes back to the shore, moving northward, dries out and becomes radioactive dust. Local people organized themselves and there has been a demonstration of a few thousand near Windscale.

The anti-Americanism got a shot in the arm over Grenada because the Labor party (always out to look more chauvinist than the Tories) was able to make political points over Reagan taking no notice of Britain, who thought it was a bad idea to invade Grenada. Labor linked this up to Cruise missiles but failed to say that British capitalism is the enemy, tied into American capital.

It seems Labor will do anything and say anything to bypass the real point, as Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament does as well, that Russia and America are equally armed up to the teeth and heading for war and the British ruling class is right in it. Raya Dunayevskaya's perspectives thesis (October N&L) that the anti-nuke movement must move to anti-war is certainly right. Revolution is the only way we can get rid of these weapons of destruction, whose production is built into capitalist production.

— Nigel Quinten

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— John Marcotte

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

OUR LIFE AND TIMES**Racism in France**

(Continued from Page 1)

had not let the Left and the trade unions or the Islamic establishment take them over. Near the front, along with the 32 youths, marched relatives of murdered North African youths, each with a placard giving the name of their murdered relative. Groups from small cities and towns who opposed racism found they were not alone. "It's tough in Dreux, no?" one woman marcher was asked (Dreux has elected neo-fascists to its city council who now constitute part of its ruling conservative majority). "No, we are resisting," she replied sharply. She pointed out that many young couples were refusing to get married by a local government which included the neo-fascists.

PEUGEOT AUTO STRIKE

In the wake of this massive Dec. 3 march against racism, the heavily North African Arab minority, who constitute nearly ten percent of France's population, shook up another section of society: the auto industry. This time it was older proletarians who for much of December and well into January, paralyzed production of the huge Peugeot-Talbot auto assembly plant.

It started in early December with the announcement that 3,000 of the plant's 16,000 workers were to be laid-off by 1984. The majority of the plant is composed of immigrant workers. Then the Communist CGT and the Socialist CFDT unions began maneuvering and got the lay-offs reduced to "only" 2,000 by pressure from the Mitterrand government on Peugeot.

But to the surprise of France's power brokers, Left and Right, the 2,000 immigrant workers to be laid-off, refused to accept it. "The lay-offs are racist, only the Moroccans are being laid off." This became the battle cry as several hundred workers struck and several times occupied the plant from Dec. 10 through Jan. 6.

The smaller CFDT union came out in support of the workers while the far larger CGT hung back. Rank-and-file workers formed their own strike committees, "to put pressure on the unions and to let the voices of the immigrant workers be heard."

The North African Arab strikers were called crazy and undisciplined, even the CFDT eventually withdrew support and helped get the police to end the occupation to avoid further violence. A company union led by foremen, the CSL, which until 1982 had ruled Peugeot-Talbot "like a banana republic," organized a back to work movement. Violence broke out as the striking workers fought to keep their jobs. Over 30 were injured in early January.

While the strike appears over and the lay-offs in place, the events of Peugeot showed the depth of revolutionary anger among the North African Arab workers who are now a crucial part of the industrial proletariat. Together with the Dec. 3 march it portends further revolutionary developments among immigrant workers challenging racism within France.

Tunisia

Thousands of jubilant Tunisians poured into the streets when the government was forced to cancel the doubling of prices of bread and basic staples, after spontaneous demonstrations erupted throughout that country.

The social tension between the poor and the privileged and middle classes manifested itself in the fact that much of the vandalism was directed against symbols of wealth. People stoned and burned imported cars, travel agencies, airline offices, television and appliances stores and other high quality consumer shops.

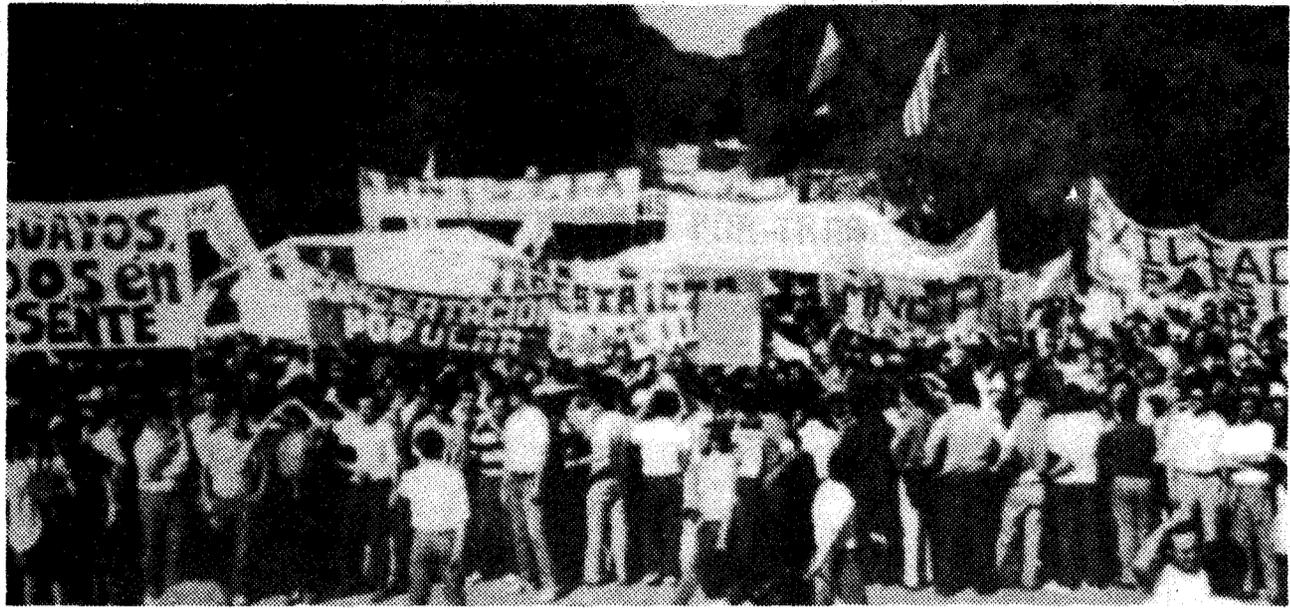
The demonstrations, which originated in the southern part of Tunisia on Dec. 29, quickly spread to the two major cities of Sfax and Tunis in the North. One-third of the workforce is unemployed (including many just returned from lay-offs in France), a number that increases by 60,000 unemployed youth each year. Thus the week-long demonstrations and riots included most notably the Tunisian youth in their early teens to 20s as well as unionized workers who joined in the wildcat strikes, throwing stones at public and private buildings. More than 300 demonstrators were arrested and several hundred were killed.

Tunisian workers have a history of militant struggles which dates back to 1924, three decades before the 1956 independence of Tunisia from France. The most recent revolt took place during the anniversary month of the Tunisian nationwide general strike of Jan. 26, 1978 which was bloodily put down by the para-military forces belonging to the ruling Destour Socialist party.

China

Zhou Yang, the top Chinese Communist philosopher, who in 1963 viciously attacked the concept of Marx as a humanist and wrote that Marx soon "got rid of this influence" after the 1844 Essays, certainly did Mao's bidding then. That did not save him from 11 years of vilification and imprisonment during Mao's Cultural Revolution. He was released after Mao's death.

Suddenly, at the March, 1983 Marx centennial conference in China, he stated: "Socialist society is undoubtedly superior to capitalist society, but this by no means says that there is no alienation in socialist society. Only by admitting that there is alienation will we be able to overcome alienation." He also admitted that his previous critiques of humanism had been "excessive, really incorrect" and he called for a concept of "Marxist humanism" for today's China. In so doing he was reportedly responding to the preoccupations of other, younger philosophers.

Thousands demonstrate in Uruguay

More than 300,000 people demonstrated in Montevideo, Uruguay, Nov. 27, against the fascist military regime in power since 1976. Today the democratic opposition holds the political initiative; military officers do not even dare wear their uniforms while off duty. But new arrests and torture of regime opponents are still common.

We cannot know yet how deeply rooted this concept of "Marxist humanism" is among young Chinese oppositionists and intellectuals, but its public emergence at the Marx centenary there is proof of the objectivity and world importance of Marxist-Humanism, which has emerged explicitly in yet another land in ferment.

For it is at this very time that Deng has launched a vicious anti-youth campaign against "spiritual pollution." As part of that campaign, the 75-year-old Zhou Yang was forced to take back his March, 1983 statements. But it is really the millions of restless youth that Deng has to worry about, for they are China's future.

Poland

Dec. 16 was a double anniversary in Poland: of workers shot at the Gdansk shipyard gates in 1970, and miners killed at the Wujek mine protesting martial law in 1981. The authorities were fully aware of the importance of this and riot police filled the streets of all major centers, beating 2,000 people in Wroclaw gathered on Dec. 15 to hear a call for demonstrations.

Despite the parade of water cannons and truncheons, thousands turned out to demonstrate: In Warsaw, 3,000 marched in 10 degree weather in full view of the police. In Poznan, people marched in the monument commemorating the 1956 workers' uprising. In Wroclaw, several thousand people clashes with police. In Gdansk, which was virtually under state of emergency, gatherings were difficult yet workers leaving the shipyards were chanting "Solidarity! Solidarity!"

The protesters were not only expressing their support for Solidarity, they were also opposing the most recent 40% food price rises "aimed at absorbing money people can't spend because of a lack of goods to buy." While the western press was quick to call the demonstrations a failure, since the number of participants was smaller than in previous years, the Polish government clearly understood the message — the increases have been lowered and postponed from New Year's Day 'til at least February.

British Columbia

It is difficult to call the Nov. 13 deal concluded between a select few labor leaders of Operation Solidarity and British Columbia Premier Bill Bennett anything less than a sell-out. Under this agreement, 85,000 striking government employees returned to work, with Bill 3 to repeal the seniority process eliminated from their contract. They will get a three percent raise this year, and one percent the next. But striking teachers will have to settle their contracts by negotiating with individual school boards, under the provisions of Bill 3.

Members of the Solidarity Coalition who had fought to overturn Bennett's cuts in social programs, from housing to civil rights, and who had supported the workers on strike, were not even consulted about the last-minute meeting with Bennett. The labor officials came back and said the government had agreed to a "consultative" process for discussing social needs and problems. Meanwhile, the budget cuts already made in social services will remain in effect.

A coalition member from Women Against the Budget summed up her disgust: "We want to be treated as equals, not as battered wives." The sentiment among many in the rank-and-file, both workers and community activists, is that they have not had their final say.

Grenada

The U.S. invasion of Grenada is now an occupation with no end in sight. Sir Paul Scoon and his self-appointed nine-man "council" have designated security as their main concern, assuring a U.S. military presence indefinitely. Heavy construction equipment deployed at the Point Salines airfield raises the likelihood that Reagan plans to convert the unfinished airport into a U.S. military installation.

The 300 "non-combat" troops still in Grenada bear arms and conduct security duties: they man roadblocks, help guard at the Richmond Hill prison where around 45 political prisoners are being held incommunicado, and continue to administer the arrest and interrogation of Grenadians sus-

pected of sympathies for Maurice Bishop and the New Jewel Movement.

Scoon has prepared the way for U.S.-style "democracy" by lifting the right of public assembly and allowing arrests without warrants. He retains power to proscribe employment, and to censor the press. The vaunted elections projected by the Reagan Administration are now to be held four years hence, if then — a period in which the U.S. expects to expunge the memory of the 1979 Grenadian revolution.

The Reagan Administration has dropped propaganda about being an "equal partner" with the East Caribbean invasion force. It is first now building such a force, with a program and millions in aid to train a multi-island army to patrol the area against internal unrest. This program has received particularly enthusiastic support from the right-wing governments of Jamaica and Barbados.

No one yet knows for certain how many Grenadian casualties were suffered during and after the U.S. invasion. Nor is it known when, if ever, Reagan intends to remove all U.S. troops. But it is clear that the only support for the occupation is coming from Grenada's minute middle class, which expects to cash in on promised economic aid.

In Brief . . .

QUEBEC — In recent months Haitian cab drivers in Montreal have been fighting attempts to push them out of their jobs by racist white workers. One Haitian driver, Willy Ciceron, has registered a complaint with the Quebec Human Rights Commission over attempts by white drivers to prevent Haitians from picking up fares. The racist propaganda over Haitians as supposed carriers of AIDS has sparked the attacks, which range from "warning" passengers not to get into Haitians' cabs, to actual beatings of Black drivers.

* * *

SPAIN — New labor unrest, including occupation strikes, has broken out against the Social Democratic Gonzalez government's mass lay-off plans in government-owned industries, such as steel and shipbuilding. The government also wants to replace full-time workers with temporary ones in some industries because, according to Labor Minister Alumnia: "For the two million officially registered unemployed, it is preferable for them to work a few months than not at all." So far the labor unions have hit back hard, saying that the government wants merely to "generalize the insecurity of employment" in the country. Only 25% of the unemployed are covered by any benefits at all.

* * *

PUERTO RICO — It has been revealed in the media with irrefutable proof that two young independence advocates were killed in cold blood by five police on a mountaintop in 1978. The youths had apparently gone there to sabotage TV equipment, were caught, and while on their knees before the police, were shot and killed.

* * *

JAMAICA — Reagan's chief Caribbean stooge, Edward Seaga, held an election Dec. 15, only nobody came. The social democratic Peoples National Party boycotted this snap election. It was called at the height of the Reagan-orchestrated anti-Left hysteria over Grenada, and without having, as promised, allowed 180,000 youth to register to vote. Seaga may have won the sham election, but the real contest will come in the streets as Jamaicans, already suffering 25% unemployment, face a new dose of austerity measures dictated by the IMF and rubberstamped by Seaga.

* * *

NIGERIA — A military coup led by Major General Mohammed Buhari deposed the recently reelected government of President Shehu Shagari. The military said it wished to end the "inept and corrupt" leadership. Buhari, an armored brigade commander, was Oil Minister of the country in 1976 during a previous military regime. The military coup is but the latest in a series of five since independence in 1960. Neither military nor civilian government has changed the huge disparity between the rural and urban poor and the oil wealth flowing into favored pockets. This latest coup promises only more of the same.