

Unorganized workers may take lead



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

In Los Angeles I have been walking the picket line at a strike of garment workers that has continued for seven months at the Southern California Davis Pleating Factory. These workers were making five dollars an hour, and the company demanded concessions to bring them down to minimum wage. They walked out, and the company hired in scabs. The workers say "we can't live on five dollars an hour, how are we supposed to live on minimum wage?"

The simple truth is that the lower-paid and unorganized workers can't accept concessions because they will starve if they do. One worker told me, "I have to work ten hours a day, five days a week, and I still have trouble finding enough food to feed my two kids. I am 25 and had a good job in auto until I was laid off. I don't see how people are going to be able to take it. No wonder the police here act like they are stormtroopers."

When the UAW union leadership argues over whether workers "should" or "shouldn't" accept more concessions in the next contract, they are speaking only to a small minority of the American work force. The fact is that most workers can't accept concessions, if they do they will starve. And like the workers at Davis Pleating that is why they fight.

More and more auto workers are feeling the same way. They have seen their living standards come closer and closer to the level of the non-unionized worker. Instead of listening to their union leadership's call for "understanding" and "compromise" with management, workers inside and outside auto would do better listening to the words and deeds of the rank-and-file workers resisting concessions. It is the workers resisting these give-backs that spells the direction for what to do next.

Already GM is saying that in order to maintain its huge profits — over \$3.7 billion in 1983 — even more concessions will be needed from the workers. They are talking about

(Continued on page 3)

Black World

Miami and Black America



by Lou Turner

Miami is no longer a place, it has become a condition. Even more, it has become the exposed nerve ending of the American Black condition.

What happened the second week of March in Miami was simple, and by now commonplace: an all-white jury in less than two hours, including the time it took them to eat dinner, decided that policeman Luis Alvarez was not guilty of manslaughter charges when he walked into a video arcade in the Black Overtown area of Miami and with an already cocked gun shot 20-year-old Nevell Johnson Jr. in the head at point blank range on Dec. 28, 1982.

FOUR YEARS OF REVOLT

On the evening of March 15 Alvarez was found not guilty of manslaughter after one of the longest trials in Miami history. That evening, and for the next two days, Black Miami in Liberty City, Overtown, Carroll City and Coconut Grove put Alvarez and the system that found him innocent on trial and found them guilty.

For the fourth continuous year, Black revolt has spontaneously erupted in Miami, with the demand for justice on everyone's lips. In these four years since the 1980 Miami rebellion, following the acquittal, by an all-white jury, of four white cops who participated in the killing of Black insurance salesman, Arthur McDuffie, police killings have increased.

The cold-blooded facts of Alvarez's case were so glaring that even the Dade County Justice Department was compelled to go through with yet another "show trial" in which the outcome was as pathetic as it was predictable.

"They talk about justice — what kind of justice do we have? All of our Black people are getting killed and none of them get convicted." That, coming from an angry Black Miamian, could have come from any inner-city Black resident who has to deal with the justice/"just-us" system of legalized hypocrisy in Black America.

(Continued on page 9)

Battles over coal mine safety show stakes are high for labor in 1984

by Andy Phillips

Morgantown, W. Va. — "We've just got to get stronger safety provisions in the next contract," the Pennsylvania coal miner declared. "There are more men getting killed and hurt than there have been for a long time now." Just how shocking safety conditions are in the mines under President Reagan's pro-management policies was further disclosed during my recent visit to Morgantown, W. Va., where the daily paper carried a front-page report on a recent court decision upholding the United Mine Workers Union in a mine safety suit brought against Consolidation Coal Company's Blacksville mine in northern West Virginia.

The shocking aspect stemmed from the fact that there had been a court case at all. The Blacksville mine is one of the gassiest in the nation. When a fan breaks down, the gas cannot be driven out of the mine. Explosive quantities accumulate, and a single spark can blow up the mine, killing everyone in it. The company had insisted that when fans went down, the miners ride out of the mine in man-trip cars that are powered by electric motors hooked to overhead lines by trolley poles that are always throwing sparks.

CHEAPER TO RISK MINERS' LIVES

During the many years I had worked in the mines in the area, the first order given when a fan went down was to shut off all electric power to make sure no electric spark could set off a disaster. And we always walked out of the mine to the safety outside. There was never any question about it, and Consol would never have dared to do anything otherwise.

The fact that Consol today can show such open disregard for the lives of the miners is possible only because of Reagan's own contempt for the working class, as well as the completely pro-management orientation of his administration. This anti-labor hostility now challenges today's so-called labor leaders to reverse the unbroken series of working class defeats orchestrated so effectively by the Reagan administration. This year will be crucial for workers and their families, and especially those whose contracts expire during 1984.

Contracts covering nearly three million workers will be up for negotiations, including the auto, coal, oil, construction, railroad, maritime and food industries and the U.S. Postal Service. What happens will determine if the long concessionary trend, begun by former UAW President Fraser with his Chrysler give-aways, will continue or be halted and reversed.

The record of the leaders to date is not promising, and goes back to Reagan's first action upon taking office: his direct, conscious and well-calculated destruction of the PATCO union. The abject capitulation of the labor leaders to this direct attack opened the Administration anti-labor floodgates. Every appointment, especially to the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), every labor bill introduced by the Administration has been designed to roll back gains made by labor in the great upsurge of the CIO in the 1930s.

ANTI-LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

One example of this can be seen in the backlog of over 1,700 NLRB cases last year, four times more than there were in 1978; furthermore, last year the board handed down only 800 decisions, compared with 1,700 yearly decisions during the Carter Administration. This growing backlog means workers or unions bringing cases against corporations will have to wait years for action, with little hope for a favorable decision even after the unconscionable wait. Workers who get together to form a union can all be fired by a company that knows it will take years for the case to even be heard by the NLRB.

(Continued on page 10)

ON THE INSIDE

Non-Marxist scholar-careerists in "Marxism" by Raya Dunayevskaya	p. 4
Editorial: Religious retrogressionism	p. 10
Essay: Black opposition to U.S. imperialism in the 19th century	p. 8

El Salvador's election

The first round of the El Salvadoran presidential election, bought and paid for by the United States government, has taken place. No sooner were the polls closed than Ronald Reagan and his henchmen got up on their soap boxes to proclaim democracy was alive and well in El Salvador. Reagan was joined by the U.S. observers of the election who quickly jumped on the plane home and into Reagan's arms at the White House to proclaim their support for U.S. arms being sent to the Salvadoran military.

Thereby was revealed the truth of this election. It was not for the people of El Salvador, though they faced fines and intimidation for not voting, but for Ronald Reagan in his campaign to get tens of millions of dollars worth of military hardware approved by Congress and sent to El Salvador's dictatorial rulers.

In El Salvador the days after the election are like the days before, with death squads of the right continuing their kidnappings and torture murders. A half a million Salvadorans have fled from the military's terror, and still more are seeking a refuge.

So brazen has been Reagan's drive toward war in Central America that in the most recent days we have been witness to:

- the landing of new U.S. troops in Honduras, some deployed on the border with El Salvador, the others on the Nicaraguan border.
- U.S.-manned reconnaissance flights relaying guerrilla positions to the El Salvadoran military.
- the U.S.-sponsored Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries mining of Nicaraguan ports which have already caused damage to several ships from other countries.

Far from El Salvador's election being any move toward peace, it is only part of Reagan's war upon the peoples of Central America.



Salvadoran refugees fleeing to Honduras.

Firsthand report describes movement of women in India

Editor's Note: The following is excerpted from correspondence from a woman activist in India who began writing to Women's Liberation — News & Letters after reading about us in the Indian feminist journal, Manushi.

Bihar, India — We are busy these days having a month of training programs for village women. We have a bit of everything in which they are interested. There is also a small dose of political education through songs and chants:

We break mountains, we break stones,
Mixed with our own blood, we make fields,
But to who belong the fields? to who the rice?
And to who the sweating and hardwork?

Indian women have taken up the issue of property land rights in the Supreme Court. We are aware that even if we win, the case will remain ineffective unless there is a very strong women's organization. But at least the issue has been raised and this was unthinkable a couple of years ago.

TRIBAL PEOPLES' MOVEMENT

Tribal people have a continuous history of militant uprising against the colonial rule. They were also the last conquered by imperialist power. Especially the Ho tribe, with whom I live, are great lovers of freedom. The role of women in the movement is still weak. Their potentiality and creativity has not yet been released from the claims of social pressure in their own society and this is what we see as an urgent task ahead of us.

The movement is facing so many questions: will the problems of the tribals be solved just by getting a separate state unless there is also a socialistic approach together with it? Who will get the political power? Can one create an "island" of socialism in a national capitalist economy? What will be the role of a Party? What kind of organization can one foresee?

Many in the tribal movement are realizing that instead of making their issue a "communal" one, they need to join hands with the broader working class struggles and to raise women's problems in the movements. The Communist Parties, instead, put the stress on the organized working class. Whereas the working class is in fact a "privileged" section in our context as they have permanent jobs and salaries and many have become landlords in the rural areas.

Religion in India is also playing a crucial role. Many of the class struggles that are taking place today are defined as "religious" or "communal" troubles. Indira Gandhi is also playing with communalism to keep her power. Furthermore in spite of the myth of Indian non-violence and "spiritualism" Indian society is very violent. The government's response to opposition is brutal. Soldiers will enter any village with tanks and will burn houses of people with all the paddy rice they have stored for the whole year's food.

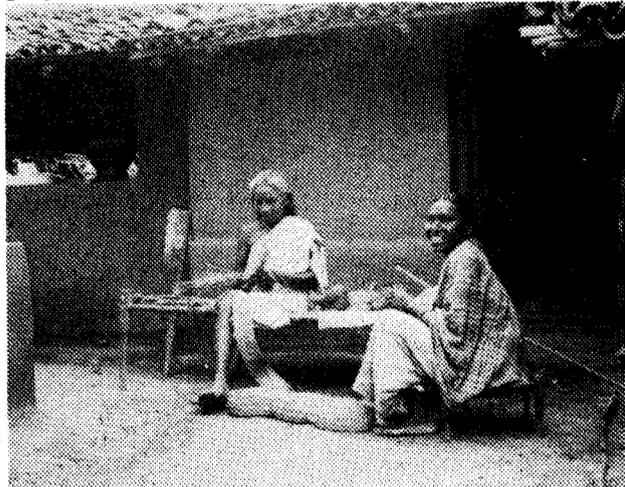
SEARCH FOR FREEDOM UNITES

I enjoyed the women's liberation statement you sent me. I am dreaming of the day we can start here some women's committees. It would not take long to start them with middle class intellectual women, but I am not inclined to do it that way. I feel simply that working women have to be the leadership.

I am so happy that one day by chance I wrote to News & Letters. Through your paper, we have come to know about the reality of the second U.S. that is so different from the image we know.

What is so beautiful is that coming from such different

backgrounds and living in such different situations at present, we can come so close in our search for freedom and real humanity. Please send some more literature. As soon as it falls into somebody's hands they want to devour it! Also a Hindi history scholar, a "real Marxist" who is interested in both Marx's Ethnological Notebooks and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, plans to translate some of the material into Hindi in the near future to make it more available to more people.



Maki Bui, whose case challenging the validity of the law prohibiting Ho tribal women from inheriting family land is before the Indian Supreme Court, sits with her daughter.

Court suit on land rights

In the course of the last decade, women in India have created an important feminist movement. They are fighting against so-called "suicidal burning" where a young woman is burned to death by her in-laws because of insufficient dowry, killing of women as "witches," the practice of "Dvads" — women who are dedicated to the temple of God for the sexual pleasure of men — as well as issues of rape, wife battery, pornography and women's right to land.

The feminist journal, *Manushi*, has been at the forefront of these struggles, and has taken up, along with other women, the issue of women's right to land among the Ho tribe with the Supreme Court of India.

The following is a report of the situation of tribal women of Ho, based on a letter written by Madhu Kishwar, editor of *Manushi*, and presented to the Supreme Court of India. Kishwar presented to the court, the case of Maki Bui, a 50-year-old widow who was facing constant harassment from her late husband's family. Information also from Asian Women.

Among members of the Ho tribe in Bihar, India, women have rights only to the produce of the land and never to the land itself. The land will go to a male heir and if there is no such heir will become the common property of the village vested in the headman.

As a result, women who carry out 80% of the agricultural

operations of the tribe remain unmarried in large numbers in order to be able to enjoy the right to the produce of the land. Many times, single, widowed or unmarried women are murdered so that men can enjoy unfettered rights to the land. Often times a single woman who owns land is labelled "witch" and subsequently killed.

If a woman is raped by an outsider she loses the right even to the product of the land and becomes in a certain sense "untouchable." She has to retain separate quarters of living and often times has to resort to prostitution or begging to feed herself and her children.

Ironically, the tribal women of India, enjoyed many more rights before the entrance of the British colonizers in India. Land used to be held in common ownership, until the British settlers introduced private property by force. They arbitrarily issued the deeds to the male members of the family and thereby excluded women from what, until then, was common property of all tribal members.

Dehumanization in New Bedford

Far greater than the shock that swept the country last March — when a young woman was gang-raped on a pool table in a New Bedford bar while spectators cheered (see April, 1983 N&L) — is the shock of seeing no less than 10,000 now, a year later, daring to protest the conviction of four of the rapists!

Their attempt to charge that the verdicts were the result of "bias against Portuguese immigrants" (who are, without a doubt, discriminated against in this prejudice-ridden land) can no more "explain away" such degradation than the support many blue collar workers gave the racist Wallace can be "explained away" by the alleged "anti-Establishmentism" of those racist workers. Racism is sexism. Sexism is sexism. And dehumanization is dehumanization.

It is not only that Reaganism has pushed back very nearly all the gains the Women's Liberation Movement had won over a decade of hard struggles. It is that the ground has been laid for ever more monstrous brutality against women everywhere, a brutality that takes countless forms. Having witnessed the savage examination the rape victim was forced to undergo in the Massachusetts trial — where the "Rape Shield law" was supposedly in full force — what other rape victims will be willing to risk a similar second rape in the courts?

That the very same evening news which brought scenes of the 10,000 men and women cheering for the gang-rapists in Massachusetts, brought scenes of the mass murders of 14 women in Green River, Wash., and the arrest of five teachers charged with sexually molesting over 100 nursery school children in suburban Los Angeles, is proof of the depravity of this viciously sexist and sick society.

Never was the need greater for a Women's Liberation Movement out to help totally uproot this dehumanized world and create a new one on human foundations.

—Women's Liberation — News and Letters Committees

Feminist reviews 'Women and Irish Nationalism'

Unmanageable Revolutionaries — Women and Irish Nationalism, by Margaret Ward. London: Pluto Press and Ireland: Brandon Book Publishers, 1983.

Margaret Ward's book, in describing over 100 years of revolutionary activity by many "ordinary" Irish women who even today are not accepted as equal members within the nationalist movement, also reveals the determined struggles by women — both within that movement and by those critical feminists who remained outside of it — to fight for women's rights.

LADIES LAND LEAGUE

The Ladies Land League (1881-82) was one of the most revolutionary movements even though it wasn't set up specifically to organize around women's issues, but to replace the male activists imprisoned under the Coercion Act. It was led by Anna Parnell who was well acquainted with the anti-slavery/anti-sexist views of the early American feminists.

She told the women that: "You must learn to depend upon yourselves, and to do things yourselves and to organize yourselves" — no mean feat in Catholic Ireland. There were clear links between the women's sexual oppression and the class exploitation of the labourers and tenant farmers, and the women proved themselves to be more radical and sincere than the men.

They called for an all-out rent strike against the big landlords, and as Ward notes: "... now that women had come into the public arena, observers noticed that the ordinary women no longer viewed the proceedings 'at a respectful distance,' but thronged around the platform..."

NATIONALIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

From 1900-14 an independent nationalist women's movement was formed called Inghinidhe na hEireann, because women were excluded from nearly all other groupings. They produced the first women's paper in Ireland and an editorial comment declared: "Freedom for our nation and the complete removal of all disabilities to our sex."

However a split developed over the method by which free-

dom from both sexism and the British was to be gained. Inghinidhe remained silent as hundreds of women demonstrated against the Cat and Mouse Act and their exclusion from the Home Rule Bill, insisting women's oppression would disappear along with the British and that: "To accept enfranchisement by a 'hostile Parliament' would only be 'humiliating'."

Cumann na mBan, started in 1914, is the third organization focused on in the book but it too failed to give any independent lead to the women of Ireland. Determined to keep a united front, "... its status was deliberately circumscribed by its constitutional requirement to 'assist' the men in their fight for freedom."

IRISHWOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE

Only the Irishwomen's Franchise League attempted to fight both issues. It was co-founded by Hanna Sheehy Skeffington in 1908, who said that in spite of "... theoretical equality, some Sinn Feiners have not yet rounded Cape Turk where women are concerned." Hanna was a close friend of the Marxist revolutionary James Connolly, one of the few male activists to recognize the deeper potential inherent in the feminists' demands. Connolly said: "Sex distinctions are harmful alike to men and women... Women must organize. They must ask for a minimum wage and insist upon having it."

At the beginning of her book, Ward says that the reason that she wrote it was: "... the contradictions between nationalism and feminism continue to overwhelm us, as the debate over whether or not the campaign for political status waged by the women prisoners in Armagh jail was a feminist issue, so painfully confirmed. Many feminists were emotionally torn between their desire to support the sufferings endured by women, and their concern lest this feminist solidarity be translated into unconditional support for the Provisionals. And, unhappily, women within Sinn Fein who are fighting for greater equality for women... felt betrayed at the lack of public support by the feminist movement."

I think the book, from the history it describes, teaches us that you cannot fight single issue campaigns, because to truly eradicate sexism will mean a total change from the bottom up. Reading Ward's book has certainly made me think hard about these issues. —Feminist reader, London



women-
worldwide

Marion Guinn, a divorced woman with four children, was awarded \$390,000 by a Tulsa, Okla. jury, March 15, in her lawsuit against Collensville Church of Christ and three of its church elders for publicly admonishing her for the "sin of fornication." In stretching a hand to the 17th century, the elders had painted a red "A" on her forehead for "adultery."

California's 1978 maternity leave law — allowing four months maternity leave and job reinstatement — was overturned by U.S. District Judge Manuel Real, March 19, because it "does not grant men and women equal medical leave benefits." He also said it was pre-empted by federal law, which does not mandate either maternity leave or job reinstatement. Outraged women's and labor groups are pressuring the state to appeal.

Concerned about declining birth rates, the Romanian government has called for each family to have three or four children and for stricter enforcement of anti-abortion laws — which prohibit abortion except in cases of rape, hereditary diseases, specific medical reasons, and women who already have four children. President Nicolae Ceausescu said that doctors have been granting permission for abortions "too easily... as a source of income."

The original national headquarters of the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) in Washington, D.C. has been designated as a national historic site and home of the Archives for Black Women's History and the Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial Museum. Bethune founded the NCNW in 1943 with a feminist focus and called for documentation of Black women's history.

Stop two-tier wage for labor unity

by John Marcotte

When McDonnell-Douglas workers were forced to accept a contract they had twice before rejected after striking 117 days, the worst concession they had to accept was the two-tier wage system they so bitterly opposed. New hires in the ten lowest skill grades will have their wages cut, creating a greater division between higher and lower paid workers, skilled and unskilled, old and new.

Workers at Union Oil are on strike for the same reason: absolute rejection of the company's trying to force a two-tier wage system on them. Last year, workers at GM's Packard Electric Division also overwhelmingly rejected such a plan.

In a contract after contract, one of the most sought after concessions by management now is this two-tier wage system. If it doesn't affect the wages of those now working and voting on the contract, management may wonder why workers are choosing this very concession to fight so hard and strike over.

Maybe they think this is the "me generation" and solidarity is an old-fashioned idea. But workers know a lot more is involved in a two-tier wage system than mere lost wages. It is a conscious strike at the very heart of what industrial unionism is all about.

A WEDGE BETWEEN WORKERS

The fact is that the two-tier wage system already exists throughout this country. It exists in every non-union shop, but not only there. Let me tell you about a metal stamping shop organized in District 65/UAW, where a friend works. The two-tier wage system has been a part of life there and in many other 65 shops since long before the term "concessions" was ever dreamed up.

In that District 65 shop you have a maintenance mechanic getting \$9 an hour right next to a newer worker doing the same job for \$5 an hour. You have a tool and die maker getting \$10 or \$12 an hour, next to a newer tool and die maker who starts at \$4 an hour and gets a 50-cent raise every six months for three years. You have women in assembly getting \$3.65 an hour to start, working for years and only getting the low yearly contract raise.

NYC furriers on strike

New York, N.Y. — Almost 2,000 furriers have been out on strike for four weeks here in New York City. We were working without a contract for two days. Then came the lockout. The bosses aren't talking. They are in Las Vegas right now for a fur show.

The employers want 12 months of the year for subcontracting. But they only got three months during which they could subcontract work. That means we would be out on the street soon.

The union wants 2½% of the profits for the health fund. The employers want to change the health and pension. I have my own demands and one is that everyone should vote on every point separately. That would be real democracy.

The companies are waiting for us to get discouraged. I think they will settle just before seven weeks come, to avoid paying any unemployment benefits. For us this struggle isn't for wages but to save the union. Without it we'll have nothing.

I am 60 years old. I know there were 18,000 furriers when I started. I put in a lifetime and when I retire I'll get a pension of \$195 a month. I think it's about the same with every other industry.

—Furrier worker

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from page 1)

eliminating 80,000 jobs through automation in GM alone. This has workers angry. In Oklahoma, when workers heard of the huge GM profits, they put up a banner in the plant reading "No More Concessions in '84." Workers around the country are saying it is about time we began to get back what was given up in the give-backs. Even the UAW International union leadership has had to sound a little more "militant" lately.

One worker in GM told me, "The workers are talking about anything that has to do with give-backs. A lot of workers are talking about the chance for a strike in auto this year. It could be in either GM or Ford, it is hard to say which. The workers seem to be getting ready mentally for a long strike. Every worker I have spoken to says there will be no concessions. The direction of what happens next in auto will be decided less by what the union bureaucrats decide than by what the rank-and-file do."

All the autoworkers I know are saying there is one and only one reason for these lush profits — the \$3 billion in wage and benefit concessions workers in Ford, Chrysler, and GM were forced to fork over since 1980. GM produced 1.7 million fewer cars last year than in 1973 — some recovery! All GM does is practice their "lock step approach" to profit: they project a level of profit they want to reach, and cut costs and raise car prices to reach it. This means wage concessions and unemployment for workers, higher priced cars for consumers, and fewer cars coming off the assembly line — all while profits soar. This is their idea of a recovery?

The corporations know that "recovery" for them means misery for the workers. They know their profits come from only one place — labor. That is why they can exist only by pumping more and more work out of the workers. But that is not where their problems end. It is just where it begins. Despite all the talk of "recovery," the coming stage of contract negotiations in auto and elsewhere will be a period of struggle and confrontation that could turn the labor movement around.

Like a new worker who had rank-and-file experience in the Teamsters said, "I thought having a union meant every job gets a certain rate, whether you've been there ten years or ten days. What kind of unity or strength can you have like this? That's why there are so many rats here, and why the others don't even dare speak up at a union meeting."

How did this shop get to this situation, being under union contract since the late 1940s? First, the minimum rates in the contract have been kept so ridiculously low you have to hope for merit raises and overtime if you are going to survive.

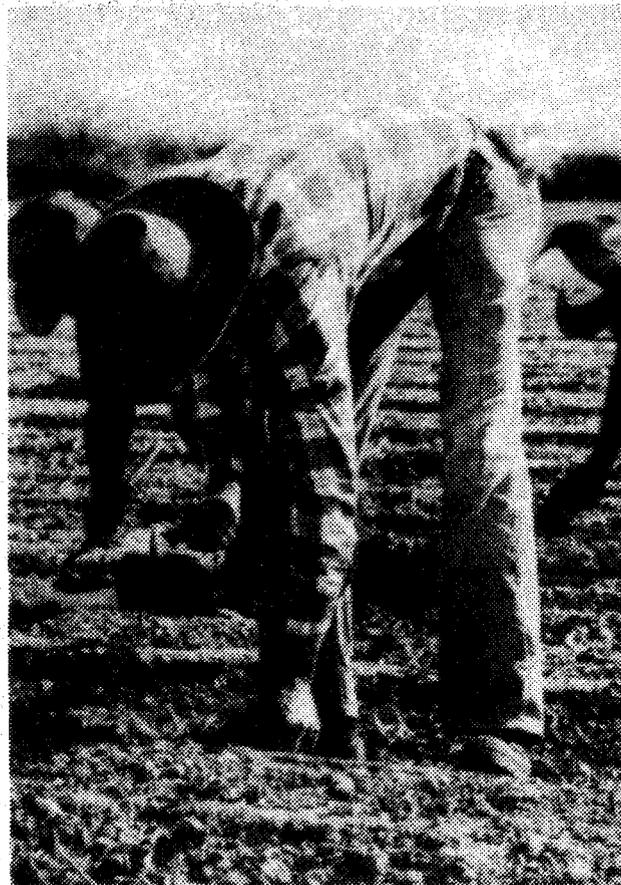
FAVORITISM IN SHOP

Then when the last contract was negotiated in October, 1982, the organizer not only joined the company in its scare tactics about business being bad — all lies — but he deliberately did not include the yearly raise in the starting rates. So the result is that as late as October, 1985 new workers will still be coming in at the same rates as in October, 1981. Workers were never told anything about this at the ratification meeting.

This does hurt us all, as workers who resist this two-tier wage system concession know. That metal shop in 65 is just like the worst non-union shop in its disunity, rratting, favoritism and discrimination.

Workers know that this is what is at stake in the two-tier wage system. That is why there has been and will continue to be such bitter opposition to that specific concession.

Restore Arizona ban on short-handled hoe



Farm workers in Marana, Arizona, using short-handled hoe in lettuce field.

Oakland, Cal. — Farmworkers are fighting two important legal battles now. One is in Arizona, where growers are trying to get a law passed that would once more legalize use of the short-handled hoe in the fields. Farmworkers call this tool an "instrument of torture" and fought long and hard to have it banned. They must work bent over all day to cultivate with the hoe. Over the years this means crippling injuries to the whole body.

Farmworkers in Arizona are not protected by workers' compensation for job injuries. During the proceedings, the law outlawing the hoe is not being enforced. Farmworkers say that despite wording of the proposed law making use of the short-handled hoe "optional," growers will not hire them if they refuse to use it.

In California, proceedings have begun against the University of California whose agricultural research projects have aided state agribusiness in developing automated growing and harvesting machines. The result has been thousands of farmworkers thrown out of work the past two decades.

The present suit, which took five years to get to court, was brought by 17 farmworkers, the California Agrarian Action Project, and California Rural Legal Assistance. The centerpoint of the suit challenges publicly-supported UC in providing research overwhelmingly to private agribusiness, while directing very little to the needs of farmworkers, small farmers and consumers.

Farmworkers called the automated harvesters "los monstruos" (monsters) when they first went into use, and growers have employed them to break strikes. Indeed, the date of the unholy pact between UC research and California agribusiness can be pinpointed to 20 years ago, when the UFW Delano strike signalled a new stage of the farmworkers' movement for human working and living conditions. The struggle continues!

British Leyland workers strike over transfers

Oxford, England — As many as 220 workers, mainly women, in the trim shop at the British Leyland (B.L.) Assembly Plant at Cowley took strike action recently for the right to remain on their existing job, when production of the Acclaim and Rover cars was moved to the Longbridge plant in Birmingham, and production of a new model, the LM11, was started in Cowley.

The company wanted to move the workers to other jobs in the factory, without consulting them or their union. The workers took unofficial strike action on their own initiative. The senior stewards recommended the strikers to return to work and take the matter through procedure, but if they had done this the changeover would have been completed before anything was decided.

Over 1,000 other workers were laid off because of the strike and B.L. lost production worth five million pounds. After two weeks the company agreed that the trim shop workers would get first opportunity to work in the trim shop on the new model. This was a gain, won against the advice of the senior stewards, but it fell short of the guarantee of staying in the same job that the workers were seeking.

When the company called in the full-time union officials to try to end the strike the officials lost no time in arranging a meeting for the next day. It's different when rank-and-file workers want to see them to deal with important problems; the officials keep their own members waiting.

In the neighboring unipart (spare parts) department, B.L. put forward a new incentive document, which management said could enable workers to increase their bonus earnings to a maximum of thirty pounds. Under this scheme, workers would have to work "bell to bell," losing washing up time (as other Leyland plants already have), and management would have the right to move workers around the plant at will, without consultation.

The plan also involved achieving 100 BSIs (British Standard Incentives), but the company reserved to itself the right to define what that meant in Unipart. The senior stewards achieved a 13 to 4 majority, in a meeting of Unipart shop stewards, to recommend the scheme to the workforce on a two months' trial, but in two mass meetings the workforce overwhelmingly rejected it.

One deputy senior steward admitted at the mass meeting that he didn't fully understand the document, but recommended it anyway. The workers voted to renegotiate the bonus deal with the company on more acceptable terms.

Shop steward at B.L., Cowley

W. Europe unemployment

Today in Western Europe there is massive unemployment of almost 13 million people. In West Germany alone, there are 2.5 million unemployed with an unemployment rate of 9.4% while that for West Europe is 11.5%. Holland's rate stood at 15.4% in January, Ireland's at 17%, Italy's at 12.7% and Britain's at 12.3%.

The government, whether social democratic or openly conservative, as in West Germany, are offering only Reagan-style cutbacks and austerity. The labor bureaucracy, led by West Germany's DGB (the German trade union confederation), has called for the 35-hour week for 40 hours pay to create jobs, and they plan a Europe-wide demonstration this spring in Paris.

But so far this movement has generated little mass support. Neither the labor bureaucracy with its social democratic politics nor the peace movement have been able to relate to the question of unemployment, which is found disproportionately among the youth. Mass unemployment plus horrendous new missiles and war threats are the stuff out of which revolutionary youth movements have grown in the past.

CTA drivers' perilous job

Chicago, Ill. — A fellow worker was a few minutes late picking up his bus and missed his run. Now he has to sit and wait for two hours, and if they don't get anything for him, he'll go home and lose his pay for the day. I just can't see it. If I get up and go to work, why should I lose the whole day?

In a factory if you are five or ten minutes late, they dock you for fifteen minutes, but if you are late for the Chicago Transit Authority, you lose the whole day. The only time you don't is when you are late due to a snow storm. Then they need the drivers, so they give you a run.

Yes, we make more than some workers. But we are suspended so easily — for not being on schedule or in uniform and for smoking on the bus. Everyday we drive buses with no shocks on bad streets. If we have a standing load, one mistake on the brakes, and all those people would go flying.

A lot of workers have been talking about the bus driver who was killed by a college student trying to get a reduced fare by using a high school student pass. I feel really bad about her death. I think they should eliminate those passes and just use high school I.D.s. Whenever I drive near a college, I make sure that only high school students get reduced fares. I never checked like that before, but since the driver was killed I do. After all, she was a human being.

We workers should be treated as employees, not animals. The company wants to cooperate with the workers, but only on their terms, their territory, which to me is nothing.

Our contract will be up in November, and I am afraid what will happen with the new contract. They are talking about taking a week of vacation from us. I want to know where the union stands. If you work 25 years, you get a pension which is 37½% of your salary. I think every driver should have a good pension based on 80%.

THEORY / PRACTICE

Marx's philosophy of revolution vs. non-Marxist scholar-careerists in "Marxism"

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

The writings of non-Marxist scholars who are careerists in Marxism have become an industry unto itself. One such scholar, Terrell Carver, who has spent more than a decade in the field, published his first, quite promising study, *Karl Marx Texts on Method*¹, in 1975. His latest work, *Marx & Engels, The Intellectual Relationship*², will be followed (in a soon-to-be-published 1984 symposium, *After Marx*³) with an article entitled "Marxism as Method," a title very similar to the first book he published. But the recent works appear to be totally the opposite of what Carver first seemed to be saying.

The reader had every right to read into that 1975 work, which focused on Marx's methodology, that the author meant dialectic methodology as Marx had transformed the Hegelian dialectic, which had created a revolution in philosophy, into a dialectics of revolution. That principle had permeated Marx's entire adult life, so that it mattered not at all whether the subject under discussion was philosophy or political economy; whether it was a matter of working out in theory a dialectics of revolution and writing a Manifesto for an organization that called for revolution, or actual participation in an ongoing revolution and even after its defeat declaring for "revolution in permanence."⁴ Therefore, it did not seem to matter at all whether a study of Marx was undertaken by a Marxist or a non-Marxist who had delved into the field merely as a scholarship pursuit.

THE TWO TEXTS Carver had chosen to concentrate on seemed most impressive and objective in that regard. One was the Introduction to the *Grundrisse* which had first come to light in our age and proved — even to opponents of the Hegelian dialectic and proponents of "scientific economics," like the Althusser — that the "mature Marx" had most definitely not discarded "philosophy" as he made his profound analysis of "the economic law of motion of capitalist society." It is true that Carver was presenting a new translation and commentary on only the Introduction of the *Grundrisse*, but there was no way of missing Marx's multi-dimensionality, his sweep of human development as the absolute opposite to capitalist wealth and alienated labor as well as to pre-capitalist society. Marx had, after all, held out a Promethean vision of a new society "where man does not reproduce himself in any determined form, but produces his totality. Where he does not seek to remain something formed by the past, but is in the absolute movement of becoming."⁵

Carver furthermore made some quite original contributions as he called attention to the fact that, profound and comprehensive as was Marx's Introduction, the post-Marx Marxists had narrowed their vision to make the only reigning principle of Marxian methodology to be a "development from the abstract to the concrete." Carver correctly stressed that that was not the method that characterized the Preface to Marx's Critique of Political Economy. As Marx explained: "I omit a general introduction which I had prepared as on second thought any anticipation of results that are still to be proven, seemed to me objectionable, and the reader who wishes to follow me at all must make up his mind to pass from the particular to the general..."

The second "Marx text" Carver chose to translate anew and comment on — "Notes (1879-80) on Adolph Wagner" — further reinforced the view that Carver was entering the contemporary field of challenging reigning Marx-interpretations by self-appointed Marx "specialists" who imprison everything in so-called "orthodoxy" when what is needed is a serious grappling with Marx's Marxism instead

of inventing unbridgeable gulfs between the "young" and the "mature" Marx. Here was a document from Marx's last years in which he was reaffirming that his dialectic methodology and the historically concrete commodity were inseparable. Moreover, commodity related not to a mere thing; the two-fold nature of the commodity reflected the two-fold character of labor — abstract and concrete — Marx's original contribution without which, he claimed, no scientific understanding of political economy is possible.

NOTHING IN ALL this could possibly have prepared the reader for the shock of reading Carver's latest article on "Marxism as Method," as he rushes to conclude: "Marx's actual method in dealing with political economy was eclectic and very complex. He used classical and Hegelian logic, and the techniques of mathematical, sociological, economic, historical and political analysis... This eclectic method included a notion of dialectic as the specification of conflictual, developmental factors in analysing social phenomena, and we know that Marx found this helpful in dealing, for example, with the concepts of money and profit." (My emphasis).

So opposite a picture of Carver emerges from his first book and his most recent writings that one is tempted to ask: Who is the "real" Terrell Carver? The answer, I believe, is revealed in an article — "Marx's Commodity Fetishism"⁶ — written the same year as *Karl Marx Texts on Method*. It is there we read: "In 1842 he (Marx) had read, a 1785 German translation of Charles de Brosses's *Cult of the Fetish-Gods*, published anonymously in Paris in 1760." Supposedly, "Marx used the word 'fetish' in this eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sense." (p. 50) This is further substantiated by him with a definition straight from the Oxford English Dictionary: "An inanimate object worshipped by savages on account of its supposed inherent magical powers, or as being animated by a spirit."

It is absurd to consider that Marx would have followed an Oxford English dictionary definition after a full quarter of a century of labor studying the commodity — at the end of which he was still so dissatisfied that, following the Paris Commune, he returned to his masterpiece, *Capital*, to introduce fundamental changes both in Chapter 1 and in the section on "Accumulation of Capital," asking even the reader familiar with the original edition to nevertheless read that 1872-75 French edition.⁷

6. Terrell Carver, "Marx's Commodity Fetishism." *Inquiry*, 18, pp. 39-63.

It is in the section on fetishism — in which Marx had seen that the mystical character which has human relations reduced to "material relations between persons and social relations between things" — that he now, after the Paris Commune, declared that only "freely associated" men and women can strip away that fetish. Carver makes short shrift of all of this by paying no attention whatever to such historical truths and dialectical relations.

The truth is that Carver totally rejects Marx's dialectic, including the whole labor theory of value and surplus value. He is so eaten up with hostility to Marx that in this article he strikes out also against the great economist, Joan Robinson,⁸ who, though she rejects Marx's dialectics, recognizes his great contributions to economics. Here is the arrogance with which Carver wipes his hands of all that: "If the arguments for his critical re-presentation of the labor theory of value are unconvincing, then there is no reason to accept his views precisely as he expressed them, and that is that." (p. 59)

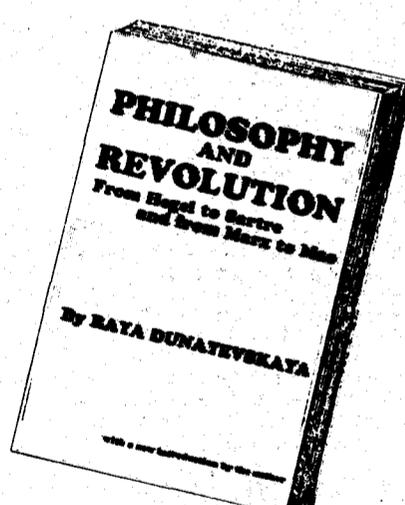
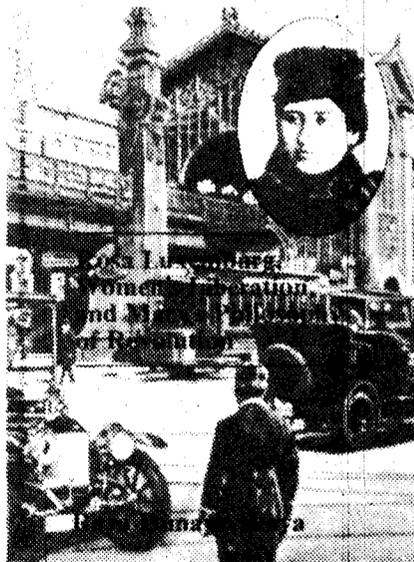
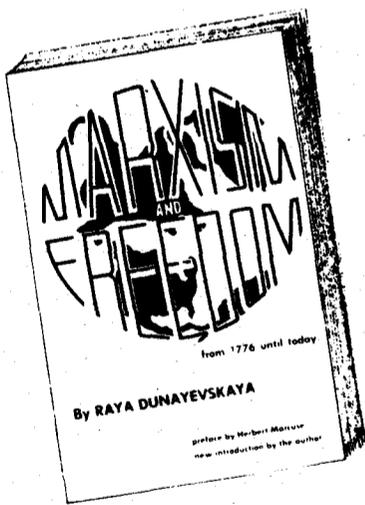
THE ONE PARAGRAPH Preface to *Marx & Engels, The Intellectual Relationship*, in which Carver calls attention to his *Marx-Engels Chronology*, may shed some illumination — but for very different reasons than he had in mind when he wrote that he hoped "the reader will find the *Marx-Engels Chronology* at the end of the book useful in following my account of two complicated careers..." The *Chronology* illuminates not so much the Marx-Engels relationship as the pragmatic, non-revolutionary pre-suppositions that

(Continued on page 5)

7. Over the years, I have traced not only Marx's concept of the fetishism as he described it in 1867 and in the 1872-75 French edition, but how Chapter 1, especially its concluding section on fetishism, has become central to all the debates over Marx the dialectician and Marx the "economist" at every single critical turning point in the objective situation. These debates begin with the call by the first revisionist, Eduard Bernstein, for the removal of the "dialectical scaffolding"; achieve a Great Divide in Marxism with Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic*; and reach the post-WWII period with Sartre on one side and Althusser on the other. See *Marxism and Freedom*, especially Chapter X ("The Collapse of the Second International and the Break in Lenin's Thought"); *Philosophy and Revolution*, Chapter 2, Section C ("The Adventures of the Commodity as Fetish"), as well as Chapter 6, on Jean-Paul Sartre, especially Section B ("The Dialectic and the Fetish"); and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, Part Three ("Karl Marx — From Critic of Hegel to Author of Capital and Theorist of 'Revolution in Permanence'").

8. One way Joan Robinson rejected dialectics was expressed when she told me that she wished Marx had told Engels all his economic theories, so Engels could have presented them in clear English.

A Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas in Three Works by Raya Dunayevskaya



Marxism and Freedom

Uncovers the American and Humanist roots of Marx's thought. Shows the birth of Marxism as beginning with a Movement from Practice.

Philosophy and Revolution

Traces the path of Hegel's dialectic through Marx and Lenin to today. Demonstrates the task of revolutionary philosophy within the freedom movement.

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

Presents the unfoldment of Marx's 'Revolution in Permanence', 1843-1883, as a challenge to post-Marx revolutionaries. Points out the Women's Liberation Movement's unfinished task.

All three books published by Humanities Press. \$10.95 each. Three for \$25.

Please send me

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

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send order to: News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Michigan, 48211

1. *Karl Marx Texts on Method*, translated and edited by Terrell Carver (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1975).
2. Terrell Carver, *Marx & Engels, The Intellectual Relationship* (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1983).
3. *After Marx*, edited by T. Ball and J. Farr, is soon to be published by Cambridge University Press.
4. See *Address to the Communist League*, available in many sources, including *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Collected Works*, Vol. 10. (New York: International Publishers, 1978).
5. See *Karl Marx, Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, (New York: International Publishers, 1965), p. 85.

News & Letters

Vol. 29, No. 3 April, 1984

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published ten times a year, monthly except for January-February and August-September for \$2.50 a year (bulk order of five or more — 15¢) by News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211. Telephone: 873-8969. Second Class Postage paid at Detroit, Michigan. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman, National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor (1955-1983)
Felix Martin Labor Editor
Eugene Walker Managing Editor

Chilean women organize to fight Pinochet repression

Editor's Note: As Chileans demonstrate daily in the streets against the Pinochet government, we print the following excerpts from a talk given by a Chilean woman exile.

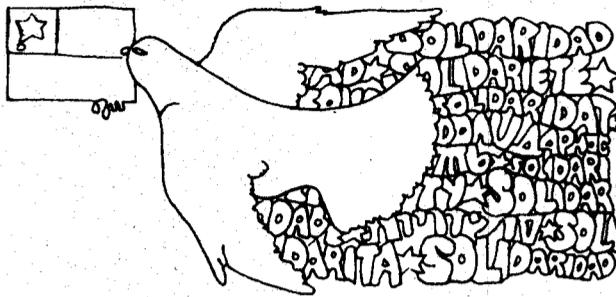
I will start by giving you an idea about what is going on within the country, inside Chile. Most of what I am going to say is based on direct observation. Since 1979, I have been going back to Chile.

What I have observed in general has to be placed in the context of two factors that dominate Chilean life. One is political repression, and the other is economic repression. They are two forms of repression which go hand in hand. The new economic system that the junta imposed upon the country after 1973 has of course produced devastating effects, that have affected the family fundamentally, and therefore women. The enormous, incredible amount of unemployment has produced an extreme state of poverty, and as a consequence, hunger and malnutrition.

On the other side are the political factors. I would only stay with the word repression because I think that that is enough to give you an idea of the situation that most of the people experience inside the country.

WOMEN'S 'SOLIDARITY' ORGANIZATIONS

Women have tried to organize themselves not only to fight the political repression, but also to counteract the economic situation in which they find themselves. I would call the numerous organizations of women, solidarity organizations. They are all in solidarity, one with another, although they are different types of organizations. And they are all organizations that have incredibly different characteristics, but have taken it upon themselves to struggle against the Pinochet government.



For instance, workshops, the word is talleres in Spanish. Chile is at this moment full of workshops that have been organized around different sectors of the population. If we take Santiago, the capital, it is surrounded by poblaciones, shantytowns, in which the living conditions are extremely poor and extremely difficult — lack of water, lack of electricity, in general the lack of the most basic elements to make life a little bit easier. Most of these hardships fall on women because women are the ones who have to carry the water and struggle against the conditions they live in.

These women have organized themselves very strongly in each of these poblaciones, in order to counteract the economic situation. From these organizations they have been able to get some changes in their living conditions. How are we going to feed the children? How are we going to feed ourselves?

For the children soup kitchens were established by different organizations. Women started taking their children to these soup kitchens, but feeling very bad about it. So they started working within the kitchens. They cooked the meals for the kids and then they decided to do something that would get them some money. They have started a series of embroidery workshops around the soup kitchens. They have produced some of the most incredible pieces of popular art which are part of the women's opposition to the dictatorship.

The women have also organized themselves in cultural and artistic groups because the dictatorship has tried very hard to break with the cultural and artistic past of the people. And so the women have taken upon themselves the task of continuing what was before. What they knew was their culture. I am referring to music, to popular songs, to a series of collective artistic expressions that they find essential to defend in order to survive within the conditions that the dictatorship has established. Women taped their own concerts, concerts in which the national popular dance of Chile, the cueca, which is essentially a dance of a man and a woman, is danced by a woman alone, signifying in a very dramatic way the absence of the man that disappeared. That is one of the most powerful organizations that I saw in Chile, emanating from direct political oppression.

DEMONSTRATE FOR 'DISAPPEARED'

There are other organizations. For instance, the Association of Arrested and Disappeared. The relatives of arrested and disappeared, the vast majority of them women, formed one of the strongest organizations. It is an association that has brought together a varied group of women — from different social classes, different political backgrounds, even from different religious backgrounds. They came together, worked together because they share one thing — a son, a husband, a father, a brother, who has disappeared.

They are women of all ages that work together. They continually demonstrate, have the courage and the power to demonstrate in Santiago by, for instance, tying themselves to the fences of the National Congress, by interrupting traffic. If you would only imagine what they are endangering when they do that, because the conditions in the country are very difficult, then you will have the full dimension of how brave these women are.

Then of course there are women who are part of the national commission for human rights in Chile, organizations that are not women-only organizations. Women are also quite involved in what is called the coordinator-syndical, coordinator of the organization of all the unions. This is extremely difficult in a country where all the unions were banned. The only ones surviving and those coming into the picture, are ones with very new people. The women's section of these union organizations have already had two national meetings in Chile in which they called for women to integrate themselves into the struggle for economic and political freedom.

The organizations, especially the ones that are the sort of spontaneous creations in the poblaciones, go unnoticed by a visitor. You only know about them if you are a Chilean, if you know where to go and with whom to talk. And when you do that you discover an incredibly rich organization that is, as I say, unnoticed by the rest of the people, that is hidden, but therefore very strong and very powerful and that one day will surface. It is a very positive hope for Chile at the moment.

THEORY / PRACTICE

(Continued from page 4)

are weighing heavily on the author.

Thus: 1) Missing entirely are the 1848 Revolutions or any writings during that period. No wonder there is not a word of the famous 1850 Address to the Communist League, written after the defeat of those Revolutions, in which Marx and Engels declared for the "revolution in permanence." In place of revolution — either the particular ones in France and Germany, or "in permanence" — what determines this so-called independent study of Marx is the concept of "career," "vocation." Carver goes so far as to picture, in this latest book, Engels losing out to Marx because he "lacked Marx's single-minded political thrust and unifying sense of vocation." (p. xiii)

2) The 1860s fare as badly in the Chronology as the revolutions that covered Europe in the 1840s. We are told nothing of the Polish Revolt, or the Civil War in the U.S., or the General Strikes in France — all of which resulted in the establishment of the International Workingmen's Association (First International), headed by Marx. Not only that. Along with Marx's activities came also the many restructurings of Capital, which led, at one and the same time, to relegating the history of theory to Vol. IV. Instead, "history and its process" became the center, the determinant for Marx. This means little to Carver, as is obvious from the fact that he also leaves out of his Chronology what was the greatest revolution in Marx's time — the Paris Commune — which led to the definitive French edition of Marx's greatest work, *Capital*, and which, in illuminating that intellectual relationship between Marx and Engels, would have thereby revealed what Marx's Marxism is.

3) Instead, Carver presents the last years of Marx's life so loosely that outright factual errors have crept in. The reader doesn't know whether Carver really does know the *Ethnological Notebooks* was led to believe by Engels that they were concerned only with Morgan's *Ancient Society*, and to believe, further, that Engels had included all of Marx's study in his own very first work after Marx's death — *The Origin of the Family* — as a "bequest" of Marx. No wonder that Carver does not subject Engels' very first "substantial" work after Marx's death to any critical examination. [This author considers that work to be the

9. See Chapter X of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, especially Section 2 ("Capital: Significance of the 1875 French Edition of Vol. I"). See also "The French Edition of *Capital*, 100 Years After," a paper presented by Terrell Carver to the Conference of the Eastern Sociological Society, Philadelphia, March 19, 1982.

Malathion poisoning

Los Angeles, Cal. — Nearly 1,000 residents of the Echo Park neighborhood gathered for a protest rally on March 14 to stop the aerial spraying of the pesticide malathion. For two hours the chanting protesters, especially the youth, "took over" the street, passing fliers to residents, warning them of the poisoning and asking all to join the vigil.

Days earlier, three fruit flies had been found in this multi-ethnic, low-income neighborhood, prompting officials to propose immediate spraying. The spraying had already begun weeks earlier in Black and Latino Watts and East Los Angeles, in the name of "saving" California's \$14 billion agriculture industry. There, reports of residents, particularly children, getting sick had met a deaf ear from officials.

In Echo Park, reaction to the announcement of spraying was spontaneous — over 500 gathered in a local park. The next day, at a meeting with 60 participants, one resident summed it up best: "Agribusiness used to have to pay for its own crop-dusting. Now they have found a way to make us pay for it, with our taxes and our health." Indeed, the politicians responsible for the spraying have received large campaign contributions from agricultural interests.

According to environmentalists, malathion is a nerve gas, with poisoning symptoms ranging from skin rashes to liver failure. Alternatives to the pesticide include the use of sterile flies; it was this procedure that was followed when over a hundred fruit flies were found in the affluent San Fernando Valley in 1980. As one protester at the March 14 rally summed it up: "Save an orange, poison a child."

—Echo Park resident

Non-Marxist scholar-careerists

most serious deviation from Marx's Marxism, whether that be the concept of Man/Woman in the 1844 Essays or as it was developed in the full *Ethnological Notebooks*.¹⁰ A reading of those Notebooks would have proved to Carver that his conclusions that Marx and Engels are not "one" is by no means limited to the difference in Engels' presentation of Anti-Duhring before and after Marx's death. It is no wonder that the way Carver presents the situation ends with his total rejection of Marx and praise of Engels, though it began the other way around.

IN HIS LATEST WORK, *Marx & Engels, The Intellectual Relationship*, Carver devotes no less than two of the five chapters of the book to Engels, before the lifelong association was established in the autumn of 1844. This presentation, indeed, overshadows Marx's development in the crucial 1842-44 period. The first encounter between Marx and Engels in 1842, presented by Carver in Chapter 1 ("The False Start"), led nowhere, but Carver shows in great detail what Engels wrote in that period. The same holds true for 1843, which was a great turning point in Marx's life — not only personally, as his break with bourgeois society shows, but objectively, as his writing shows. But, again, the focus is on Engels, not on Marx, specifically on the article, "Outlines of a Critique of Political Economy," which Engels had submitted to Marx's journal in Paris, and which greatly impressed Marx.

What is important is not that it greatly impressed Marx then, but that Carver is so overwhelmed by it now, 140 years later, that he elevates it to a status above Marx's famous 1844 Essays, which initiated the discovery of a whole new continent of thought and revolution. Completed the month before the meeting with Engels in mid-August, Marx's views had so great an impact on Engels himself (even though he heard the concepts only in an abbreviated oral form) that a life-long collaboration of the two revolutionaries resulted.

Terrell Carver, the hide-bound eclectic, turns all this upside down. Thus: 1) Carver claims (p. 41) that since Marx's "excerpt-notes" contain a resume of Engels' "Outlines," it is, in fact, Engels who inspired Marx's now famous 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*.

2) Not only that. Carver further considers those 1844 Manuscripts "an intermediate stage of conceptual elaboration between Engels' critique of the economists's basic categories, and the much crisper 'premises' of *The German Ideology*" (p. 41, my emphasis), a collaborative effort of the two in 1845, which they later consigned to the "gnawing criticism of the mice."

3) Still not satisfied with his reduction of Marx's 1844 Manuscripts as something reflecting Engels' "methodology," Carver concludes: "The methodology, however, was adopted from Engels' 'Outlines,' where there was a focus on 'contradictions' in social life." (p. 54, my emphasis).

4) Finally, Carver concludes that "The theoretical, empirical and even in some respects political and historical virtues of Engels's work were substantially degraded when he settled into his role as Marx's 'second fiddle'" (p. 155).

Of course, when one has praised Marx's "eclecticism," spelled out his scientific, rigorous and voluminous concrete economic studies, stressing the meticulousness of his studies, how can one conclude that Marx's methodology, which led to his conclusion about the law of motion of capitalism, is mechanically "derived" from Hegel's categories in the *Logic*? Fiction in place of fact oozing out of Carver's eclecticism should not surprise us anymore than his crediting Marx's methodology in the 1844 Manuscripts to Engels.

What all this proves, to this author, is that the totality of the crises of our age, in thought as well as in material conditions, is so unrelenting in its stranglehold over pragmatism that it becomes impossible for the non-Marxist scholars to cut themselves free and make any real contribution to the knowledge of Marx's Marxism as a totality.

10. In 1972, Marx's Notebooks, titled *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1972), were finally transcribed by Lawrence Krader. For my analysis see especially Chapter XII, Section 2 ("The Unknown Ethnological Notebooks, the Unread Drafts of the Letter to Zasulich, as well as the Undigested 1882 Preface to Russian Edition of the Communist Manifesto") in Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

"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. It is our aim to assure its publication and 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."
from the Constitution of News and Letters Committees

Subscribe to

News & Letters
Only \$2.50 per year

Send coupon to: News & Letters
2832 E. Grand Blvd. Rm. 316
Detroit, MI 48211

Enclosed is \$2.50 for a one year subscription to N&L.

Name _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____

WOMEN'S LIBERATION: THE TODAYNESS OF ELEANOR MARX VS. NEW BEDFORD'S 'INFINITE DEGRADATION OF MAN'

When I watched that disgusting anti-woman march in New Bedford, Mass. on TV my mind went back to the way it was reported in N&L (April, 1983), just after the brutal gang rape had been committed. Suzanne Casey had written that it made her think of the quote from Marx's 1844 essay: "The infinite degradation in which man exists for himself is expressed in this relation to the woman as the spoils and handmaiden of communal lust..." Marx wanted to know when man as a species would become human. All I know is that we have a lot of work to do to rid ourselves of the sickness of this society.

Women's liberationist
Chicago

The way I see it, the New Bedford, Mass. trial and the many rapes in Detroit have a lot to do with the weakness of the rape shield law. I saw some of the film clips of the trial in Massachusetts. It was horrible because they were really slandering this woman. There are a lot of women who have been raped who are now bowing out — they will not prosecute.

In Massachusetts, the lawyers called her a liar, they called her a welfare cheat and said that she was living with different lovers. But what do any of these slanders have to do with the fact that she was raped? We need the rape shield law revised to stop what is happening to women now. And as women we need to get together to discuss what is happening to us.

Anti-rape activist
Michigan

The horrible demonstration of Portuguese in support of the New Bedford rapists after the trial sickened me. I could not believe, no matter what else they thought, that they would put two men who participated in the attack at the head of the parade and "celebrate" their acquittal. There is no way to justify it. Some so-called radical papers have been playing up the statements of the so-called "Committee for Justice", saying that their work against "anti-Portuguese bigotry" is great. But why in the hell does this committee then celebrate rapists as heroes? And why would any Left paper excuse such behavior?

The fact is that there is a duality in Portuguese society just as in every society. Why does everyone forget that the woman who was raped is Portuguese? Even at the time of the Portuguese revolution, the May 1, 1975 demonstration of Women's Liberation was attacked with rocks and trash by men of the Communist Party and other Left groups. Has the Left forgotten that already too?

Furious
New York City

In response to your article called "Detroit women organize against rape", we wanted to say how the Highland Park (Mich.) "Women Against Rape" was formed. On Feb. 1, when another young girl was raped, many of us were talking to each other on the telephone. We wanted to do something about it, and we came up with the idea that we wanted to have a rally against these rapes.

We called City Hall to get a permit for the rally, and they asked us what was the name of our group. That was when we came up with the name "Women against Rape." We didn't have any idea that there were other groups with the same name in other cities, until they began calling us and telling us that they would send us "brochures" on "how to organize." By then we were already organized.

City Council told us that we would have to wait two weeks for a decision on the permit. We decided to have the rally whether we got a permit or not. The established groups in the city who originally supported us were now backing down. They said that if we rallied without a permit we were going against the city, that we were "playing politics." But the truth is that in our demands on the leaflet, and in our rally downtown, we were trying to stop the crisis in our city.

Anti-rape organizers
Detroit

Ed. Note: See "Dehumanization in New Bedford," p. 2.

The todayness of Eleanor Marx came out so beautifully in Terry Moon's column, not only on the "Woman Question", but in her battle against those socialists in America, German immigrants, who had contempt for the indigenous U.S. proletariat. Today, it is indigenous American socialists who manifest that same contempt. Their view is often that revolution is conceivable in the Third World, but not in America, where "all the workers" are "brainwashed by TV."

Feminist
Los Angeles

Reading the essay on Eleanor Marx, and seeing how intensely she searched for "lower and deeper" subjects of revolution, I was struck with a very surprising thought. I wondered whether Eleanor Marx wasn't really a better exponent of the Marxism of her father than the person always taken to have represented Marx's ideas after his death — Frederick Engels? Perhaps she didn't see any divergence between her work 1883-98 and Engels', but I think we can see it today. It's worth a thought.

Student of Marxism
Michigan

BLACK THOUGHT TODAY AND YESTERDAY: MIAMI REBELLION, GARVEY'S RELEVANCE



Black leaders tried to keep the lid on any revolt in Miami when Alvarez was acquitted, but this didn't stop some youth from throwing rocks, bottles, and gunfire at all who represented the state. One young Black woman said, "I can't get no justice done and out here throwing rocks is my only way of feeling I have accomplished something." She accomplished something by being able to voice her ideas and be listened to by the nation and heard throughout the Black world.

Black worker
Los Angeles

Reagan may say what he likes about education, but I know he has turned the clock back for Blacks. There has been no increase in Black teachers at the school where I teach, and a decline in Black students. Starting next year they are bringing in computers. They say this is as a "teacher's aid", but the computer will demand most of my time, and will take away from the student-teacher relationship. Eventually, I wouldn't be surprised if the computer steals my job!

Teacher
Alabama

Lou Turner's articles on the hidden dimensions of Marcus Garvey — his relationship to the Russian Revolution and his roots in the West Indian peasantry — were very helpful to me. I have always liked the way N&L took up Garvey and the six million members he organized in the American Civilization on Trial pamphlet, where Garvey is connected to Claude McKay and to Lenin's view of the revolutionary nature of the U.S. Black masses. But I think we can also learn something new from studying Garvey's papers as they have now been published.

Black student
Detroit

Hasn't it long been known in the socialist and progressive movement that Garvey was a nationalist, pure and simple? I don't know why you keep bringing up his work when even W.E.B. DuBois saw through his schemes. When we have to deal with Reagan, it is time for both black and white to get together on a class basis, not a nationalist basis.

Long-time socialist
New York

Readers' View

CENTRAL AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONS

The problems of restructuring society after revolution are being worked out concretely in Nicaragua now, and the article "Report from Nicaragua" (March N&L) brings up again the issue of a non-industrial country operating within the context of the world capitalist market. However, I was dissatisfied with that article, because although it raised a question about the government's policy of producing for foreign exchange rather than for local use, it made no comment on what the government's stress on increased production means for workers at the point of production or for peasants in the fields.

Regular Reader
Chicago

At a recent benefit for the Central America Solidarity Committee (CASC) here, the right of Marxist-Humanists to set up a literature table was challenged. At the next meeting a week later, there was a good one-hour discussion on the subject of free speech, with Iranians, Palestinians and others pointing out the need to protect the vital principle of free participation of ideas in a coalition.

It is not surprising that the liberals who wanted to limit literature to material supposedly "only on Central America", attacked us at a time when two right-wingers had written editorials in the school newspaper charging that CASC was a left-wing group. Their response was to red-bait us in this underhanded way.

Marxist-Humanists
Salt Lake City, Utah

On March 24, the feeling of solidarity between the U.S. people and the struggling Central American masses swept like fresh air through the streets of Los Angeles. A crowd of several hundred swelled to over two thousand as marchers walked several miles. There could be no doubt in the shouts that rang to the top of skyscrapers that "The people united will never be defeated" were the feelings of the marchers for their own struggle as well for the Central American struggle. The many posters and leaflets carried expressions such as "Jobs, not colonies."

The question that hung over the march was one which the whole anti-war movement faces — why there was a lack of Black and Latino participation. It seems that the largely white solidarity movement has underestimated the interest of ordinary people in this issue, by not listening to the voices from the community and inviting them to raise issues concerning their lives at the same time they participate in such a march.

Wayne Carter
Los Angeles

BRITISH MINERS, AUTOWORKERS

The movement is on the defensive here but making a poor showing. The split among the miners is the worst thing that has happened here over many years. All of the establishment is attacking all sections of the working-class movement. They are endeavoring to cripple the parliamentary Labour party financially. Scotland Yard is using the full force of the police against the pickets. We are feeling the full pressure of reaction. The Nazis were never as tactful as the British Tories. The Labour bureaucrats are not fighting back.

Correspondent
Scotland

A friend at British Leyland's Cowley plant has been studying Charles Denby's Indignant Heart, while in the factory he is involved in the defense of a Black worker who was sacked for hitting a racist foreman. Some time before Xmas this foreman told the worker to move over to another job. The worker objected saying that he had already been moved once that day. The foreman abused him, calling him a "Black bastard", and the worker lost his temper and struck him. The foreman was knocked unconscious. BL management fired the worker at once.

Other workers who were around when the incident happened testified on the worker's side in the appeal. Management took the line that if the foreman was racist the worker should have made an official

complaint and "not taken the law into his own hands." The next step will be either to bring a case for unfair dismissal at an industrial tribunal, or a case for racial discrimination through the Race Relations Board, though neither of these bodies can force BL to reinstate the worker.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

LABORING PEOPLE . . .

Reagan's plan is to break all the unions. But it is only because we have had unions in this country that so many people enjoy a decent standard of living — the kind of thing Reagan likes to boast about, as if it's big business that has created this wealth for the working class. What I want to know is: If the government is giving money to big farmers not to grow wheat, why don't they give me money not to make airplanes?

McDonnell Douglas worker
Long Beach, Cal.

It will be a real tough fight in July when our contract comes up. The last contract was right after the PATCO firings and we got a lousy contract. You really don't have a union when you can't strike. We have so many problems. Health and safety violations pile up and OSHA doesn't even inspect. The recent postal union elections were a farce. Only one out of three workers voted because the supposed opposition had never been in opposition. They supported the last contract till now.

Postal Worker,
New York

All workers, not just industrial workers, are facing the concessions threat. The Bank of America plans to close 120 offices in California, eliminating 7,990 jobs in 1984. The hospitals and nursing homes are laying off thousands for the first time since the Great Depression because the workers and unemployed can't afford health care. And even insurance companies are beginning to cut office staff because workers, in each industry, are being asked to "give" concessions to the bosses.

I have only one piece of advice. As an ex-autoworker who has seen what concessions will do, I say: Don't do it! They will only use your own money to automate and cut out your job. You will be paying for your own execution.

Been through it
Los Angeles

I recently saw an article in Time magazine that listed the fastest growing, and fastest shrinking jobs in America. I was a little surprised to see that janitors are the second fastest growing job category of all. But I wasn't surprised to see that fewer jobs are open today for clergymen than anything else. Hell, everybody I know is feeling the pinch. They are losing their jobs and finding out what this economy is about. The people are looking at reality more because it is really doing a number on them. They don't want to bother dropping nickels in the preacher's bucket anymore — they want some kind of human change. No wonder the clergymen are going out of business.

Unemployed Black worker
Los Angeles

. . . AND LABOR HISTORIANS

Recently I took a trip to West Virginia which made me more anxious than ever to read the forthcoming N&L pamphlet on the 1949-50 coal miners' general strike. The current battles of miners are light years removed from the "theories" of even sympathetic academics. In the WVU library I read about the "Kerr-Siegle theory of miners' strike proneness," (sic!). It turns out to be based on a conception that miners live as "isolated masses" in separate communities with their own "codes and myths." This Kerr is the very same Clark Kerr who became infamous attacking the Free Speech Movement in California in the 1960s.

That disgusting viewpoint has nothing at all to do with what the miners have been fighting for — in 1949-50 or right now. The academics need to learn how to listen to what the miners are actually saying before they make up their theses.

Former West Virginian
Detroit

Write for and subscribe to News & Letters

DISCUSSIONS ON A MARXIST-HUMANIST BODY OF IDEAS

Participating in the classes on Marxist-Humanism, I have been coming back to the question: why was capitalism allowed to develop for the past 200 years? Why was it given a new lease on life with the Great Depression, when it transformed into state-capitalism, both here and in Russia?

I think the answer is simple. The dialectic of history is such that history either moves forward or it moves backward. Instead of a forward movement to the development of men and women, we fall back into some leader or God. These classes are about people getting together to transform this system that turns half the people into parasites and the other half into objects of production.

Worker Los Angeles

What has been most exciting to me in the classes here on the "Marxist-Humanist Body of Ideas" is the participation of Middle-Easterners. One young participant in the revolution said that he rediscovered the atmosphere of what he was fighting for in Marxist-Humanism. The discussion on Chapter 4 of Marxism and Freedom on the 1848 revolutions was especially exciting because the Middle-Easterners related Marx and Lassalle to tendencies in the Iranian Revolution...

The readings for the class made me appreciate how much Raya Dunayevskaya was articulating back in 1957 in M&F a philosophy of "revolution in permanence". When viewed with Chapter 3 of Philosophy and Revolution on Lenin, I felt a new appreciation of what "Lenin was a Lassallean" meant concretely. While Lenin certainly experienced a philosophic breakthrough in 1914, anything short of projecting philosophy as the mediation to a new society resulted in organization just setting the ground for counter-revolution. From this perspective it isn't so great that there isn't a word about the vanguard party to lead in State and Revolution.

Re-thinking things Oakland, Calif.

It is time that we destroyed the rubbish coming from Reagan and Thatcher. Thatcher will never live down her boost for Victorian values. We are living at a time when our enemies are preparing to destroy any vestige of human thought to further the most atrocious of crude materialist ends. They would have no hesitation in turning Europe — and not only Europe — into a vast cemetery.

With the vision of Marx as expressed in his criticism of the Gotha Programme, in

the 1844 Manuscripts and in the Civil War in France, we are better armed than Marxists of the past. Engels' Anti-Duhring is not the last word. We need a book to take the place of Anti-Duhring in the present day...

Harry McShane Glasgow, Scotland

We all read your paper at our house and try to spread the word about its excellence. It still maintains its stimulating quality and I feel it is successful in what it claims to do — uniting the working man and the intellectual. That is something thinkers have been trying to do since the earliest socialistic experiments in Europe.

I wish you had a News and Letters Committee and classes in the Philadelphia area, as you do in other urban areas. I think you would "catch on" here very well. I am also enclosing money for Charles Denby's Indignant Heart as a present for an autoworker friend. It is a masterpiece of its genre (if it has any genre)...

Subscriber Yardley, Pa.

I was in the park with a group of friends, discussing Marxist-Humanist ideas. There was a group of young Blacks at the next table talking about unemployment, and we asked them to come join our discussion. (They told us later that they had heard us, and started talking loudly so we would hear them!) They were all unemployed, but they didn't want to go into the army. "I think the whole world should stop and have a general strike", one said. It was so exciting for us to meet each other and see that we had the same thoughts. We almost felt like the revolution was starting, right then.

High school student Los Angeles

When we came to discuss Marx's last decade in the classes, the new Introduction to Afro-Asian Revolutions came up very naturally. Marx's point that other paths to revolution could be followed by technologically underdeveloped countries seems exactly what Third World revolutions have been trying to work out since the end of WWII. The ending of the Grenadian revolution with the murder of Maurice Bishop suggests to me that we have a lot more studying of Marx, and practicing of his method, to go through before we successfully find those other paths to freedom he wrote about.

CISPES activist San Francisco

When I heard of the death of Guinean president Sekou Toure, I thought that an era had just about ended for the African Revolutions. After all, who is left of that first generation of leaders except Nyerere and Kaunda? But in a very different way I had been thinking about the whole era in the last few weeks since I read Raya Dunayevskaya's introduction to the new edition of Afro-Asian Revolutions (March N&L).

It was especially striking when she singled out "the problem of how to industrialize non-capitalistically, private or state; of how at the same time to expand political liberties and maintain worker control of the state" as the key to the division between the leaders and the masses. I loved Toure in 1960 when he was one of the first African leaders to come to the U.S. and speak at the United Nations. But even he ended up saying that he was "not opposed" to forced labor for industrialization.

I guess it shows that if you don't have a philosophy of liberation based on "human power", human creativity, sooner or later you will end up basing yourself on technology and seeking control over workers, instead of workers' control.

African liberation supporter New York



THE GAMBIA: APPEAL FOR DIXON COLLEY

I was very concerned to read in your paper about the arrest of Dixon Colley, the editor of the Gambian newspaper, The Nation. I have always read his contributions in N&L with great interest. Is there some place we can write to express our concern and solidarity with Colley and to try and put pressure on the Dawda regime to stop their harassment of him?

Women's Liberationist Chicago

Ed. Note: The campaign of attacks on the work of Dixon Colley by the government continues. On Jan. 25, 1984 he was in court to answer seditious charges. The decision in that case has not yet been handed down. The Nation is in need of political support and financial assistance in its fight for African freedom. Please send your assistance to W. Dixon Colley, People's Press, 3, Box Bar Road, Banjul, The Gambia, West Africa.

REAGAN'S BLOATED MILITARY

I thought your analysis of the Grenada invasion was very good (Dec. 1983 N&L). We know that this invasion was just another chapter in the criminal record of the U.S. ruling class, but I think it foreshadows deeper crises. The invasion more than anything else symbolized an end to the memory of Vietnam, and now the Pentagon is operating with a green light on spending. Reagan is appealing for the crudest kind of super-patriotism when he isn't on vacation... If Reagan is re-elected I think we will see the military hold on the government tighten.

The only fear I have is that American workers are so poisoned with anti-communism that they will fall into the trap of fascism. You must know from traveling that the level of ignorance out in the country (the first prerequisite for fascism) is shocking, and the attitudes of most college students I have met are positively awful. Of course I never thought that a college campus was conducive to any kind of free thought or genuine learning, which is why I never went.

Union activist Brunswick, Ohio

On March 8 Marine Staff Sergeant Anthony Somme was on the seventh day of a hunger strike at the Marine Corps brig at Parris Island, South Carolina. Somme is serving a two and a half month sentence for alleged cocaine use. The only evidence presented at his Court Martial was the results of two urinalysis tests. Yet even the Air Force colonel who developed the test says that the results are not accurate enough to be used as the basis for punitive action.

Somme is one of six Black and Hispanic Marine recruiters recently faced with less than honorable discharge or court martial in New York. They have filed charges of racial discrimination and improper disciplinary action against the Marine Corps. John Judge, a counselor with SOS/GI Assistance Project who is assisting the recruiters, says that "The case is part of a larger pattern of military misuse of urinalysis tests to get rid of Black and Hispanic servicepeople. In this case, the command used the drug tests as an excuse to discharge Black and Hispanic recruiters, hoping to reduce the number of new recruits coming into the Marine Corps from Harlem, Bedford Stuyvesant and Hispanic neighborhoods in New York City."

SOS/National GI Assistance Project P.O. BOX 6586 Washington, DC 20009

PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa."
By Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucasians in the Unions"
By Charles Denby \$2 per copy
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
Working Women for Freedom
By Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
Latin America's Revolutions
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
New Essays
On Hegel, Marx, Post-Mao China, Trotsky
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought
By Lou Turner and John Alan \$1 per copy
Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak
75¢ per copy
Dialectics of Liberation
Summaries of Hegel's works and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy

- Women as Reason and as Force of Revolution
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
The First General Strike in the U.S.
By Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer \$1 per copy
Theory and Practice
By Rosa Luxemburg - First English translation
By David Wolff \$2 per copy
Marx and the Third World: New Perspectives on Writings from His Last Decade
By Peter Hudis \$1.00 per copy
Counter-revolution and Revolution in Iran: a series of political-philosophic letters
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions
by Raya Dunayevskaya (includes new 1984 Introduction) \$1.00 per copy
A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism - 1941 to Today; Its Origin and Development in the U.S.
\$1 per copy
25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
Today's Polish Fight For Freedom
Bilingual pamphlet of writings from dissident movement \$1 per copy
Constitution of News & Letters Committees
20¢ postage

- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Marxism and Freedom
1982 edition. New introduction by author
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Philosophy and Revolution
1982 edition. New introduction by author
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal
By Charles Denby \$ 7.50 per copy
News & Letters —
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year \$2.50 per year
Bound volumes of News & Letters
1977 to 1984; 1970 to 1977
\$20 per copy

MAIL ORDERS TO: (4-84)

News & Letters, 2832 East Grand Boulevard Detroit, Mich. 48211

Enclosed find \$ for the literature checked. Please add 75¢ to each order for postage.

Name Address City State Zip

News & Letters is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106. News & Letters and most other publications are available on tape for the blind. For information, write to News & Letters.

ESSAY ARTICLE

by John Alan

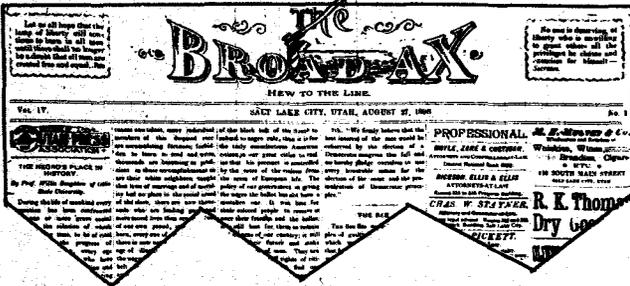
President Reagan's invasion of Grenada on October 25, 1983, which was primarily aimed at controlling the Grenadian masses, was so well synchronized with his brazen assault on the Civil Rights Commission that once again it has shown how closely connected are imperialism and racism. That link to racism is clear from imperialism's birth at the end of the 19th century. What is less widely known is its absolute opposite — the revolutionary opposition by Black America in the 1890s.

In 1898, Black Americans, more than any other group of people, caught the twin relationship between their own existence as a pariah race within the United States and the drive toward conquest and domination in the Caribbean and in the Pacific by the then young forces of U.S. imperialism. Blacks reacted to this sudden appearance of the United States in the arena of world imperialism and mounted a significant anti-imperialist campaign that was inseparable from the fight against lynching, disenfranchisement and Jim Crow.

These moments in Black American history are not widely known and very few historians, Black or white, have ever considered it a serious subject for research — and, in those rare instances when the Black Anti-Imperialist Movement of the turn of the century is mentioned, it appears only in the footnotes of some larger study of the "white" Anti-Imperialist League, founded by such prominent New Englanders as Edward Atkinson, Charles Eliot Norton and William James.

RACISM AT MONOPOLY'S BIRTH

By the last decade of the 19th century, U.S. monopoly capitalism was at the pinnacle of its power. With the help of the government, which it controlled openly and unabashedly, big business had achieved dominance over the American



The Broad Ax, a Black newspaper published in Salt Lake City in the late 1890s.

market. Black Americans were experiencing the full impact and the ultimate meaning of the 1877 Hayes-Tilden compromise that was negotiated by the railroad monopoly to end the sectional differences between the Northern and the Southern capitalists.

Benjamin Brawley wrote in his *Social History of the Negro* that "... the pendulum has swung far backward, the years from 1890 to 1895 were in some ways the darkest that the Race has experienced since emancipation." Rayford W. Logan in *The Betrayal of the Negro* quoted John Hope Franklin as calling that period "The long dark night, that didn't end until 1923." Logan simply characterized it as "the Nadir." The stark reality was: Black Americans — 90% living in the South — were under the yoke of a "new slavery", a voteless and landless people, terrorized by lynchings who were claiming an average of over 100 victims each year.

Every state in the "Old South" had written into law, often into its Constitution, provisions for the disfranchisement of its Black citizens, and their segregation in public schools, conveyances and other facilities. The legal, nationwide approval of this purely American form of apartheid came in 1896, when the U.S. Supreme Court, in its "Plessy vs. Ferguson" decision, established the doctrine of "separate but equal."

REVOLUTIONARY NATURE OF BLACK OPPOSITION

However, to concentrate only upon the regressive nature of U.S. capitalism at the turn of the century, when it was still in the bloom of its youth, is to give only a partial picture of "history and its process", because it ignores the dialectical opposite of that retrogression, i.e., the subjective human force, within that society, that opposes it.

Among all the diverse social elements that were anti-expansionist in 1898, only Black Americans fit into that category. They were the only social group who were able to ground their anti-imperialism in a concrete movement for freedom within the United States.

In 1895, when the Cubans renewed their revolutionary war for independence, Black Americans immediately gave them full support, and called on the United States Government to give the insurgents belligerent status and military aid. Frederick Douglass had urged President Grant to do the same at the time of the 1868 revolution, when the issue of Cuba's independence was entwined with the emancipation of Black slavery on that island. Both times the U.S. Administration refused such recognition.

The Cuban insurrection was seen as a "Black Man's War." An identity was made with most of the rebel leaders as "men of color", especially with Antonio Maceo and Quintin Banderá, who was known as "The Black Thunderbolt." The military activities of these men were widely known and well covered in the Black press, and at least one editor said

Black opposition to U.S. imperialism at the end of the 19th Century

that Maceo was the type of leader "around whom aspiring young Negroes may twine their brightest hope of the future." Dr. L.A. Hind, a Black surgeon, went to Cuba and served on Maceo's staff, sending eyewitness reports of the Cuban Revolution to Black newspapers. (See *Black Americans and the White Man's Burden* (1898-1903), by Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.)

Two different worlds resided in these United States. Black American support for the Cuban Revolution, and the ideas of freedom that the revolution invigorated, were so totally the opposite of the "yellow journals" that had seized upon the Spanish General Valeriano Weyler's barbarism as a pretext to establish some form of U.S. hegemony in Cuba. The possibility of U.S. intervention raised widespread doubt in the Black press: would it help or hinder Cuban independence? And how would it affect Black civil rights inside the U.S.?

BLACK PRESS AS VOICE OF BLACK AMERICA

The Black press was the hub and the measure of the extent of Black anti-imperialist thought between 1898 and the end of the Philippine insurgency in the spring of 1902. Of the 150 weekly Black newspapers published at that time, the overwhelming majority were anti-expansionist. Along with the news, and the editorial opinions, these papers published letters and the views of their readers. In a real sense, they were the voices of Black America at the turn of the century.

Thus, after the U.S. declared war on Spain, and a committee of leading Afro-American political appointees headed by P.B.S. Pinchback, the former Black Lt. Governor of Louisiana, went to see President McKinley to pledge the loyalty of nine million American Blacks, they were severely criticized by the anti-war Black press as "a little coterie of politicians", without a constituency, who presumed to speak for all Black America.

A month before the Pinchback Committee "pledge", The Indianapolis Freeman wrote that the approaching war crisis brought to the surface the opinions of many of the Negro Journals: "The consensus of opinions of these Journals is not arrayed on the side of patriotism, and if they in any manner reflect the sentiment of their readers, there are about seven million people that are indifferent patriots", and, "that this indifference was caused by the status of the Negroes as citizens of the United States." (These quotations and others to follow from the Black press are taken from the *Black Press Views American Imperialism* (1898-1900), by George P. Marks III.)

The anomaly that existed between the professed war aims of the United States — the ending of Spanish brutality in Cuba — and the "incomprehensible silence" on the part of President McKinley about the brutal lynchings each year became the prime target of the Anti-Imperialist Black Press. Julius Taylor, editor of the *Broad Ax*, which was published first in Salt Lake City and later in Chicago, insisted that the main enemy was Southern lynchings, that the Afro-American's "chief kick is not the Spaniard, but those fellows who shoot and burn and hang, and otherwise kill our fellows in the South." (April 30, 1898).

The *Iowa State Bystander* edition of May 6, 1898, charged that "... the white man's rule in the United States ... has relegated the Negro to the rear, deprived him of his rights, cut off opportunities of existence, outraged colored women, burned down his home over his wife and children ... and now they 'have the audacity to talk about the cruelty of Spain towards the Cubans. There is no half-civilized nation on earth that needs a good hard war more than the United States ..."

The above quotes are excerpts from editorials written in response to the atrocities committed by a white mob in Lake City, South Carolina, two days after the sinking of The Maine; this mob murdered Frazier B. Baker and his infant son, and wounded his wife and four other children as they were fleeing from their home and post office, which had been set afire. Baker was the Black postmaster of Lake City, an appointment that had been strenuously opposed by local whites and their Congressional supporters, among whom was the infamous "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, who once said: "We have scratched our heads to find out how we could eliminate the last one of them. We stuffed ballot boxes. We shot them (Negroes). WE ARE NOT ASHAMED OF IT".

The outrageous lynching of the Bakers caused national waves of protest in the Black communities. At a Chicago mass protest meeting, a delegation headed by Ida B. Wells was elected to deliver a message of protest to President McKinley, urging him to see that those responsible were apprehended and punished, and that Baker's family be indemnified by the government.

IDA B. WELLS AGAINST WHITE BARBARISM

Ida B. Wells was, more than others, able to combine anti-imperialism with anti-lynching. She was a prominent member of the Afro-American Council; she sharply disagreed with Booker T. Washington, by maintaining that Black liberation was not merely economic advancement, and that Black America "must educate the white people out of their 250 year history of slavery".

As a young woman she founded in Memphis, Tenn. a militant newspaper, *Free Speech*. Because of her stand against lynching, a white mob burned her press and forced her to leave that city. From that moment on, she organized a crusade against lynching both in the United States and in Europe. As an original suffragette, she never stopped criticizing the women's movement for failing to take a stand on lynching.

At the meeting with McKinley she told him: "For nearly twenty years lynching crimes, which stand side by side with Armenian and Cuban outrages, have been permitted by this Christian nation, nowhere in the civilized world, save in the United States of America, do men possessing all civil and political power go in bands of 50 to 5,000 to hunt down, shoot, hang or burn to death a single individual, unarmed and absolutely powerless." (Cleveland Gazette, April 9, 1898.)



Ida B. Wells

President McKinley and Congress decided to intervene into the Cuban revolution, and it was soon obvious that the war was going to be conducted along the same Jim Crow line that prevailed in American civil society. At first most of the states and the Federal Government refused to accept Black volunteers. When a great deal of Black political pressure overcame this policy it was decided that Blacks could volunteer and serve, but only in segregated regiments commanded by all white officers. Black response was to insist that if they were to be segregated the entire regiment must be Black.

MASS REJECTION OF WHITE-LED JIM CROW ARMY

"NO OFFICERS, NO FIGHT!", the slogan coined by John Mitchell of The Richmond Planet, expressed the ideas that Black Americans had about the segregated army that was being organized to fight a war for "Democracy". The Washington Bee printed a letter from Ed Barnes in New Orleans, on June 9, 1898, who reported that a mass meeting of 5,000 Blacks had organized their own regiment and selected their own Negro officers, because: "In the personnel of the regular army officers there lurks the rankest and most deep-seated prejudice to the colored soldiers' promotion ..." and, "The War Department lends support to such a policy".

In Brooklyn, N. Y., the New England Baptist Convention "excoriated" McKinley's Administration and "denounced" New York Governor Black because of their refusal to give colored volunteers the Constitutional right to select their own officers. At that Convention, Reverend A. Gordon, of Philadelphia, "declared that he hoped and was hoping, that the American Army would not be victorious until justice had been accorded to the Negro soldiers, — there was vociferous applause." (from the N.Y. Herald and reprinted in The Richmond Planet, June 25, 1898).

"NO OFFICERS, NO FIGHT!" became the focus of a national campaign that was to eclipse the war with Spain by making the struggle against racism in the U.S. the paramount issue in the Afro-American community. Black American opinion was that, since "the flag of race prejudice has been raised", and they were to be barred from white regiments, then it would be adding insult to injury if, in their segregated status, they would have to accept white officers.

The refusal to accept these terms was very concrete — Blacks failed to fill the ranks of the so-called four "immune regiments", reserved for Black recruits, forcing Colonel Lee, the white officer who was supposed to lead one of these regiments, to resign and return to the regular army for lack of Black volunteers.

Two white newspapers, The Washington Post and The Richmond, Va., Times, became alarmed by the lack of Black enthusiasm for this war, and wrote that it was caused by the "childish rant" of Black editors and other Black spokesmen. The Washington Post threatened that the war would go on, whether Blacks joined the army or stayed at home. The country, it said, was capable of sending a million troops abroad, while keeping a million at home to keep order, "... and attend to any trouble the disgruntled colored leaders may see fit to make." (quoted by The Richmond Planet, June 4, 1898.)

Summing up the Black attitude toward American imperialism, Kelly Miller, Dean of Howard University, said: "I don't think there is a single colored man, out of office and out of the insane asylum, who would favor the so-called expansion policy. Whether or not they will organize under the banner of Mr. Atkinson is another question. I don't think we are yet ready for a departure so radical".

It is true that only a few Black Americans co-operated with Atkinson's Anti-Imperialist League, as an auxiliary

(Continued on page 9)

BLACK WORLD

(Continued from page 1)

The occupation of Miami's Black communities by, at times, as many as 1,000 riot-trained cops occurred several hours before the Alvarez verdict was brought in. It revealed how the police department, city manager Howard Gary and the courts worked in concert not only to violate the civil rights of an individual — the slain young man, Nevell Johnson — but the Black community of Miami.

"They were out there about seven o'clock (the night of the verdict), and just started grabbing people. They just started charging. They had Black guys in front. Like we ain't gonna fight back at a Black guy swinging a club. That's B.S. They just started indiscriminately grabbing people, even bag ladies and old folks."

"It's just like the storm troopers," said the brother of one young Black man who wasn't home when the police rushed into his home with guns drawn, brutalized his brother and arrested him for being on the street several minutes before.

"The police came up behind me. They grabbed me off the porch, punched me, kicked me and said, 'Shut up, n_____'," complained another Black victim, arrested as he was putting his key into the front door of his house.

By the end of the two days in which the Miami police rioted against Black Miami nearly 500 people had been detained without charges. For their part the Black youth of Miami revived the "liberated zones" of past rebellions against unprecedented police repression.

In Liberty City organized bands of Black youth pelted passing cars, set trash dumpsters on fire and burned discarded furniture on the streets to disperse the heavy doses of tear gas. Black youth in Coconut Grove defiantly taunted police, dispersed and regrouped in other areas of the neighborhood.

OVERTOWN YOUTH

And in the tight 65-block area of Overtown, surrounded by heavy construction and through which two interstate highways thrust into the very heart of the community; in Overtown where the blight of urban renewal spells out urban expulsion of the poor; in Overtown where the fatal shooting of Nevell Johnson in December of 1982 touched off three days of rebellion that left another Black youth dead — in Overtown these conditions of Black life have been transformed into new beginnings of Black consciousness.

On the first night when it was clear from the mass police

Asian youth in Britain

Hand on the Sun, by Tariq Mehmood, Penguin Books, 1983, \$3.50, 155 pp.

This novel is about young Asian men and women who realize their identity as they participate in the growing Black British youth movement. The author participated in the Summer of 1981 rebellions and was arrested as one of the "Bradford Twelve." He conducted his own defense and was ultimately acquitted.

Jalib is a Pakistani youth to whom British schooling meant daily fights with white youth. He finds only two part-time jobs in three years, falls in love with Shaheen (who rebels against her forthcoming arranged marriage and confinement to home), finally gets a job in the mill, only to be laid off. He develops a relationship with Hussain, who has been in the International Socialists. Jalib mistrusts Hussain's abstract rhetoric, especially "Black and White Unite and Fight", which does not express his reality.

Under increasing attacks by "skinheads" (white neo-Nazi youth) the two begin to learn from each other: Hussain, of concreteness and mass creativity; Jalib, his first real sense of accomplishment as he brings ideas and activity together. They are active in forming a new autonomous Asian youth organization.

The story of the young woman, Shaheen, is one of the most moving sub-plots, because it shows how profoundly the young author has grasped that women's liberation is inextricable from the youth movement.

The book's title comes from a Salvadoran saying: "To hold a people down forever is like putting a hand on the sun."

I felt a sharp disappointment that Mehmood ends his book abruptly with the buying-off of the autonomous youth organization by the Asian community "leaders" action on behalf of "British civilization." New demonstrations and organizations and especially the new voices of Asian women show that, though set back, the movement is not so easily crushed. Mehmood himself has continued his activity with Black British youth.

To American revolutionaries who see little if any literature from the Black movement in Britain, the uneven pace of this novel, now poetic, now sketchy, with abrupt transitions between scenes, is a vivid expression of the movement's real, ongoing life.

—Susan Van Gelder

Miami and Black America



Police arrest Black Overtown youth.

assault that Alvarez had been released before the verdict had been made public, Black Overtown youth streamed into the streets shouting "Alvarez, Alvarez!" The police attack on the youth, spraying them with tear gas, was countered by rock-throwing youth and a barrage of bottles thrown from windows and balconies by other residents of Overtown. In other areas cars were stopped and pelted if it was determined that the drivers had no business being in the neighborhood. And on the days following the rebellion Black students boycotted classes.

In this Overtown, whether in the streets or in the schools, Black youth continue to challenge the permanent "siege" of their community through their permanent state of rebellion.

ESSAY ARTICLE

(Continued from page 8)

chapter in New England. That Blacks functioned primarily in their own organization, The National Negro Anti-Expansion, Anti-Imperialist, Anti-Trust and Anti-Lynching League, which was active in the west, reflects the rejection of the abstract, moral and constitutional premises of the white intellectuals.

The signing of the Treaty of Paris, December 10, 1898, ceded the Philippine Islands to the United States. For the next six years, from 1899 to 1905, U.S. troops were used to brutally suppress a guerrilla uprising. When the war ended with Spain and the conquest of the Philippine Islands began, Black Americans had good reasons to believe that a "warped civilization" was being imposed on the Filipino people. In 1898 the open manifestation of that civilization was the increase in lynchings and the bloody anti-Black riots in New Orleans, Akron and New York that indicated that racism was not an exclusive Southern peculiarity but the national and international characteristic of U.S. imperialism. Today's legacy of that "warped civilization" has continued to exist in the racism that we have in the United States and the denial of freedom to the Filipino masses by the present regime in Manila, a regime that Reagan has no fundamental disagreement with.

At a mass meeting in Boston chaired by Archibald Grimke, called to denounce the brutal lynching of Sam Hose and the slaughter of helpless Black prisoners at Palmetto, Ga., an open letter was drafted and sent to President McKinley. One of the sharpest criticisms that came from the Black community was in this letter, which attacked McKinley's political hypocrisy by pointing out that when he addresses Blacks he speaks of, "patience, industry, moderation"; when he talks to Southern whites he preaches, "patriotism, jingoism and imperialism . . ." in order to win the support of the South to his policy of "criminal aggression on the Far East", while closing his eyes and lips "to the criminal aggression" of the South, on the civil rights of Negroes. (see Appendix IV of *The Black Press Views American Imperialism — 1898-1900*).

Changes in Black attitudes toward American imperialism occurred progressively. At the beginning of the War, "NO OFFICERS, NO FIGHT!" dominated; during the conflict in the Philippines it became: "AFRO-AMERICANS DON'T ENLIST!"

And, seemingly out of nowhere, there appeared in the AME Church Review, of October 1899, the dialectical formulation that all of these conquests "involving the existence and the integrity of weaker governments are against the dark races in Africa and Asia, and added to the domestic problems of the American Negro, we are struck with the thought that a startling world movement has begun . . . among the dark skin races, to lead on doubtless, to an adjustment which shall in the cycles change the present relations of oppressor and oppressed . . ."

Black opposition to the imperial debut of the United States, between 1898 and 1905, did not stop the rising tide of U.S. or world imperialism, but it did prepare the ground historically for a new phase of the Black struggle in the United States, and indirectly in Africa, in the Caribbean, and in the Third World.

It was from this movement that new ideas and new personalities arose. Ideas of a new self-identity and Pan-Africanism. Personalities, like DuBois, Monroe Trotter, Ida B. Wells, Archibald Grimke, etc., who would, along with the movement of Black masses from the South to the North, become prominent forces in breaking Booker T. Washington's hammerlock on Black thought, that opened new roads for Black liberation in the 1890s and 1900s.

Strikes in South Africa

The Black trade union movement in South Africa has been involved in numerous strikes during the past several months. Among them are the following:

- Over 7,000 workers organized by the South African Chemical Workers Union have struck at several plants owned by AECI, a large South African chemical and oil corporation. Plants at Modderfontein and Sasolburg in the Transvaal as well as a plant in the Cape and in Natal have all had walkouts, primarily over wages.

- Mineworkers, members of the National Union of Mine-workers, have been involved in strikes at a platinum refinery and a coal mine. The issues involved assaults and verbal abuse by white supervisors as well as solidarity with victimized workers.

- 1200 BATA shoe workers struck a shoe factory in Pine-tone, South Africa demanding a 30% increase in their \$75 per week wages and recognition of their union, the Leather and Allied Workers Union. Management called the riot police and one woman worker was killed in the confrontation.

BATA has three factories in South Africa — two in the Natal towns of Greytown and Pinetone and one in Loskop in the Kwazulu bantustan. The Loskop factory, because it is located in the Kwazulu bantustan, does not have to pay the industrial minimum wage of \$75 per week. The BATA workers at this plant, many of whom are women, earn as little as \$14-\$28 per week.

Attempts to organize the Loskop factory have been in progress since 1981, with BATA firing strikers hiring non-union workers and shifting production to its other factories. BATA is a multi-national company with plants in the U.S. and head offices in Canada. (For BATA strike in the U.S. see N&L Oct. 1979)

Namibia's Toivo

Thousands of Namibians went to the streets on March 1 in Katutura Township to greet Herman Toivo ya Toivo, founder of SWAPO (Southwest African Peoples Organization which he helped initially organize in 1959 as the Ovambo Peoples Organization.) Toivo was suddenly released by the South African government after 16 hard years in Robben Island political prison. At his 1968 trial, he spoke to the desires for self-determination:

"We do not expect that independence will end our troubles, but we do believe that our people are entitled — as are all peoples — to rule themselves . . . South West Africa is our country and we wish to be our own masters." The release of Toivo came after a "disengagement" agreement was concluded between South Africa and Angola, that denies SWAPO access to Angolan territory in return for a withdrawal of South African military units from southern Angola.

Toivo expressed the generally-held view that he was released to lend legitimacy to the political groups in Namibia being supported by South Africa in its latest efforts, through the so-called Multi-Party Conference, to offset SWAPO's overwhelming popularity and support. Toivo quickly disowned any connection with the MPC. He called out the SWAPO slogan, "one Namibia, one nation," on his arrival in Windhoek, and later said:

"SWAPO is still fighting. We will continue fighting until we get our independence, and even then we will still not be free until our brothers and sisters in South Africa are free from the apartheid regime."

That apartheid regime has been able to press its military and economic power at present over Mozambique and Angola. A pact was signed by Botha and Machel on March 16 whose main aim is to restrict ANC (African National Congress) activity in Mozambique. Even the currently-sitting OAU (Organization of African Unity), which seldom criticizes its own members, passed a resolution against Angola and Mozambique, and the ANC likewise denounced the pact saying, "The Botha regime knows that no peace has broken out."

Persecution of Haitians in U.S. and in Haiti

Brooklyn, N.Y. — Recently a Haitian woman went to King's County Hospital in Brooklyn for treatment. The hospital turned her records over to Immigration, who raided her home while pretending to be bill collectors from the hospital. Her family is in detention awaiting deportation, while the shock of the event put her back into the hospital.

The hospital administration claims it had nothing to do with calling immigration authorities, but hospital workers have furnished Haitian groups documents proving that it was not an "overzealous individual employee", as the hospital claims, but hospital policy, which caused the raid on the family.

In Haiti itself, an electoral farce was carried out Feb. 12 which resulted in a 100% legislative victory for the totalitarian Duvalier regime. The best-known internal opposition leader, Silvio Claude, remained under house arrest.

In response to these so-called elections, Frank Laraque, a Marxist intellectual in exile, wrote: "No to any elections held by the Duvalierist regime, or a military junta, or a civilian-military government of same ilk for a semblance of democracy designed to appease Washington . . . If, on the contrary, one wants for Haiti a new democratic order where the urban and rural masses are represented, one will steadily work to overthrow the Duvaliers."

To the thousands who have attempted to flee the Duvalier regime, the Reagan Administration has decided to deny them any residency status in the U.S. The Administration has declared that human rights have improved in Haiti and that U.S. aid should be resumed.

Marx and the Third World

New Perspectives on Writings From His Last Decade

by Peter Hudis

\$1.00 plus 50¢ postage

News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Det., MI. 48211

Battles over coal mine safety in 1984

(Continued from page 1)

This is the unmistakable position of the Reagan Administration, most chillingly reflected in the recent Supreme Court decision permitting a company to throw out any union contract that it considers will hurt its interests. The empty rhetoric about the companies having to file bankruptcy in order to do this is but a smokescreen to hide this club given to the companies to destroy the unions.

Existing unions are seriously threatened, and organizing any new ones will be difficult if not impossible. This is not speculation, as Continental Airlines and Wilson Food workers painfully discovered. Both companies threw out the unions, cut wages in half, eliminated many other benefits, and then told the workers to take it or leave it. These successes, along with the Greyhound bus strike, and concessions, unquestionably encourage other companies to follow suit. In the transportation industry, alone, over 100,000 Teamster Union members have lost their jobs since 1980 by companies taking the easy bankruptcy route to reduce costs by nullifying union contracts.

One bill before Congress supported by the Administration is the Labor-Management Racketeering Act. Seemingly aimed at union racketeering, the bill in fact extends government power over labor unions beyond the Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959, which dictates almost everything a union can and cannot do regarding its finances, dues, elections and even disciplinary actions. The new bill would prevent a union officer convicted of lawbreaking from holding a union office for ten years (five years more than the Landrum-Griffin Act), with debarment to be immediate regardless of any appeal of a conviction. At the same time the Reagan Administration is planning to conduct some 2,000 financial audits of unions this year under power of the Landrum-Griffin Act, compared with 212 audits held in 1980.

ROBOTICS AND UNEMPLOYMENT

This governmental crossfire of the unions gives great aid and encouragement to private management, which continues to deliver sledge-hammer blows to the workers and their families as increased automation and robotics throw hundreds of thousands out of work while forcing inhuman speed-up conditions on those remaining on the job. There are over 10,000 robots in operation in U.S. industry at present, with each robot displacing from 1.7 to six workers. The number is expected to at least quadruple in the next few years.

Most robots are in auto, with GM leading the way. As disclosed in a recent "strategy memo," GM plans to slash some 83,000 workers from its payroll, principally by installing more robotics. New UAW President Owen Bieber says job security is a principal union demand for the next contract, but it is unmistakably clear that the more than 100,000 permanently unemployed auto workers will soon be joined by tens of thousands more in the very near future.

In Brief...

IRAN — In Teheran stands the most ghoulish monument seen since Nazi Germany: a huge fountain shaped like a pyramid from the top of which gushes a red liquid colored to look like human blood. It is a monument to the "martyrs" — the youth and children sent by Khomeini to be slaughtered in the Iran-Iraq war.

ECUADOR — Oil workers in Napo province blockaded roads and were able to shut down some oilfields in the Lago Agrio area the last week in February. The strikers were demanding the government, improve living conditions in the area with new roads, water supplies and utilities. Troops went into the area but could not break the strike. By mid-March it had spread to the port of Balao in Esmeraldas province, where the crude oil is shipped out.

TURKEY — Eighteen Kurdish revolutionaries have died in the prison at Dyarbakir. Six members of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan were "asphyxiated" in mid-January. Twelve prisoners, all except one of them Kurdish, have died so far in a hunger strike to protest the January deaths and the intolerable mistreatment and torture designed to break Kurdish prisoners.

INDONESIA — Death squads have begun here. "Criminals" as defined by the death squads have been kidnapped by groups of armed men and then left shot dead on roadsides. Since April 1983, 5000 such murders have occurred under this U.S.-supported military dictatorship which is also carrying out a genocidal war in East Timor. There is only one organization capable of carrying out such an operation here: the military, in power since 1965.

MOROCCO — Since the January food riots, hundreds of people, mainly students, have been jailed. On Feb. 25, 3000 Moroccan students protested these mass arrests in a demonstration at the Moroccan consulate in Rennes, France.

GUATEMALA — Hundreds of Coca-Cola bottling workers in Guatemala City occupied their plant on Feb. 17. They had been laid off suddenly when plant managers said the plant was being closed, and told the 460 workers not to return. This same plant was charged with repressing union activities four years ago by international human rights groups, after death squads kidnapped or assassinated ten workers and union activists.

Unemployment continues to soar, with over 10 million officially out of work. Several millions more have exhausted unemployment benefits and are no longer counted, like the millions more who have simply given up on trying to find a job.

The hardest hit, as usual, remain Blacks, women and youth, but millions of white males also face desperate conditions. One result of the massive unemployment is that minimum wage jobs formerly held by youth are being taken by adults wherever they are available — and even jobs paying below minimum wages.

Over 100 years ago, Karl Marx accurately analyzed the collapse of the capitalist system that would result from the insoluble conflicts and contradictions between the working class and the capitalist class. The accuracy of his analysis



can be seen more clearly today than in any generation in the past, especially since all are aware that civilization as we know it is literally tottering on the brink of nuclear holocaust as well as economic collapse. And that most certainly is the result of crisis-ridden capitalism, with the state form, as in Russia, and so-called private form, as in the U.S., both seeking total world domination—no matter what the cost.

MINERS IN 1950: LESSONS FOR TODAY

All of this may seem remote from the battle that the coal miners will be facing when their contract expires this September. But the fact is that the coal miners, in their nine-month long strike of 1949-50, were the first to face the horror of automation in the form of the continuous miner. They had to fight the combined power of the coal operators, a hostile government armed with the Taft-Hartley slave labor act, and the courts eager to destroy the miners, their union and their president, John L. Lewis.

Toward the end of the strike, the rank-and-file miners literally took the leadership of the strike away from Lewis, forced a general miners' strike as opposed to Lewis' selective strike tactic, and reached out to rank-and-file workers throughout the country for support in their life-and-death struggle. The miners gained working class aid and won the strike, but Lewis supported automation, and in ten years, the number of miners working was slashed from over 450,000 to less than 150,000. Appalachia became a permanently depressed region of the nation — and still remains so.

But the miners revealed the way to the solutions of the problems we face today when they took control of their own thoughts and actions, and reached out to the rest of U.S. labor. That same kind of independent labor unity, along with the other forces of revolution today represented by Black, women and youth movements, have both the power and determination to change the world.

Indian health care cuts

Detroit, Mich. — A few nights ago there was a special on television on health care among Indians. One of the reservations visited was Rosebud in South Dakota, which is very close to my own reservation. It was very upsetting to hear about all the same horrible health care conditions that I had known when I was living on the reservation.

The statistics have been terrible for many years: an alcoholism rate more than eight times the average population; incidence of TB thirteen times higher; diabetes more than twice the average. Indians are seventeen times more likely to die before the age of 45 than the average American. On the Rosebud reservation three-quarters of the people live below the poverty level.

The health care services provided by the government have always been awful. The only difference with Reagan is that he is so open about his racism. He has tried to totally eliminate the small amount of money that has been provided for urban Indian health care. A bill to keep that service going after this fiscal year is opposed by Reagan. I know that when I tried to get some help for my medical expenses from urban Indian medical services, I was told that no money was available.

But what I do think is different now, than several years ago, is what is happening to health care workers in the community. There is a lot more community health work than there used to be. For instance, people are now demanding that their water be tested, especially to see if it is contaminated from radiation caused by uranium mining tailings.

One group, WARN, Women of All Red Nations has started several feminist health clinics and is making a big effort to try and get the water tested.

We certainly need money from the federal government, but the real difference is going to be if these community health activities can become a movement.

EDITORIAL

New cloak of religion masks class exploitation

The U.S. Senate voted March 20 to defeat the constitutional amendment, drafted at the White House and lobbied for by the President himself, which would have permitted organized vocal prayer in public school classrooms. But this is by no means the end of this President's attempt to bring religion into politics. The 56-44 vote in favor of Reagan's position fell 11 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed, but Reagan and his right-wing backers immediately proclaimed that they "have just begun to fight."

Reagan has chosen this moment to launch his religious revival as polls have allegedly shown that 80% of the American people support school prayer. He thus hopes to both broaden his support and obscure the reality of his Administration as one which is waging a war against workers, Blacks, women, children and the handicapped. It is a war he hopes to win in part by pushing the Supreme Court ever further to the right.

REAGAN'S RETROGRESSIONISM

In his March 6 speech to the National Association of Evangelicals, Reagan the ideologue set the tone for his coming campaign and showed to what extent he will combine pompous religiosity with mawkish patriotism to present himself as the Great White Moral Leader, bringing "religious values to public life."

He began with what he called "the first Americans" and their God-given right to "their new land." Never mind that just such an attitude was used to justify the slaughter of the real "first Americans," American Indians, on the ground that they were "heathens."

Reagan told of the civil rights struggles in which "millions worked for equality in the name of their Creator." But the truth is that the Reagan Administration has launched constant assaults on Black America. His three appointees to the Civil Rights Commission all oppose busing and affirmative action and he has sent his Justice Department to support white city employees' suits against affirmative action programs from Boston to Birmingham, Ala.

What has characterized Reagan's presidency is not "moral integrity" but hypocrisy and religious retrogression. Under this "Right to Life" president, the Supreme Court has made two separate rulings which limit the rights of condemned prisoners to appeal their convictions. During the last month, two executions took place within a period of 30 hours. And of the 1,268 prisoners now on Death Row, 531 or 41% are Black.

This same President who pushes "the sanctity of the family" has brutalized families in the infamous Baby Doe cases. Under the guise of protecting severely retarded infants, he has tried to take the power of decisions on medical care away from parents and physicians by permitting government-backed "squads" to seize medical records. And yet his record on new legislation to help the handicapped is abysmal and he has tried to do away with benefit programs such as the Education for Handicapped Children Act.

Reagan's Moral Majority supporters applaud his demands for a "positive solution to the tragedy of abortion." Yet they bitterly oppose sex education in schools and access to birth control information for youth, in whom the majority of unwanted pregnancies occur. Under Reagan, the infant mortality rate has risen to crisis proportions in inner cities across the country, while Women, Infants and Children (WIC) Food Program funds have been frozen. Between 1980-83, 2.5 million more women and 2.5 million more children have fallen into poverty. And Reagan nominates Ed ("There are no truly hungry in America") Meese to become Attorney General.

KHOMEINI'S NEO-FASCIST OCCULTISM

We have seen the use of religion to obscure reality and stifle opposition carried to its most extreme in the neo-fascist occultism of Iran's Khomeini who calls all opponents "satanists." He terms the inhuman Iran-Iraq war in which hundreds of thousands have already died "not a war for territory," but "a war between Islam and blasphemy."

His use of virtually unarmed "volunteers" as young as 11, in human-wave mine sweeps while he holds the regular Iranian army in reserve while Iraqis "hit them with everything we have" including poison gas, is glorified as sending martyrs to paradise. In one case, transports of youth 12-14 years old were taken to the front to march in a parade celebrating the fifth anniversary of the revolution. After the parade they were sent, not home, but directly to the battle lines.

Reagan is not sending 12-year-olds to war, but we must remember that he began his term in office by trying to make us believe in the winnable nuclear war. The Moral Majority supported him in this, hailing it as necessary to hold off what they call the godless, atheistic, Communist menace. Massive anti-war protests, not alone by youth, have made him modify his nuclear rhetoric somewhat, but all of the human suffering his budget cuts have caused has been a sacrifice to military spending and defense preparedness.

Religious retrogression is no mere return to an age of blind faith. It is being used by the most "modern" of ruling classes in many parts of the globe in an attempt to harness the activity and thought of the masses. The break with the retrogressionism of a Khomeini or Reagan of necessity involves the posing of a philosophy of liberation whose point of departure is full human freedom here on earth.

YOUTH

Students defy mind control

by Ida Fuller, youth columnist

Even though Reagan's constitutional amendment for prayer in public schools has been defeated, it is certainly not the last effort to discipline the minds of youth. What shows the real intentions behind the push for prayer is seen in the "alternative" proposed by some education analysts.

Specialists from the "National Endowment for the Humanities" have recently reported the need for "American history with a heavy dose of patriotism . . . why be shy about indoctrinating children." They go on to say that this means doing away with Black studies, Latino studies and "school textbooks which downplay the high ideals of American history in favor of a closer look at the warts of the nation's past."

THE ATTEMPT TO DISCIPLINE

The trend of this retrogression can be seen in the following specific moves:

- At the University of Michigan, students who protested nuclear and nerve gas research at campus laboratories have been threatened with a proposed code of non-academic conduct which aims to control students outside school, and arrest them for posting flyers on civil disobedience. (See story on this page.)

- While at the University of California two newly appointed regents are military men, all other campuses have seen a return of the ROTC military recruitment offices which had been forced off campus by students in the 1960s.

- In New Jersey, police seized hundreds of student files from junior high schools, to check their disciplinary conduct from 1976 on. This shift to discipline, which Reagan calls his crusade, is focused on poor inner-city schools where Black and Latino students have always battled police brutality.

What worries Reagan is youth resistance just at the moment when he wants us plugged into the military machine, and wants our minds militarized as well. This is why we hear talk of school prayer, discipline and rewriting school books to distort history even more.

RESISTANCE IN MILITARY

Resistance comes precisely from those youths who are directly affected by this militarization. One Latina high school student who is receiving sub-minimum wage said she refused to salute the American flag because "the flag is just a piece of rag and represents police brutality, immigration officers, poverty jobs, cuts in bilingual education and school lunches."

Utah students organize over asbestos in housing

Salt Lake City, Utah — Students at the University of Utah Student Family Housing (SFH) are organizing against repeated threats of expulsion, eviction and sometimes violence, because they will not stop complaining about unsafe living conditions in the 954-unit complex that houses more than 3900 students and their families.

They found that SFH administrators had knowledge of unsafe levels of asbestos lining the ceilings of the apartments and had no intention of informing the students or correcting the problem. The students were tipped off by a phone call from a maintenance worker in the middle of a safety meeting in which they were being told that they had to wear masks because the asbestos levels were higher than OSHA would allow for industrial workers.

The students were also forced to submit to forced spraying of banned pesticides, and lied to about which chemicals were being used. Many children have become ill, some feel as a direct result of the spraying. One man, while waving a letter saying he must allow them to spray his apartment or vacate immediately, said "that even with a doctor's note saying my sick child shouldn't be moved, they forced us out with this threat of eviction into the winter chill."

Another woman, angry over the forced spraying said, "They care more about cockroaches than they do about people." Many unsubstantiated rent and utility increases have been inflicted on residents over the last several years, and when the students ask why, they are either led in circles or openly threatened. One foreign student was called by SFH administrators and told that if she continued to associate with the complaining students they would try to have her deported.

When the duly-elected SFH student government went to address their grievances, they were promptly fired. One of the SFH administrators said, "I'm tired of these students. Who do they think they are? Don't they know that the inmates don't run the prison."

All this harassment prompted a series of open meetings, and at the first one almost 50 persons were there. Many students felt angry about the lies and harassment and one man stood up and said, "For them to lie about the levels of asbestos was the same as holding a loaded gun to our heads, it just takes longer for it to go off."

The students, organized into a committee to fight the SFH officials' lies and harassment, want to make sure this problem is not swept under the rug and that no more students are subjected to the University negligence. They are determined to accomplish several important goals. They want an official audit of the SFH administration, an independent health study at University expense and an official notice and warning to any prospective resident as to the asbestos hazard. They would also like to participate in the decision-making process of SFH.

—Vic Friesen

A most serious threat to Reagan's militarization comes from within the youth recruits who go AWOL. One young worker, who had just spent 50 days in a military jail for attempting to leave the service, said: "I would rather go to jail than continue in the Navy for three more years. What you get in the Navy are lies, lies and lies. Your job is to work like a dog, under a commanding officer who has life and death control over you, and often puts you in jail for no reason. That is what I call slavery. Many quit because of these conditions, because we don't want someone else doing our thinking for us."

It is voices of youth like these who are beginning to combat Reaganism. Resistance to his retrogressionism begins with youth thinking and acting for themselves.

Youth in Revolt



Several hundred people held protests in a number of locations in Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon and Washington along the route of the "Death Train," which carries nuclear weapons to a submarine base. In Portland, Ore., alone, 35 of about 200 protesters who had stopped the train for two and a half hours were arrested, and 350 more met the train at its destination in Bangor, Wash.

Over 1,000 squatters and their sympathizers demonstrated in Amsterdam Feb. 14 and battled police after being evicted. While over 10,000 Dutch youths have had to become squatters due to a severe housing shortage, many office buildings and luxury apartments lie vacant in this land of 18% unemployment. Major clashes have followed previous squatter evictions (see this column, December, 1982).

One of the largest demonstrations in the history of East Germany took place in Dresden on the anniversary of the 1945 Allied firebombing of the city, which is commemorated every year with anti-war demonstrations. This year, thousands of young people took to the streets, demonstrating both against war and against the recent wave of arrests of anti-war youth there.

Thousands of students rose in revolt in Lusaka, Zambia, on Feb. 14, protesting the arrests at dawn of student union leaders. The uprising followed weeks of tension between the students and administrators of the University of Zambia.

Youth resist Khomeini

Berkeley, Cal. — Youth in Iran are struggling against the war with Iraq. Eight thousand have not registered for the draft. If you don't register, you lose all basic services. You can't rent a place to live. You can't even get food coupons, so you can't get food if you aren't registered. If you do register they take you right off to war. Some people try to give themselves ulcers by purposely drinking too much alcohol, so they'll fail the medical examinations. You used to only have to take the exam once, but now you have to retake it every year.

One soldier friend I talked to when I was in Iran last summer told me that many youth are shooting themselves in the foot so they can get sent back from the front. Youth are also changing their birthdates to seem younger. And thousands are fleeing, trying to go to other countries to make a new life.

The 1979 revolution had given a new dimension to the youth movement, and I as a youth was involved and affected by this phenomenon. After the fall of the Shah's regime I joined the revolutionary committees which were established in order to protect the town. The government was changing many committees in an area into one committee in that area. One day the clergyman who was the government's official in the committee announced the change of people in the committee to revolutionary guards. He asked us to join the revolutionary guard, but we refused because we were just trying to protect the people and we didn't want to get paid. By joining them we were becoming government employees.

The division of mental and manual work was in the way of most of the people's thinking and it was especially obvious in the religious Iranian government. The youth have always been changing the morality of the society. They always bring new ideas and dimensions into the society. The thought which opposes the youth in their task comes from the religious thought. Religion divides the mental (the creator) and manual (the people who obey God) work and that's why youth are against religion. This division is a barrier for their dynamic attitude toward the society and its foundation.

—Iranian youth in exile

"I want change now"

To give voice to youth thinking for themselves, the International Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee in Los Angeles has started producing *Speaking for Ourselves: A Youth Newsletter for a New Society*, written and edited by inner-city youth. However, we do not leave theory to the theoreticians.

In realizing that youth consciousness is the most potent force against Reagan's mind-forged manacles, we have combined the activity of producing and distributing a youth newsletter with discussion of Marxist-Humanism among inner-city high school circles, to delve into the kind of work relations, man/woman, youth/adult relations, and education that we are for. Below we print a story from our first newsletter.

The question I always ask myself is why do you need to go through hell to live in this world? Some of us Black youth go to the army because we are unemployed and want to survive. There, we get treated just as bad and receive a lot of lectures on how "free" America is. But after coming back, we realize the racism even more. America is killing its own people.

In my neighborhood, they are spraying the chemical malathion on people to "protect fruit." Everybody knows how cancer-causing malathion is: It eats up cars and they say "it doesn't harm people!" Why is it no one asked us whether we want this spraying or not? Meanwhile we are getting sick and the spraying has become more important than human lives.

In this society, money is worth more than a human being. Black youth are unemployed and always hungry. We are put in jail for "stealing" food or told to wait until things get better. Well, I can't wait any more. I'm hungry. I want change NOW.

Even when you go to the doctor (if you have the money), they tell you "take this medicine," without being concerned about you as a human being with a mind. The medicine is not enough.

I'm tired of lies and know that this isn't the way human beings should live. We all want truth, love and concern. To me, the best way is for everybody to just quit work. Quit, because we are not treated as equals, as human beings. Show how we can create laws and make decisions.

I feel that every day of my life is a fight for survival.

— Black youth — South Central L.A.

Students at U. of Mich. fight conduct code

Ann Arbor, Mich. — At the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, the administration has proposed a code to control the behavior of the students outside of the classroom. It is a result of the recent sit-ins and demonstrations against any military research, against budget cuts and for real equal opportunity for all people.

Neo-conservatism in this country is apparent on campuses in many ways. It first showed up in the major cuts in financial aid and now shows up as proposed conduct codes for students.

The administration feels so threatened by student input that they want this code badly enough to do whatever is necessary to get it passed by the Regents. They have given students, at a public forum, censored documents concerning revisions of a university by-law which requires student approval of this code. The Administration is making no effort to get any student input. They have ignored a letter signed by the heads of 12 student governments condemning the code. They ignored a teach-in on March 15 which was organized by a coalition of students against the code.

On this discussion panel there was representation of all walks of university life: from a former fraternity president, to the chair of the Queers Action Committee. We all spoke against the code and are working together as a united force against the code. The next day we had two rallies because the Regents were in town. There is a referendum planned by the students on whether they want this code or not.

The administration is only interested in hearing what they want to hear. We students have demanded to choose what type of educational environment we want. We want to set up our own judicial system and have complete control over any revisions and the entire process of enforcement as well. It's not that we want anarchy as some Regents think we do. If a majority of the students want a code, let us have control over it. We just don't want their code on their terms.

—Mary Simpson

Local News & Letters Committees can be contacted directly in the following areas:

DETROIT:	2832 E. Grand Blvd., Rm. 316, Detroit, Mich. 48211 (873-8969)
SAN FRANCISCO:	P.O. Box 77303, San Francisco, Cal. 94107 (658-1448)
LOS ANGELES:	P.O. Box 29194, Los Angeles, Cal. 90029
NEW YORK:	P.O. Box 196, New York, N.Y. 10163 (795-1033)
CHICAGO:	220 S. State, Rm. 304, Chicago, IL 60604 (663-0839)
SALT LAKE CITY:	P.O. Box 8251, Salt Lake City, UT. 84108
FLINT:	P.O. Box 3384, Flint, Mich. 48502
WASHINGTON, D.C.:	P.O. Box 4463, Arlington, VA 22204
LONDON:	British Marxist-Humanists, c/o 265 Seven Sisters Rd., London, N4, England

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In a country ruled by avowedly atheistic totalitarianism, where many people turn to religion as an alternative, 1984 started very badly for Polish church hierarchy. The society, including all of underground Solidarity and Lech Walesa, vigorously opposed the announced food price increases, succeeding in rescinding many and postponing the rest.

Cardinal Glemp came out supporting the increases which many called genocidal, causing a new wave of criticism of the church hierarchy. A crowd of 12,000 people showed which side they were on when they shouted, "No food price increases" and "There is no freedom without Solidarity," supporting Walesa in his confrontation with Glemp in late January.

Many times before, Glemp's conciliatory stand towards the government has been sharply criticized from within and without the church. When he condemned the actors' boycott, for example, in December, 1982, one priest accused him of abandoning humanity by his accent on strictly religious issues and quoted his student: "first one has to be human, then a Christian." (Glemp responded that that is what the Church in South America let itself be drawn into and that "as a consequence of the dangerous theology of liberation they let themselves be pulled into Marxism!")

But then in February, 1984 Glemp's order to transfer a

Church seeks to confine Polish struggle

popular pro-Solidarity priest, Rev. Mieczyslaw Nowak, from the stronghold of Solidarity in Ursus to a remote village without so much as a telephone, met with more than even such sharp criticism. For the first time masses were held to directly oppose the hierarchy, Glemp's representative was booed and heckled and 12 people went on a hunger strike in the church to protest Glemp's order. When he returned from a 27-day trip to Latin America (where in Sao Paulo he said in a newspaper interview that Walesa had been "manipulated" and lost control of the union which he, Glemp, declared "no longer defends the working class") the hunger strike and other protests against the transfer order continued.

Is it any wonder then, that with such serious, open opposition, the church would jump at the chance to reclaim its place as a supposed opponent of the government and not its ally or an apologist for its atrocities? When on March 11, 400 teenagers held a sit-in to protest the taking down of crucifixes from their classrooms the hierarchy chose that statement to show they are "with the people." Glemp, who never overly sharply criticized the law, particularly when it was martial law, when referring to the law of separation of church and state declared: "Is the law right that sweepingly and rather deeply hurts the feelings of the majority of the believing society?" He and the church hierarchy would like

to continue the myth that in Poland's darkest hours (during the 19th century) the church and the cross were identified with the nation.

The truth is, however, that even when the rebellious Poles did use the cross as a symbol, stamped on it were the dates of revolutions. On the cross offered to Marx by the Polish participants in the 1863 uprising were stamped such dates: 1831, 1846, 1848, 1861. Obviously what the cross meant to Poles and what it means to the church are not the same thing. Similar awareness of Polish revolutionary history was shown by Solidarity when the dates on all monuments, including those using the cross as a symbol, were 1956, 1970, 1976.

The retrogression represented by the attempt to devoid the movement of all revolutionary content and reduce it to power games for the church is in keeping with the worldwide religious retrogression from Iran and Israel to the U.S. Reagan, too, would like nothing better than to replace the little bit of democracy won by the American Revolution (with a strict separation of church and state) with the religious authority which brooks no criticism as it comes from "God." It is the mark of a great movement that it is not confined by what either the government or the church would have it do (or have its symbols mean), but works out its own way towards bread and freedom.

— Urszula Wislanka

Philippine elections

The opposition to dictator Marcos continues in mass demonstrations, but differences are emerging within the organizations and political parties over the immediate question of whether or not to participate in May elections. In late January, the Philippine Democratic Party (PDP-Laban), the party of assassinated Benigno Aquino, decided to join the elections. The UNIDO coalition headed by Sen. Laurel has supported participation all along, even though against Marcos the opposition parties can at best only win 30%.

Election boycott supporters maintain that democratic elections are a farce and impossible while Marcos is in power, and that elections will give legitimacy to his dictatorship. Jose Diokno, head of the Movement for National Rights and Sovereignty, has also reported evidence that U.S. officials in the Philippines have been trying to get boycott leaders to take part in the elections.

The boycott forces represent not so much political parties as they do political movements. They held a week-long march into Manila from Tarlac to the north and Bantangas Province to the south. On March 7, the marches joined as 50,000 rallied in Manila.

While election boycott leaders said they would participate in elections if Marcos' authoritarian power to undercut parliamentary democracy were curtailed, some other concerns also surfaced during the demonstration. It was addressed by several youth activists, and in addition, many peasants and squatters had joined the march.

British miners on strike



Striking British coal miners have shut down 80% of the government-run industry. The strike is over a government decision to close 20 mines, eliminating 20,000 jobs.

Peruvian general strike

Three million Peruvian workers shut down businesses, factories, public transportation and some telephone service in a 24-hour general strike on March 22.

On the same day, the strikers demonstrated against the government's economic policies of high unemployment and inflation. A railway line was also blown up during the general strike.

While President Fernando Belaunde Terry called a three-day national state of emergency "to prevent violence," the police during the demonstration clubbed and tear gassed demonstrators and fired sub-machine guns.

Bangladesh's opposition

Workers, students and political parties opposed to the military rule of Gen. Ershad went out on an eight-hour general strike in the beginning of March. Hundreds were injured and arrested, and at least two people killed. The next week, the two main opposition alliances grouped around the Bangladesh Nationalist Party and the Awami League called for a "mourning day" to protest the police opening fire.

In February, Ershad suddenly called for local elections in late March to precede national elections in May. The opposition is demanding that the military step down so that elections can be held under a civilian government. Ershad, who seized power in 1982, declared himself President last December and now wants to be duly elected. As a political base, he recently established by fiat 470 new upazillas (councils) outside the urban areas which have been the traditional base of political parties.

That 90 million Bangladeshis — 90% of the population — live in the countryside underlines the stark division between city and countryside. Over half the peasants have no land. The economy is still based on one product, jute, which accounts for 60% of earnings, and Bangladesh is suffering acutely from the capitalist world economic crisis. Many Bangladeshis, facing floods and starvations, have fled to neighboring India, only to be met by death from racist mobs in Assam.

The U.S. is playing up Ershad's "anti-Communism" and making of the upcoming elections a return to "genuine democracy." However, the U.S.'s main interest in Bangladesh aims at getting military bases in the Chittagong port and on the Bay of Bengal islands. Meanwhile, the unheard voices in Bangladesh's destiny since the 1971 national independence are the peasants, whose movement begins with the basic struggle for food.

Oil mergers

The rash of acquisitions of one oil company by another, involving billions of dollars, has excited Wall Street, but will not add a drop of oil to the reserves of the nation. Instead it will add millions in profits to the giants of oil.

Standard of California has bought out Gulf, Texaco has bought out Getty, and Mobil bought out Superior Oil. In each instance the public will ultimately suffer. The funds used for the purchase will come out of the tax-free funds provided by Congress as "incentives for oil exploration" or borrowed in the capital markets. The funds are so huge, involving billions of dollars, that it is estimated that it will use up 30% of the capital available for home and car loans.

Once consummated, the surviving oil giants will cut out thousands of service stations and many refineries. Since 1977, over 60,000 service stations have been eliminated. Texaco is trying to dump 2,300 Getty stations and several refineries. With the refinery capacity of the nation being utilized at only 75% of capacity, the oil giants welcome the opportunity to cut production and raise prices.

The excuse used for the transactions was, that the companies absorbed were rich in reserves, and it was cheaper to buy reserve capacity than it was to drill for oil.

Congress, in providing tax incentives for exploration, was supposed to insure the development of U.S. oil. As a result of these mergers, there will now be three companies drilling in place of the six. With the proven reserves on hand there will be less incentive to drill rather than more. It is still cheaper to buy foreign oil than to produce it in the U.S.

In the long run, with thousands of gas stations closing and refineries closing, the price of gasoline is bound to rise and the consumer will pay the bill.

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.