

Draft Perspectives, 1984-85

WHERE ARE THE 1980s GOING? The Imperative Need for a Totally New Direction in Uprooting Capitalism-Imperialism

I. Ronald Reagan, World Outlaw

The so-called Great Communicator has proved himself to be the world outlaw. That is so obnoxious a manifestation that American liberals in general, and the Democratic Party in particular, would like us to believe it is an aberration rather than the nature of "democratic" capitalism. There is no doubt that the retrogressionist Reagan is an extreme product of senile capitalism. It is not true that he has made any great departure from the very nature of U.S. capitalist-imperialism.

Reagan's disregard both for Congress and for the disapproval by Britain and France of the mining of Nicaragua's harbors, as well as his flaunting of the World Court, has shown that he cares nothing that his covert actions have become overt. A look at still other covert and criminal acts carried out by counter-revolutionaries supported and directed by the President and the CIA makes it clear that nothing stops him. Indeed, as the terrorist acts of blowing up Nicaraguan oil tanks likewise became public, Reagan had the gall to propose to the West that they launch pre-emptive strikes against other countries' terrorists.

What this trigger-happy President is doing in this election year is polishing his act to become the Great Impersonator. At home, he is impersonating Harry Truman, who made a successful bid for four more years by attacking the do-nothing



U.S. marine in West Beirut

Congress with his "Give 'em hell" campaign. Abroad, he has taken a slow boat to China, where he will impersonate the "Great Statesman," as he hides his deep-rooted anti-Communism and woos China to be one with him against Russia. All the world has become a stage for him to toy with the deranged idea of a "winnable" nuclear war.

Lest this insanity lull us into choosing false alternatives — whether that be the other nuclear superpower, Russia, or whether it be another capitalist party like the Democratic Party — let's take a deeper look at the current Congressional outrage. First, it was only after his allies criticized Reagan for violation of the international freedom of the seas that Congress (which had known about it long before, even if not fully) vented its

outrage publicly. The truth is that the anger — including that of the Speaker of the House, Tip O'Neill, who declared the mining to be "legally indefensible" — was never about the substantive issues, but only about what information was given to whom, when. For that matter, timing was likewise all that had been involved in the Congressional disputes over the actual occupation they had dared to call a "peace keeping force" in Lebanon.

Second, the most revealing outburst came from the conservative head of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Barry



U.S. occupation troops in Grenada

Goldwater, when he called the mining of Nicaraguan waters "without the consent of Congress" nothing less than "an act of war."

Third, while presidential candidate Gary Hart's declaration, "I regard Ronald Reagan as the most dangerous president of the nuclear age," can hardly be dismissed as mere electioneering politics, one must ask how serious is this critique from a high-tech exponent? In the same way, one must ask how seriously can we take the unanimous vote of the UN Council (except for the U.S. itself, which vetoed it) when it condemned all outside military intervention as a violation of national sovereignty, but followed it with no action?

"Four more years" for Reagan, as for Nixon, is a slogan that promises to subject us to continuing retrogression. Moreover, this scoundrel-patriot's outreach extends far beyond four more years, since he would also pack the Supreme Court and install the kind of militarization for his mad Star Wars that would guarantee that no presidency through the 20th century would be able to escape his plan for the ultimate East-West confrontation.

This must be stopped. This is what makes it imperative to turn to what is the only true opposition to Reaganism — mass revolt on the home front as it fights against Reagan, the Great Strike-Breaker.



U.S. adviser training El Salvador troops

II. Ronald Reagan, Strike-Breaker

The strike-breaking pattern that Reagan set in motion with his destruction of PATCO as soon as he took office gave a signal to the whole capitalist class, which is now involved in a concerted drive against all unionization. The *Wall Street Journal* (March 6, 1984) has put it most succinctly when it showed that "despite a booming economy many profitable companies . . . are saying to their workers: Your wages are just too high for us to keep competitive in the long run. We need permanent cutbacks." (My emphasis.) "Competitive" has been given a new meaning: it is to bring down the standard of living of the American worker to the lowest common denominator in the backward economies.

And "permanent" means not only lowering wages now but making "temporary" concessions a permanent downgrading. Moreover, the union bureaucrats know that these downward moves are directed not to the elite workers like toolmakers and electronic specialists but to the production workers, who even at their most "prosperous" point never rose above the most average of living conditions. The example cited by the *Wall Street Journal* was that of the meat-cutter who earned \$12.37 an hour and was replaced by a worker making \$6 when he was forced into early retirement.

It is in the midst of such a situation that the Administration has made scabbing a veritable way of life — which it touts as "freedom of choice." The workers at U.S. Steel have a good word for the tactics of capital. They call it "shut-down blackmail," which is used the minute workers threaten to strike or refuse to take cuts, in their benefits as well as in their wages.

At the same time, workers bringing cases against the corporations are waiting years for any action. By last year, there was a backlog of over 1700 NLRB (National Labor Relations

Board) cases to be acted upon — four times more than in 1978. The situation of the workers is exacerbated by the evergrowing unemployment and the inhuman speed-up forced on those still working. There are 10,000 robots in operation in U.S. industry at the present, with each robot displacing from 1.7 to 6 workers. The number is expected to quadruple in the next few years.

That is not all to this grim picture. It includes the swelling number of soup kitchens everywhere throughout the land, including a traveling food kitchen a block from the White House. It includes the actual homeless ones (estimated by now to be more than two million) who include not just the destitute men of the 1930s but many women, many young people, indeed whole families.

Among the many great contradictions in the Reagan regime is the fact that, on the one hand, for electioneering purposes at home, he is diverting attention from the economic crisis here to the crises abroad — confident that he can blame his foreign policy disasters on the Democrats and appeal to the kind of super-patriotism that rallied to his lethal politics in the Grenada invasion. On the other hand, when attention is focused on the economic crisis at home, he puts the blame on the "competition" from abroad that allegedly demands lower wages and worsening conditions here.

Here is the true picture of the genuine opposition to Reaganomics and the deteriorating economy that Reagan calls the "great recovery": There are nine million unemployed. Conditions for Black America worsen daily, especially for the youth, and not only the unemployed but the college youth who face ever higher tuitions and ever greater cutbacks in student loans. Despite all Reagan's touting of

how many individual women have "made it" in business, the situation for overwhelming masses of women in the U.S. is summed up in one phrase: "the feminization of poverty."

It is not only that we now have a permanent army of unemployed, or that we face the closing down of such basic industries as steel and other smoke-stack industries that are deemed unprofitable. Nor is it only that the union bureaucrats have demanded that the workers make constant concessions, supposedly "temporarily" until the economy gets back on track. What is new today is that even profitable firms are now demanding permanent paycuts.

In opposing all this retrogression, Labor is not limiting itself only to the electoral process by backing Walter Mondale, though that is the way the press and his opponent for the candidacy, Gary Hart, present it, as they dare to refer to labor as "special interest." The year has seen such militant actions as the McDonnell Douglas UAW strike in California, and the Greyhound Bus workers strike nationwide, though it is true there have not been many massive rank-and-file revolts such

(Continued on page 2)

ON THE INSIDE

Strikes: Copper miners in Arizona, service workers in Las Vegas.....p. 5

Rebellion in Dominican Republicp.3

Women workers: past and present...p. 4

News and Letters Committees

Draft Perspectives, 1984-1985

(Continued from page 1)

as we have seen in other years. Nevertheless, as one labor activist wrote in *News & Letters* (October 1983): "There have been important strikes this year, many anti-concession strikes.

but they are as yet individual and isolated." He then described the unreported, shop floor struggles that have appeared which are openly striving for a new kind of rank-and-file organization different from the former caucuses — a new

form of organization which, in absorbing the new forces of the women, the Blacks and the Latinos, would unite with an "intellectual sediment" and help create a new society based on freely associated labor.

III. Abroad At Home; At Home Abroad

Another form of revolt has been growing, especially among the Youth, who see the living standards of their families lowered and their education as well as their daily food cut back, while billions are being poured into more and more militarization, which by now has reached the fantastic, projected "Star Wars." In true Orwellian 1984 language, they dare to call the bill now before Congress to initiate these new space war preparations, the "People Protection Act."

It was the U.S. imperialist invasion of Grenada which sparked a massive march in Washington, D.C. on Nov. 12, and the many local demonstrations by those who could not get to Washington to join the 20,000 protesting there. What the protests revealed was the depth and manifoldness of the opposition to the ruling class. The spontaneous outpouring against the U.S. lawless intervention into Third World national liberation movements was not limited to opposition to the invasion of Grenada. The protest was also against the U.S. presence in Lebanon and the deaths of the 239 Marines killed by the terrorist bombing of the Marine barracks. And it was, at the same time, against the U.S. placement of nuclear missiles in West Europe and in solidarity with the international anti-nuclear demonstrations that had swept Europe.

Thus, the 20,000 in Washington, D.C. divided into three separate rallies: 1) At the Immigration and Naturalization Service the focus was on Latin American and Haitian freedom fighters; 2) At the State Department the focus was not only against the foreign policies of the Administration but against the excessive militarization at home; and 3) At the Department of Health and Human Services the focus was on the wars at home against Labor, Women, Black, Youth. As all three rallies coalesced into the single march to the White House the breadth of the movement was demonstrated in its many different slogans: "El Salvador is Spanish for Vietnam;" "Jobs, not Juggernauts;" "Bread, not Bombs."

Several days before the Nov. 12 demonstration, students in Ann Arbor, Michigan left the radiation lab of the School of Engineering shouting, "We shut it down! We shut it down!" They had been sitting-in for 48 hours to stop nuclear research that contributed directly to the arms race, while hundreds of other students rallied outside. The breadth of the movement was shown as well in the Nov. 12 demonstration of 4,000 in Los Angeles where the large numbers of Latinos and Blacks set the tone with signs that revealed their opposition both to the invasion of Grenada and the war against Afro-Americans right here.

There is no doubt that the most militant of all is the Black opposition to Reaganism whether at home in Miami, or abroad in the Caribbean. It has been revealed even in what appears as only electoral politics, in the outpouring for Jesse Jackson. As we put it in the Call for the Convention: "It is impossible not to sense the significance of the Black masses in motion in this election year. When 80% of the Black voters in Chicago, and nearly 90% in New York City, turn out for so previously disregarded as event as a primary, it is crystal clear that this Black mass support of Jesse Jackson has nothing to do with support for Democratic Party politics. Just as the millions who flocked to Marcus Garvey at the end of World War I, when race riots greeted



Reagan will take offensive against terrorists. — News item

returning Black soliders, did so *not* because they wanted to go 'back to Africa' but because they wished to be free here and now, so thousands are following Jesse Jackson now, not because of any belief in the capitalist system but because they wish to uproot the whole exploitative, racist system."

Ronald Reagan has demonstrated so determined an effort to push back all the gains of the Black Revolt over the last two decades,* that it is no surprise that he finds his greatest affinity with the worst existing power on earth — apartheid South Africa, with which he is presently working hand in glove on the question of Namibia, praising to the skies the "non-aggression pact" between Angola, Mozambique and South Africa.

Internationally, the points of crisis flare up everywhere:

1) The Middle East itself contains four different flash-points that could lead to more than regional wars — Lebanon, Iran-Iraq, Syria and the fractured PLO, and of course the Israeli-Arab conflict.

2) In Africa the disasters include everything from such continuous drought and famine that, as one writer described it,

*The Lead-Editorial in *N&L*, December, 1983, was entitled "The Three-Way Drive to War: Grenada, Endless Militarization, Retrogression on Black Rights." It should be considered part of these perspectives, along with our *Political-Philosophic Letter* of Nov. 28, 1983, "Counter-Revolution and Revolution: Grenada, The Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were Themselves Forms of Theory."

IV. Objectivity/Subjectivity — In Actuality and in Philosophy

"... the transcendence of the opposition between the Notion and Reality, and that unity which is the truth, rests upon this subjectivity alone. The second negative, the negative of the negative... is this transcendence of the contradiction... it is the inner-most and most objective moment of Life and Spirit."

Hegel, *Science of Logic*, Vol. II, pp 477-8
(Johnson and Struthers edition)

"Important here is: (1) the characterization of dialectics: self-movement... the movement of life and spirit; the coincidence of the concepts of the subject (man) with reality; (2) objectivism to the highest degree ('der objectiviste Moment')"

Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 38, p. 229

We were all put to the test in the 1980s. 1980 began the Reagan era, but only formally, since Carter was still in power and his imperialist intrusion into the desert of Iran revealed that a major war in the Middle East was not excluded, even if it carried with it a possible East-West nuclear confrontation. We considered the objective situation so critical that, no matter how small we were numerically, we had to expand the 8 page *News & Letters* into a 12 page paper, so that more new

voices from below could be heard along with new theoretical developments. We declared 1980 to be "The Year of the Book" (by which we meant the year **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** was to be completed), not for any scholastic purpose, but in order to work out Marx's "new moments" in the last decade of his life, which we held had left a trail to the 1980s.

In 1981 — when, under Reagan, the militarization and intrusion into El Salvador reached genocidal heights — we did, indeed, expand *News & Letters* to 12 pages and were able to present both more voices from below and further theoretical development. Reagan's expansion of the crisis over El Salvador, to engulf all of Central America as well as the Caribbean, made even more imperative the need never to separate our theoretic contributions from our participation in all support activities for Latin American revolutionaries.

Ever more retrogressive imperialist moves filled 1982 — from Thatcher's reach into the Falklands and Israel's genocidal blitzkrieg against Lebanon, to the U.S. toying with the idea of prolonged nuclear war. At the same time, the anti-war forces grew to the truly massive demonstration of 800,000 at the UN, which was extended internationally. We developed our 1980 slogan, "the year of the book," into "three books, not one." With the 1982 publication of **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**, along with new editions of *Marxism and*

Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, each with a new Introduction, we undertook the consideration of the whole body of Marxist-Humanism that began with the emergence of the great new movement from practice and our own birth in the 1950s.

This digging into three decades of thought, again, was not for scholastic purposes. What has been clear in these first four years of the 1980s has been the collision of two absolute opposites: the counter-revolution with its might against the masses in motion striving for a philosophy of revolution.

We felt strongly that, just as Marx in his last decade was, at one and the same time, totalizing his original 1844 discovery of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution and grappling with "new moments," so must we grapple with the new problems of our age and the Third World, in challenging all revolutionary post-Marx Marxists. Hence, "three books, not one" meant projecting the totality of Marx's Humanism now that the works of his last decade had made his new moments clear:

1) His digging, at one and the same time, into pre-capitalist societies and new approaches to the accumulation of capital led him to deny that the Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation was a Universal.

2) The *Ethnological Notebooks* revealed also the greater

(Continued on page 11)

News & Letters

Vol. 29, No. 4

May, 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

Remember Art Steel's militancy



by John Marcotte

When the Art Steel factory in the Bronx shut its doors this March, laying off the last of what was once a work force of 900, a chapter closed in New York labor struggles.

I worked at Art Steel too before getting laid off. I remember Art Steel as the best shop I've worked in. Not because the work wasn't heavy and dirty — it was. Not because the company wasn't the worst bunch of slave-drivers who could come up with something new everyday to oppress and disgust the workers — they were. Not because the union, District 65/UAW, and the organizer Julio Mojica weren't sellouts — they were. But because Art Steel workers had the highest level of camaraderie, solidarity and class struggle I have ever known.

Art Steel workers threw out two unions over the last 30 years, finally bringing in District 65 in 1971 with a tremendously hard-fought strike. Working there, you would take a 10-15 minute bathroom break four times a day, where you'd hang out and converse with your fellow workers. That wasn't in the contract. That's how self-organized and militant the workers were, that they set and enforced some of their own rules as a Plan directly opposed to management's dictatorial Plan for ever more and more production.

WORKERS SETTING THEIR JOBS

When I worked on the platform in large welding, the supervisor never dared tell us how to organize our work. We had to work, but as much as we could we set our own terms. We had an extra worker we never let them take from us. We rotated jobs amongst ourselves every half day so no one would have the heavy welding stick more than half a day, and everyone had a chance to be relief man. That worker had the first hour free of every two hours between breaks. Then he'd start relieving us one by one for ten minutes. No one took more than ten minutes because we knew we'd only be robbing the next guy.

When the night shift reported to work one evening, we found the street full of police cars. A worker had had a fight with the timekeeper over an emergency phone call. Because the company fired the worker and kept the company man, the whole shop stopped work and stayed at their machines. The cops were called to empty out the plant, but the workers picked up tools and pieces of steel and dared the cops to come in and get them out. The cops didn't go in.

(Continued on page 5)

Black World

Crisis in Black Liberation



by Lou Turner

"The Crisis in Black Liberation" was the subject of a series of lectures and discussions I was involved in recently in Chicago, Los Angeles and Berkeley, Cal. Though the point of departure was a paper I had delivered at the Tenth Annual Third World Conference in Chicago at the end of March on the newly published Marcus Garvey Papers, it was today's crisis in the Black and Third World which predominated in all the discussions.

When jammed up against the events of the last month, a discussion of Black world movements in Garvey's day showed that history was no mere return to the past, but a live encounter with the present. This period saw the twin expressions of Black protest in the U.S. in the form of Black revolt in Miami for the fourth time in as many years, followed by mass turn-outs in New York and Chicago Democratic primaries for Jesse Jackson.

CARIBBEAN AND AFRICA

In the Caribbean, reports of food riots in the Dominican Republic and new student protests in Grenada spoke in words so totally opposite from some of the speakers at the Third World Conference, who tried to whitewash the tragic fact that the first act of counter-revolution had come from within the party of the Grenadian revolution.

However, it was the events of the last month in Africa which disclosed such utter depth of retrogression that there was no mistaking the fact that the crisis of the 1960s African Revolution had not been breached by the revolutions of the 1970s. In less than a month we witnessed a coup in Guinea, West Africa, only a week after the sudden death of Sekou Toure, and the Nkomati accord between apartheid South Africa and Mozambique. Toure, as Guinea's first president, led the first French-speaking African nation to independence. One of the last exponents of the theory of African Socialism of the 1960s, Toure's theory remained aloof from the reality of the Guinean masses.

More significantly, though, the new "non-aggression pacts" between Angola and Mozambique with South Africa revealed that the "Marxist-Leninism" of the 1970s African revolutions had led to even deeper retrogression than the African Socialism of the 1960s. For now, even that single principled point of unity which every independent African state had sworn to uphold — that Africa would not be free until South Africa was liberated — was no longer a unifying force that freedom-fighters could rely on.

It was with these events in mind that the various discus-

(Continued on page 8)

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/
Practice

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

May Day, 1984

Labor faces crises and challenges

by Ron Brokmeyer

Oakland, Cal. — The year 1984 marks the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the campaign by organized labor in the United States for an eight-hour day. By 1889 May Day became the genuine international labor day when the Second International accepted the American Federation of Labor's suggestion for a worldwide strike for the eight hour day on May 1.

The movement for the eight-hour day in the United States had its roots in the victory over slavery in the American Civil War. In its wake a spontaneous wave of agitation for a shorter working day, in Karl Marx's words, "ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California." By asking the simple question, "When does my working day end?", the movement changed the very structure of the labor movement in this country and showed that the pathways to freedom begin in the concrete actions of the masses to transform their conditions of labor and life.

THE REALITY FACING LABOR

The reality facing labor today demands no less of a reorganization. In auto, for example, this is a peak production year. Chrysler Corporation, where Douglas Fraser started the wave of give-backs, made more profit in its first quarter than any full year in its history. But a stark fact has come home — a full one-third of all auto workers will never be

called back. That reality is reflected in the celebrated reopening — i.e., celebrated by all except the workers — of the roboticized local Fremont, Cal. plant as New United Motors Manufacturing (GM/Toyota) where 3,000 workers will work in place of 8,000 before.

Fremont workers expressed their ideas about this reality in a mass outdoor demonstration as against all the enthusiasm for roboticized production especially from their own UAW international union. "The union is still rolling over and playing dead," said one worker who doesn't expect to get called back. "The company is now putting applicants through a grueling four day assessment without pay. They're going to eliminate most people. For the first six months the management has a free hand to fire and set up shop as if there were no union."

"The retraining program in electronics that I'm in is also a farce. It isn't training for any real job. But the worst part is the extreme anti-unionism; claims that all the high-tech firms don't have unions because they 'take care of their workers,' as though a \$6/hour job in Silicon Valley is a rosy future. High-tech has affected our way of thinking."

Far from "high-tech" being the basis of recovery, it is part of the crisis. Manufacturing jobs have been disappearing at an accelerated pace in California as in the midwest. In just the Los Angeles area alone from 1980 to 1983, 674 plants closed, mostly in auto, steel, tire and civilian aircraft. Now there are even cutbacks in high-tech.

Waves of permanent lay-offs began at Atari last year. The company didn't even have the decency to give one day's notice. Many other companies are now also moving to Tai-

(Continued on page 9)

Rebellion rocks Dominican Republic

"Poor people in the Dominican Republic took to the streets because they could no longer endure their conditions of life. There are no jobs, people are hungry, and then the government raised food prices 50%. The country was ruined by the previous Balaguer government. Under that government military officers would become millionaires in two years, while the government borrowed more and more. The people never saw any of that money, the rich sent it all abroad. Now the International Monetary Fund wants the poor to pay. The people endure, endure, then one day explode and take to the streets. It was like that in 1965. This is only the beginning."

So said a Dominican worker in New York about the three days of rebellion that swept through the Dominican Republic on the 19th anniversary of the April 24, 1965 revolution. In these three days, police and military repression left over 60 dead, literally hundreds seriously wounded and thousands arrested.

One week before, the Dominican government had announced the agreement for an IMF loan which called for not only a 200% increase in the price of many imported goods, but most important for a people already suffering from at least 40% unemployment and high inflation, increases in the prices of the most basic foods such as: bread, 35%; flour, 40%; and soy bean oil, 100%. The increases would also affect medicines.

SPONTANEOUS REVOLT

While the rioting was most severe in the poorest neighborhoods such as the slums in the north of the capital, it swept spontaneously through the whole country and involved a large part of the population in some 20 cities, and especially the youth. What started as a call for a protest strike by union centrals and by strike committees spontaneously organized by housewives as they gathered in front of food stores to discuss the intolerable price increases, surprised everyone as the streets instantly filled with angry demonstrators, barricades and fierce battles with the police and military.

Supermarkets, drugstores and other shops were looted, people "taking the food home or distributing it to the crowds in the streets," according to eyewitness reports. Other targets were a branch of the Metropolitan Bank burned in the capital; offices of the ruling Dominican Revolutionary Party (PRD) in many cities also burned; and police stations. Everywhere were barricades of burning tires, tree trunks, and cars where youths took on the police and military with rocks and bottles. Workers all over the country were on strike, such as in the sugar mills and ports.

Police and military repression was brutal. From the first day they shot to kill against the unarmed protesters and even innocent bystanders. The full accounts are yet to emerge, but there are already eyewitness accounts of, for example, 20-year-old Ruddy Fernandez, dragged out of his house by the military and shot at point blank range; of a



Protesters in the Dominican Republic rebellion

mother and her 18-day-old daughter both shot dead by the military; of a construction site watchman killed as he shouted at troops aiming at him, "Don't kill me, I'm the watchman here!" By the second day hospitals were literally overflowing with the wounded as shots and machine-gun fire were heard almost continuously for three days, against an unarmed population.

PRESIDENT ARRESTS LEFTISTS

President Salvador Jorge Blanco has insisted on blaming both left and right political parties for supposedly orchestrating these riots. In fact, while he was having Leftist leaders arrested he was blaming former president Balaguer's right-wing Reformist Party. But even some leaders of his ruling PRD admit that it was "a spontaneous movement . . ." caused by "desperation among the lowest income groups."

A Dominican worker in New York characterized Jorge Blanco's silence the first two days of the rebellion like this: "He's silent because he knows it is the very same people who voted for him who are supporting the strike and the protests." The depth of fear of the spontaneous nature of the revolt is seen in the government's shutting down four radio stations and one TV station just for reporting on-the-spot accounts of the protests.

Another New York Dominican worker, now unemployed, stated that the cause of the rebellion was "the IMF, who told the government to squeeze the poor to pay the interests on the loan." He added, "The minimum wage is about 125 pesos a month while it's estimated a family would need about 210 pesos a month just to eat three meals a day. And that's for those who are working. Half the people are unemployed. The misery increases everyday. Until the Dominican government raises the minimum wage so people can survive the rising cost of living, and until there are jobs and the rich invest their money in the country instead of sending it out of the country, this rebellion will not end."

May Day includes working women — past and present

In this aerial bleaching, drying rooms with temperatures of from 90° to 100° Fahrenheit were used, and the work there was mainly done by girls . . . 'The hours of work . . . are unlimited. If busy, they work till 9 or 12 at night for successive nights.'

— Marx, Capital, Ch. 10 "The Working Day," 1867

When the apprentices shake the waste threads from the clothes, the whole room fills with dust, and it is hard to breathe . . . It seems to me that no one knows our blood dissolves into the threads and seams, with sighs and sorrow.

— Min Chong Suk, a South Korean garment worker in the 1970s writing of her 7AM to 11:30PM work shift.

Over 100 years after the beginnings of the fight for the eight-hour-day inspired Marx to restructure his greatest theoretical work, Capital, to include 76 pages on "The Working Day," the phenomenon of 12, 14, and 16-hour work days is still the norm in garment and electronics factories in the Third World — and 80 to 90 percent of those three million low-skill assembly-line jobs are held by women.

Nothing is more reminiscent of Marx's horrifying yet moving description of 19th century capitalism's heyday than the realities of women's factory labor in the Third World today. Yet, far from being some "holdover" from the past, this reality is very much that of the 1980s, when capitalism is in such deep, structural crisis that no new economic "booms" will emerge.

The health hazards for women in the textile industry that Marx documented persist in the 1980s, together with new dangers in "clean" electronics. The 19th century phenomenon of dormitories for workers in which the beds, like the factories, were occupied on a shift system, is still a reality. And just as Marx wrote of the death of 20-year-old milliner Mary Ann Walkley after she worked 26½ continuous hours in an overcrowded work room, we find that management in today's South Korean textile factories supplies workers with amphetamine injections to keep them at work as long as 48 hours at a stretch.

SWEATSHOPS IN U.S.

Moreover, what we are also seeing today is the resurgence of sweatshops in the U.S. itself — workers packed for long hours in overcrowded, poorly lit rooms, being paid minimum or below minimum wages. In these sweatshops too, particularly in garment and toy manufacturing, 90% of the workers are women — that Third World of women within the U.S., Latina, Asian and Black.

There are those who still argue for the "progressive" nature of capitalism, offering jobs to the hungry. "These people have to go somewhere," remarked Emmy Simmons,

Meeting on VDT hazards

Detroit, Mich. — On April 7, about 250 clerical workers met at Wayne State University at a conference on the Health Effects of Office Work and New Technology called, "Got the VDTs?", sponsored by the Southeast Michigan Coalition on Occupational Safety and Health (SEMCOH).

The most interesting part of the conference was the session where VDT (video display terminal) workers could speak out about the problems they were experiencing. Unfortunately conference organizers had only allowed 30 minutes of the day-long conference for this. What came out over and over again was that introduction of VDTs has severely increased workers' work loads and wreaked havoc with workers' health, despite their appearing clean and safe.

An insurance company worker told of her documented case of carpal tunnel syndrome, an extremely painful and permanent damaging of the hand and wrist muscles caused by working with the hands bent at the angle necessary for VDT work. An airlines worker told of proven radiation-induced cataracts in both her eyes and of a young co-worker who died of cervical cancer believed to have been caused by the low level radiation emitted by the VDT.

While the experts who were brought in told us of the "dual nature" of this technology which "could be used to enhance our jobs and improve our workplace," and cited specific statistics involving "clusters" of women VDT workers in whom miscarriage and birth defect rates of up to 48% had been found, they could not answer the concrete questions workers had, which should have been the whole purpose of the conference.

We know that after working on a VDT for any period we have headaches, burning eyes and vision problems, and it does help to know exactly why this is — whether radiation, ionization of the air around the machine, etc. But what we need to know is what we can do about it.

At every one of these conferences I have attended, these labor educators place the burden of improving our situation on us. They teach us ways to reduce our own stress level (stress was identified as one of the main problems of VDTs). At this conference they even had an "ergonomics" (well designed workplace) display by a manufacturer of business machines!

What world do these people live in if they think all we have to do is convince our bosses to improve our workplaces? The answer came from a Black woman city worker who said as they were telling us how to install our own home-made safety shields if our employers refused to buy them, "If we put those shields on at my job, we wouldn't have to worry about radiation because we'd be fired."

If these conferences could start out with the workers educating each other and the "experts" listening and asking how they could work with us to actually do something on our jobs, then we would all learn something.

—Suzanne Casey

from the Women's Division of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), brushing aside inquiries concerning the conditions of women workers.

Marx in his day had a scathing critique of such thinking, stunted and confined by the alternatives and categories of capitalist society. His point in his chapter on "The Working Day" was not to write a sob story on the evils of capitalism, but to show the opposite of bourgeois thought in the passions and humanity and ideals of the workers' struggles, which he details. For Marx, this was the foundation for the revolutionary theorist to concretely trace out a philosophy of human liberation.

CHALLENGE TO FEMINISTS

Today, it is the movement of women workers, globally, that challenges feminists to grapple with Marx's concept of revolutionary theory, and its relation to the movement from practice. From Mexico to Thailand to the Philippines, from Los Angeles garment factories and Texas and California fields to Las Vegas hotel kitchens, the last decade has seen a growing militance and consciousness of women workers, expressed in strikes, demonstrations and factory occupations.

One manifesto, issued in 1977 by striking women workers from the Dong-Il Textile Co. in Inchon, South Korea, concluded: "Deprived of a chance to study because of poverty, we have been despised and belittled as ignorant . . . We have finally made up our mind to regain our rights with our

Chicago's sewing women



Lizzie Swank-Holmes, who organized a march by Chicago sewing women for the eight-hour day on May 3, 1886, the day before the infamous Haymarket Police Riot. Referring to the marchers as "Shouting Amazons," the Chicago Tribune reported, "Between 300 and 400 girls and women were affected with a malignant form of the eight-hour malady yesterday morning." Their "exterior denoted incessant toil, (with) . . . worn faces and thread-bare clothing bearing evidence of a struggle for an uncomfortable existence." At the end of the march, the women joined the Knights of Labor, swearing that they would not give in until they had won the eight-hour day.

Letter from Seattle

Editor's Note: The following is from a letter written by a woman reader in Seattle.

There are a lot of politics involved in the investigation of the Green River murders, primarily that the victims (who now number 24, plus 13 more missing) were "prostitutes." Being "prostitutes," "doing it for money," these women are seen by authorities as having taken themselves out from under the umbrella of the law. That is, they get what they deserve. If businessmen had been murdered, it would be a national, perhaps international news item. If there was a woman "murderess," the police would be stopping us on the streets and searching us.

The victims' profile is 13 to 18 years old, a girl who's been forced out of her home due to physical and/or sexual abuse and who finds street life to be a better life than that at home. How can we expect any sort of co-operation between a group of young rebellious girls and a group of paramilitary men, especially when one of them may be the guilty one? This is a big problem with the investigation. The Distrust Barrier is so high that communication is nonexistent.

Personally, I'm pessimistic about the guilty one being caught. The first murder was in 1982 in the summer and the last one discovered was in August in '83. Most of the bodies were in a skeletal state when they were found; so clues are minimal. The investigation got off to a slow, unorganized start because of the type of victim; they were valuing a person because of her sexual behavior. Only after the Take Back The Night march and outrage by the women's community have there been any actions. However, it just may be too late.

I feel close to this subject not only because I've been assaulted, but because I worked with these kids who are being killed, at a home for runaways and street kids. They're not hardened criminals. They're young girls who are confused and hurt, already victims of a no-win family situation of male domination, of women as property.

own hands . . . We believe we should gather all our strength and energy left, and cry out in one huge voice of assertion that we, too, are human beings."

"We, too, are human beings," is a cry of women that speaks to the heart of a feminist vision of a new world. As we mark May Day, 1984, let none of us think that a day of international working class solidarity is "for men only." Rather, let us hold in our minds both the reality of the conditions of women workers, worldwide, at this stage of deep capitalist crisis, and the opposite of that, their/our vision and struggle for a new life, and Marx's expression of that as the classless society in which "human power is its own end, the true realm of freedom." —Michelle Landau



women-worldwide

Feminist and civil rights groups have reacted with alarm to the Feb. 28 ruling by Reagan's Supreme Court which "took the teeth out of Title IX," which prohibits sex discrimination in any educational program or activity receiving federal funds. The ruling in favor of Grove City College in Pennsylvania sets a dangerous precedent in stating that only those programs directly receiving federal funds, rather than the college as a whole, cannot discriminate.

In Katowicz, Poland, Solidarity activists Anna Walentynowicz, Ewa Tomaszewska and Kazimierz Switon were released from prison in April. A local court ruled that all three were too ill to stand trial, which has been indefinitely postponed. The three were arrested last year for trying to set up a plaque in memory of seven miners killed in 1981 by security forces after martial law was declared. Walentynowicz and Switon were leaders in the free trade union movement which led to the birth of Solidarity.

More than 50,000 women demonstrated on March 10 in Rome as part of a series of activities held by the Italian Women's Movement. On March 8, several thousand celebrated International Women's Day, and in Comiso, Sicily, where Cruise missiles are scheduled for deployment, a women's group called Ragnatella (Spiders' Web) is now planning Italy's version of Greenham Common.

Claudina Calderon, a student at El Salvador's National University, was kidnapped by government security forces last June 29, along with her two-month old son and three other women and children. She has recently been seen, tortured but alive, in an unofficial prison. The Association of El Salvadoran Women (AMES) is asking supporters to write or cable President Alvaro Magana, Casa Presidencial, San Salvador; and Ambassador Thomas Pickering, U.S. Embassy, El Salvador. For further information write: National Campaign to Release Claudina Calderon, 2000 Center Street, PO Box 1157, Berkeley, CA 94704.

CTA: 'your life for a fare'

CHICAGO, Ill. — I used to dream about driving a bus for the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA). I used to tell my kids, "One day I'm going to be a pro," because the CTA is the pros. Now I wonder what I'm doing there.

The people, the supervisors and the spotters are all on you. Spotters are hired to get on the bus and watch to see if you call the streets and punch the transfers. Sometimes there are so many people that you can't. The supervisors yell at you like you're a child. They forget what it's like to be a bus driver and risk your life to collect a fare for the CTA.

The death of a woman driver put me through changes. That could have been me. I have had bricks thrown through my windows, I've been shot at, and I've been threatened. You have to put on a front and pretend you're not scared. I don't know how many times I've ended up at the terminal crying. It is constantly working on your nerves. Other drivers say "just shut it off." How the hell can you shut it off when the guy is standing right in front of you? I have never prayed to so much in all my life.

The job changes you. People complain that we are nasty and cold. Something must have happened. Otherwise we wouldn't be as cold as we are.

— Woman driver

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

— Karl Marx

Subscribe to

News & Letters

Only \$2.50 per year

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

Enclosed find \$2.50 for a one year subscription to

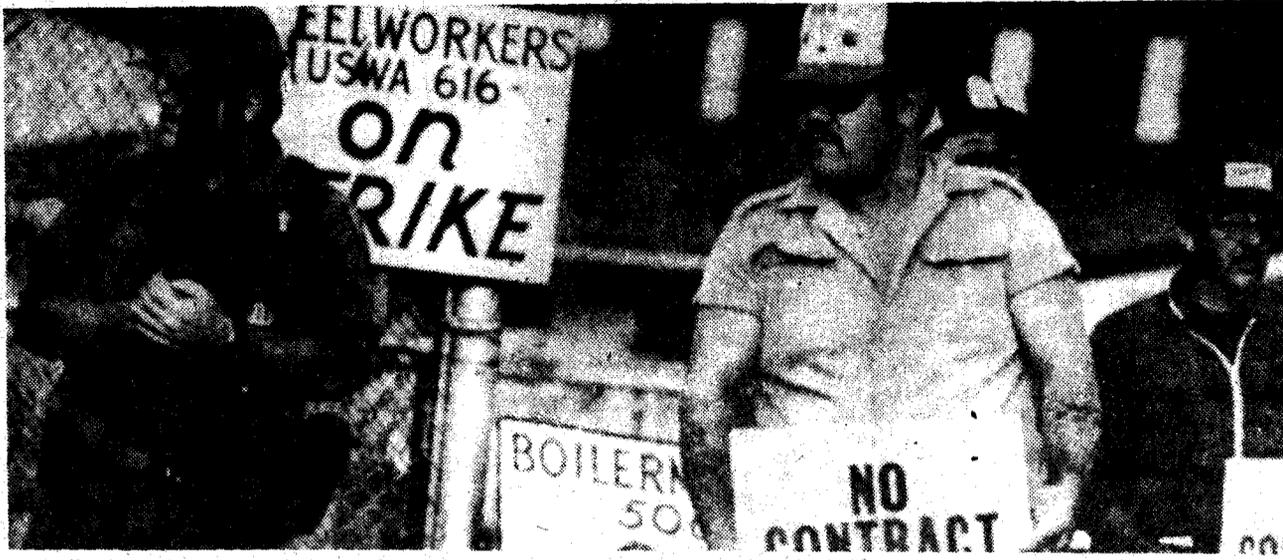
N&L.

Name _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Class war returns to Arizona copper mines



Strikers have picketed Phelps Dodge copper mines for over ten months despite armed National Guard and state police.

Clifton, Ariz. — The ten-month-old strike against the copper mining operations of Phelps Dodge Corporation (PD) still continues. The strike began July 1, when the company refused to negotiate a freeze, as offered by the unions, but demanded a reduction in wages and benefits.

We have had the National Guard in our area, surrounding the strikers with sub-machine guns and flying helicopters over strikers' homes, day and night. The National Guard left, and was replaced by state police, who have harassed and beaten strikers, and jailed both men and women for nothing but verbally harassing the scabs.

WOMEN RALLY

There are about 600 scabs working in the mines now. I know they feel they have to work to support their families, but I say to them: If all working people did what you are doing, we would have no rights left at all. That is why our strike is so important.

Strikers still go out to picket every day, and it is the women who are the most determined picketers. It is the Women's Auxiliary that is organizing a big rally for May 5. But it is a long hard strike for everyone. Strikers' homes have been shot at, and their lives and the lives of their children threatened.

Dr. Jorge O'Leary was fired from the company-owned hospital — the only one in the county — for his support of the strikers. He has opened up a People's Clinic, which survives on donations, and serves striking families that have no money. PD controls this whole town. It is like a dictatorship.

There is a history of struggle at this mine. My grandfather used to tell stories of a long bitter strike, and I think he must have been speaking of the one in Bisbee in 1917, which ended with 1200 striking miners being loaded into boxcars at gunpoint and deported to New Mexico.

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from page 3)

Only the union finally made all kinds of promises to get them to go home.

It was always like that. The union organizer was never there when you called with a problem. But as soon as you stopped production, the organizer would come running to tell everyone to go back to work, that they'd settle it in the office. They never settled anything to the workers' satisfaction, so all through the '70s there were always work stoppages and wildcats.

One laid-off Art Steel worker who was always a company man was telling some of us that we caused Art Steel to shut down, with sabotage, slowdowns and not caring about our work. But the truth which he will never understand is that those were all responses to the company's constant abuses. It is true that neither Art Steel nor other factories like GM, Ford, and U.S. Steel have shut down for purely "economic" reasons separate from what their workers were doing and thinking in resistance. It has always been like that. Marx wrote 120 years ago that, even then, all new machinery was developed to "still the refractory hand of labor," and that is true of the runaway shop and shut-downs as well.

GAINS MUST BE REGAINED

It is true that if you fight for better conditions and stop, even if you've won \$10 or \$11 an hour you will lose tomorrow — or ten years down the road. That's what's happening to the New York furriers right now, who won those wages and now face the extinction of their union in a bitter strike over subcontracting.

But if you conclude like the Art Steel company man that it is therefore better not to struggle and meekly accept the crumbs offered you, you will lose even worse. The capitalist can always find someone to do your job cheaper. If you went down to 50¢ an hour, they would force some slaves to work for free and still wouldn't be satisfied.

The last 90 Art Steel workers knew this when they went out on strike one more time this past November, even though faced with an imminent shutdown, rather than accept a wage freeze and medical benefit cuts. They said, "If they're going to shut down they're going to shut down anyway, and \$10 more from our pocket won't make the difference. We might as well go down fighting."

That struggle and solidarity is what they leave us to build on, amongst ourselves in each shop, as well as to extend it between shops and industries, to the whole country and worldwide, as the only answer to the crisis of shutdowns and concessions.

Before the union came into the mines here, the company tried to create divisions between the Mexican-American workers and the Anglos. My family is Mexican-American, and during the Depression we saw many poor whites coming in from Oklahoma. My mother remembers them, in their rickety cars with mattresses tied to the roofs. Today the strike has brought many Anglos and Mexican-Americans closer together. It is the first time many of us are mixing with each other.

NOT ENOUGH UNIONS HELP

The union has helped us in the mines, and we can't lose it. But I have to say that I have lost my faith in unions generally, because I have gone to many other unions to try to tell our story, and have been turned away by the union leaders. The one union that has helped us is the United Farm Workers — Cesar Chavez came, and gave us financial support. But one union leader told me, "You come here with your hand open for a dolé. Who do you think you are?" Why are they so threatened by me?

It seems to me, if the unions were smart, they would use our strike as a nucleus, to turn things around. But I've come to see that we put too much faith in leaders and "professionals." Many times it is the amateurs, the rank-and-file people, who know better, because they are the ones directly involved.

There's a lot of power in us. We have to think and act for ourselves. We can't wait for God or PD to help us. PD always treated us like morons, instead of human beings who can think our own thoughts.

I only want to say to other people, if you get angry about what happens in Poland or Grenada, please think also about what's happening right within this country. When someone is on strike, does it mean they have no rights? We need to support each other.

— Strike Supporter

Strikers are living on \$50 a week from the union strike fund. Send letters and contributions, payable to Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, to: Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, 1113 Third Ave., Safford, AZ 85546.

They watch each moment, steal hours at UAW shop

Highland Park, Mich. — On Monday, April 30, when a machine broke down at U.S. Auto Radiator, they sent workers home two hours early from one department, but they didn't follow seniority. It looked like the company was splitting workers along racial lines, because they sent home all but one of the Black women in the department, even though most of them had more seniority than the workers who stayed.

When the UAW union steward confronted the company, their excuse was that they had made a mistake and looked at the seniority list wrong. But they didn't pay those workers for the two hours. They made it even worse. On Wednesday, those who had been sent home early had to work overtime for straight time pay — they had to work ten hours, and the others left after eight hours.

People at work were talking about how our working conditions are constantly worse. Years ago there were just foremen to watch us. Now we have cameras, we have foremen and we have guards — and more foremen than when we first started here. One of the workers commented on the song that was on the radio, "Somebody's Watching Me" — that is this place, constantly on the watch.

When we first started, there were no production standards. Then the foremen had a daily report. They would say count your production at the end of the day, tell us what you did and then we will complain. Now it is every two hours, before and after every break, they say tell us what you did and when we don't like it we'll complain.

The union steward says she'll get a grievance against it, but whenever the union says grievance they always talk about going into a meeting about it. They have a grievance against the daily report, from last year, that is not settled yet.

So if somebody does just two heaters in two hours, but the two hours before that they did six heaters, the company will complain and harass them. It seems that no matter what you do, no matter how hard you work and get out production, their only answer is: How about some more?

—Day shift worker

Las Vegas hotel workers strike in company town

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Las Vegas, Nev. — Recently I walked picket lines with hundreds of workers striking against Las Vegas hotel and gambling casinos. Over 17,000 workers of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union struck 32 hotels and casinos in early April after management tried to force wage and benefit concessions on them.

I spoke with many workers on the picket lines, and they all earned from \$4 to \$6 an hour prior to the strike. Yet management is not only demanding that their wages be cut, but that the guaranteed 40-hour work week clause be dropped from the contract, putting these workers making \$4-\$6 an hour on a part-time basis!

One worker told me, "How can I make concessions when I can't live on what I make now, \$3.80 an hour? I don't know whether we can win this strike, but we've got nothing to lose. It's better to fight than to give in to this."

PICKETING DESPITE ARRESTS

Fight is what these workers have done, not only in walking the picket lines, but also in holding several large demonstrations in town and a sit-down in front of the MGM Grand Hotel. Their actions have resulted in the arrests of over 100 strikers. Many were charged with "inciting violence."

The truth is that it is the police and management who have over and over again incited violence, first in demanding concessions, then in hiring scabs, and then again in giving the police free rein to attack strikers. On April 3, Las Vegas police used violence to drive striking workers from hotel entrances, though they were simply walking a picket line.

Lt. James Chaney defended the beatings inflicted by the police on several strikers, saying, "The workers were abusing the right of private property" — as if their "private property" is worth a nickel without workers' labor!

One Black worker told me of a similar incident: "The guards attacked us fully armed, while we carried nothing but our picket signs that were hanging by strings around our necks." I told him that those armed guards remind me of the company-hired gunmen that I remember from my schoolboy days, growing up in the coal-mining region of Harlan County, Ky. Today the hotel owners might call them "guards", but their function remains the same.

But workers weren't only angry at the police. Several also had some harsh words for some of their union officials, who had asked the governor to call in the National Guard. "Since when has the National Guard ever defended the interests of striking workers?" one picketer asked.

NEW VOICES OF LABOR

As an auto worker of many years, I had always believed that workers in heavy industry would be in the vanguard of every labor struggle. But now I am seeing instances where it is the unorganized or poorly-paid workers in industries like these that can be the vanguard.

It is no accident that it was Cesar Chavez, leader of the United Farm Workers, that went to Las Vegas to lead a solidarity march of 7,500 people. He represents that lower and deeper layer of American workers who know the reality of life on minimum — and below-minimum — wage. It was that march, together with the daily pickets and demonstrations, that forced management back to bargaining.

There is a power and militancy brewing in these workers. The contagious excitement of their fight for justice can be seen in a conversation I had with a teenager, who was working a non-union minimum-wage job in a Las Vegas store. She said to me, "Even though I'm not in the union, can I join the picket line when I get off work?"

If there could be more communication and solidarity between workers such as those striking against the hotels, and against Southern California Davis Pleating in Los Angeles (see April, 1984 N&L), and against hundreds of other small shops and industries around this country, we could see the beginnings of something very new in the labor movement. It's the response of these lower-paid workers that we want to be watching closely in this next period.

Speed-up at GM Oklahoma

Oklahoma City, Okla. — Many of us were forced to transfer to Oklahoma City from other GM plants a year ago, and now GM is already dropping hints that we might face a lay-off. We've been working 54 hours a week most of the time, and management has been making a big thing out of quality control. When that happened at GM South Gate in California, it wasn't long before the plant closed.

The quality control circles have a lot of workers asking, "Why hasn't the union come out against this thing?" The "quality control" program is a system of creating stool pigeons throughout the plant to spy on the workers. A group of workers are supposed to be shifted from spot to spot, to report "defects." It's just another ploy to boost production.

We're already running 78 cars an hour down the line, and we usually get one Saturday off a month. With the contract coming due, there is a lot of talk of a strike. Every worker here says, "There will be no more concessions in '84."

One thing we talk about is where GM got its record profits from last year, since they sold 1.7 million fewer cars than when they were "breaking even." It looks like only one thing can explain that — the concessions GM took out of our paycheck. If the union thinks we will swallow some more in the year to come, they will be in for a surprise.

A sign of what workers are thinking was seen when Michigan autoworkers voted down a proposal at one plant, where management offered to add on a second shift in exchange for paying straight time for Saturday and Sunday work. Everybody said, if they can get that in the door, we'll be working seven days a week. Nothing can satisfy management's hunger for more and more profits.

—GM mobile worker

LABOR STRUGGLES ACROSS THE UNITED STATES . . .

The article on miners' safety in April, 1984 N&L really hit home for me. I just returned from a trip through Arizona and New Mexico. Truckers in Flagstaff talked about how they were being "sped-up" by being forced to drive longer and harder. Those who don't collaborate with management are likely to get the less choice trucks with more safety problems. Everyone was upset when we got word a few hours later that a Black trucker we'd been talking to about these problems had been killed in an accident, probably in an unsafe truck.

Navajo miners I spoke to are now on strike against Peabody Coal, not only for wages, but over the right to choose when they can take their two weeks vacation time. While 90% of the miners are Navajo, the managers are 90% white. The managers say: "You can't get these Indians to be bosses because they have strange ideas about treating everyone as brothers." It's not surprising that coal companies are squashing the UMW locals, but so is the official Navajo tribal government which earns profits from coal leasing to the company.

Marxist-Humanist anthropologist
Univ. of Utah

GM's new Orion Township plant is now operating, and it is a threat to every autoworker. I am not speaking about the long drive to work every day (about 35 miles for most Detroiters). It is the "world of robots" they have that worries me. For example, hi-lo drivers are becoming a thing of the past; they now have about 25 hi-los with automatic pilots — no drivers. God help you if you get in their way.

The company boasts that Orion Township is the most automated plant in the world. They have over 150 robots; and the paint shop is nearly all robotic. The workers who are left in the plant are divided into little groups and told to follow "Quality Work Life" — to squeal on other workers if they aren't keeping up the production standards (set by the robots).

These crazy companies actually think they can do away with the human being. They can't. All they will do is cause another Depression, worse even than the last one.

Former autoworker
Michigan

In the tenth week of the New York furriers' strike, no progress has been made toward ending it, and the 1,800 workers continue to walk the picket lines daily. The question of whether the employers can subcontract work to non-union shops is still the key. It is clear the bosses are trying to break this old, once-militant union. Apparently, workers who make ten dollars an hour cannot expect to keep their jobs in this day and age. Meanwhile, the strikers have received only a total of \$80 strike pay the whole time. It seems the International is not really backing the strike.

Strike supporter
New York City

It was reported in the business section of the L.A. Times that "Chrysler profits hit a record of \$705.8 million in first quarter." What gets me as an auto worker is how these profits are reported as "earnings." Those "earnings" are nothing but what rightly belongs to the Chrysler workers, who were forced to give wage and benefit concessions. Why is stealing called "earnings" when the capitalists steal from the workers, but it is called stealing when a worker takes something not his or hers?

Autoworker
Los Angeles

There are cataclysmic changes in the work place these days. The U.S. is finished producing low-cost commodities with lower technology. It cannot compete. Even my little company, which makes small measuring tools, has now purchased two plants in South America, and is shopping around for more. It would not surprise me if they just closed down the U.S. operations completely in the near future.

Worried
New York City

An article of a few weeks ago in the Chicago Sun-Times showed a picture of a 20-year-old named Andre Ricks of New York who jumped off a 20th floor to his death, a suicide. He demonstrated the fact that the human being, the creator of all value, has no value; or so he is led to believe by the forces of this society. But the human being has also shown the ability to overcome these conditions and build a better world.

Black worker
Chicago

Mine safety is the reason I left my job. I worked in a Huntington, Utah coal mine that didn't conform to OSHA standards. It had a cave-in and a miner was hurt and I was the only one with medical training but the foremen wouldn't let me help. They just didn't care. He had a broken sternum and I took him to the hospital for surgery. While I was there I called the mine safety people at their office in the university's research park. I was burned up and looking for help. I don't know what they can do though, since they were run off the mine site with guns. The miner died.

Former miner
Utah

. . . AND IN CANADA

The British Columbia provincial government is about to establish legislation for a large ongoing construction project called "Expo '86", a sort of showcase for the skills of "private enterprise." The building trades council had promised to provide a no-strike pledge and permit non-union labour on the site, providing union wages, benefits and conditions were paid to non-union workers. Yet the provincial government could not even agree to that offer. They insist that the site be declared an "open site" with union and non-union labour working side-by-side.

With something like 60% of its force unemployed for almost two years, the union coalition is in anything other than a position of strength. The anti-union attitude displayed by the public here is quite palpable . . . I am unable to forward newspapers clippings commenting on this, however, since both dailies are currently on strike.

Lefty Morgan
Vancouver, B.C.

REAGAN'S RHETORIC AND REALITY IN COLLISION

In China, Reagan missed no opportunity to proclaim his great love for democracy as the way of life. His hypocrisy is disgusting.

Would he make the same speech in the Philippines where he supports the dictatorship of Marcos? Or in El Salvador where his guns support the death squads? Or in South Africa where his capitalist friends profit from the oppression of the Blacks? Or in South Korea where the dictatorship is supported by 40,000 U.S. troops?

The people of Grenada understand his kind of democracy — the point of an American bayonet.

Disgusted
Detroit

Every night for the last week we have seen Reagan in China on the news. He makes a toast about bringing "our two countries closer together", and the reporter mentions that the U.S. will help the Chinese government build two nuclear plants. He goes to a "model commune" and we are told it is a "blend of socialism and private enterprise", but no one asks if these can be blended. No one suggests they are opposites, not the reporters, and not even the great flag-waving capitalist, Reagan. Words mean nothing when superpowers get together.

Hospital worker
Michigan

Many people I know slip when they are discussing Reagan and his policies. They call him "Nixon" by accident. They're not trying to make a point; it just comes out. I think it's because Reagan is acting like the Nixon they knew and hated, except worse.

High school student
San Francisco

The Ku Klux Klan's endorsement of Reagan for re-election says it all. And they know very well that his "repudiation" of them doesn't mean a thing. In 1980 they endorsed him, he "repudiated" the endorsement, and they got along fine forever after. I agree with your editorial (April N&L) about how Reagan is bringing "religious values to public life." They are the same values that are involved when the KKK burns crosses at night; when Israeli religious terrorists shoot into Arab schoolyards; or when Khomeini sends 12-year-olds to die in his "holy war."

College teacher
Ann Arbor, Mich.

The law is reeling backwards so fast it make you dizzy. Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan's appointments to the federal courts (life-time jobs), and to the National Labor

Readers' Views

Relations Board and other agencies, have now succeeded in wiping out 40 years of labor law and 20 years of anti-discrimination law.

There is no more affirmative action for minorities or women. Companies no longer have to abide by union contracts; they have only to claim (not prove) bankruptcy to cancel them.

Immigration Service sweeps of factories to arrest undocumented workers are now sanctioned. In short, the "rules" of modern U.S. capitalist society have changed for the worse.

Lawyer
New York



LATIN AMERICA'S FREEDOM IDEAS

I don't think Reagan should have gone into Grenada. It was like what they did to the Dominican Republic in 1965. All I know is that we had a President elected by the majority, Juan Bosch. Then the Marines got there in the middle of a civil war between the people who wanted the elected President, Bosch, and the military.

It started between the military and the people — most of them were young people. They formed commandos — one good leader was Caamano Deno. He said now was the time to finish the oppression of the United States. The Marines got there and killed the whole movement. I was only seven years old when it happened, but I remember. I still remember the big tanks on the street — as they were passing by they would break the sidewalk. It was like an earthquake.

My mother was almost killed by the military because she was helping the commandos. Everybody was for the President, Bosch. It's almost the same thing in Grenada. You get a big nation going into a little country, abusing. A country like Grenada or the Dominican Republic, we look like little dots next to the U.S.

Dominican student
City College, New York

I've been doing some reading of Latin American radical thinkers along with my work on Guatemalan and Nicaraguan support. Most recently, Eduardo Galeano's *Open Veins of Latin America*. He starts with some magnificent passages about the human costs of Latin American dependence and development, but he's an intellectual prisoner of the old, rigid, pseudo-Marxist ideas that the development of European capitalism is a universal through which all the world must pass. So Indians and peasants and workers are only victims for him, not actors — except where they are force in movements whose reason is supplied from above. So he blames the Latin American bourgeoisie for not accumulating sufficient capital.

At the heart of the book is the insistence on the necessity of protective tariffs. What a distance we have travelled — backwards! Theory and practice can't be left that far apart.

Activist
Arlington, Va.

CENSORSHIP IN THE SCHOOLS

Ida Fuller's assessment that the push for school prayer is part of an effort to subdue youth resistance is also seen in the increase of censorship at schools. A Vermont high school board prevented students from putting on a play about child abuse and runaway children. A St. Louis science teacher was forbidden to show his class the film "Inherit the Wind," about the 1925 trial of John Scopes, who was convicted of teaching the theory of evolution in Tennessee.

And Clergy and Laity Concerned is being kept off campus, despite a court ruling that they had access to Chicago public schools — because they counsel students against registering for the draft. What Reagan really wants is to control what is said in schools and in the media as tightly as the Communist Party does in Russia or the fundamentalist clergy in Iran.

Outraged
Chicago

On Marxism and Youth. I've conducted a few experiments on other students I am

good friends with. To a few students, I've explained some Marxist beliefs, telling them that the ideas are Marxist. To another grouping, I expressed the same ideas without mentioning Marxism or socialism. It seems people are "turned off" by the name itself. I think it is because all through life they hear about "the evils of communism," but never look into what exactly is "evil" in it . . .

High school student
Rural Pennsylvania

TYRANNY ON THE SEAS

I saw an article about a seaman in the Navy who was chained to the floor in some sort of helicopter hanger on one of the ships. His crime? He tried to commit suicide. So these things still go on somehow. When you're somewhat insulated as I am now compared to a few years ago, it seems that the world improves. But no, not the naval institution.

Woman ex-sailor
Seattle, Wash.

BLACK ANTI-IMPERIALISM

Two points seem crucial to me within John Alan's essay on Black opposition to U.S. imperialism in 1898-99. First is how the essay breaks down any false opposition between national and international, revolution at home and revolution abroad. The Black masses, who had been experiencing the revival of open, vicious, racism at the end of the 19th century were the ones to recognize that same racism uniting with expanding capitalism in its imperialist adventure. Second, one sees that the revolutionary vanguard role of the Black dimension had deep historical roots in America, especially in a Black woman like Ida B. Wells. Today's anti-imperialist movements could gain much from these revolutionary historical strands as they seek to grow.

Journalist
Detroit

I really appreciated John Alan's essay on Black opposition to imperialism in 1898-99 (April N&L) because it helped me understand genuine, revolutionary anti-imperialism. The essay became especially alive to me when I had a chance to talk about it with other activists at the April 16 Tax Day demonstration in Detroit against U.S. military intervention. One Black woman I met was especially excited by the essay. She said she was ready to march all the way to Washington, even though she was using a cane, because she was so mad at how Reagan is using her money for the military instead of poor people. She also liked the part about Ida B. Wells because she herself has joined the many Black women and high school students who are organizing against rape in Detroit.

Women's liberationist
Detroit



WOMEN IN NIGERIA ORGANIZE

We have just learned that the Women in Nigeria organization held its Second Annual Conference in Zaria last spring. The organization stated that it is not "interested in catering only for the interest of privileged women" and affirmed that the oppression of majority of our feminine population is a result of the exploitative nature of Nigerian society.

At the end of its deliberations it made among others, the following demands:

1. The elimination of early marriages, which because of the limited physical development of the girls result in ruptures of the bladder and rectum during child birth which may lead to death.
2. The banning of harmful drugs such as Depo-Provera which though "banned in their countries of origin (such as the USA) are commonly dumped by multinational drug companies in Nigeria and other Third World Countries."
3. That females should be given full and equal access to education with males, equal "access to land, wage jobs and other special resources on the same basis as men."

For more information, contact:
Women in Nigeria
P.O. Box 253
Samaru, Zaria
Nigeria

MARXISM TODAY: 'FIELD OF STUDY' OR PHILOSOPHY OF LIBERATION?

I fully agree with you . . . concerning a need to clearly distinguish Marx's theory from a variety of Marxisms. According to my opinion, Marx's idea of socialism differs more than it is recognized, from both Engels' and Lenin's not to speak of Stalin's, concept of a "totalitarian socialism."

Professor-activist East Europe

I found one-possible implication of the critique by Dunayevskaya of Terrell Carver really quite disturbing. In singling out as a category "non-Marxist scholar-careerists in 'Marxism'" aren't we speaking about a new phenomenon? What I mean is that throughout the decades since Marx died, when Marxism was within academia, it was represented by scholars (some revolutionaries, most reformists), who were socialists of one kind or another.

But now we have scholars in the universities for whom the study of Marx is a "field," a "sub-discipline." The purpose of the research, even when thorough and creative, is no longer rooted in the problems of the socialist movement. Indeed, it may not even have any interest in today's struggles. Isn't this a mirror opposite of the "party" Leftists today who have tactical answers to every world event, who know which regime to "back," yet for whom Marx and his work is no longer of any interest?

Long-time socialist Brooklyn, NY

Raya's article against Terrell Carver (April N&L) shows Carver's misinterpretation of Marx. According to Carver, Marx's point was to have a "career." To me, it is Carver who is the careerist. He reminds me of my teacher, who spent a week teaching us Marx as literature. He gave us some outline sheets and told us: This is Marx, study him for a test. That is how Carver presents Marx. Both the teacher and Carver fail to see why Marx wrote his theoretical works. Marx wrote them to express the alienation the workers go through and the opposition they develop.

High school student Los Angeles

The April "Theory/Practice" column on Terrell Carver reminded me of the critique that Lenin leveled against Bukharin, the main theoretician of the Bolshevik Party, in his Will: "his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxian, for there is something scholastic in him (he never learned, and I think never fully understood, the dialectic)."

Lou Turner Detroit

One of the things I've gotten from the recent classes in the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas is a deeper sense of how new beginnings are always present in practice, if we listen to them and learn to become aware of them for what they are. Failure to see masses as reason will lead to the conclusion that "history is over," with its attendant despair, as with the Frankfurt School's view that Hitler represented the end of the dialectic.

I think it's also a key to the decay of the Left in this country after the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and the rebirth of social democracy. The war absorbed so much of the movement's energy, to the exclusion of an awareness of masses in motion, that when it ended, history ended for many activists. Of course that's only one part of a complex phenomenon, but it's something I saw vividly in NAM in the 1970s.

Central American supporter Washington, D.C.

Twice when I was attacked for being a "communist," Black women workers turned the accusation against my detractors (union officials and their supporters) who were trying to tell the women who to talk to, what to think and "how to run our lives." To those women, communism means totalitarianism, and it exists here in their "leaders" attitudes toward them. They are not afraid of ideas and want the freedom to discuss them openly.

Marxist-Humanist Chicago

N&L is unique in its coverage of Marx. It's only through you that I know about Marx's Ethnological Notebooks, which I hope to read someday if an all-English edition comes out. My copy of the paper also has at least three other readers.

Subscriber Graterford, Pa.

Your letter of February 17 reached me April 6. Contradictions of capitalist postal system? Under Communism it seems they

read your mail. Here they simply don't deliver it.

Intellectual New York

I have been reading Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letters on Iran, and I am very impressed. I am studying the origins of the liberation movements in the Horn of Africa and I think her writings shed a great deal of light on the relationship of revolutionary organization to Islam, among other subjects. The whole of Africa is facing serious problems now, with the disappointments, for example, of the Angolan Revolution. It is a very precarious situation, and it demands that Third World revolutions be considered carefully, not with preconceived slogans.

Eritrean student In the USA

Ed. note: Copies of Counter-revolution and revolution in Iran: a series of political-philosophic letters by Raya Dunayevskaya, are available from N&L for \$1.50 per copy. They not only begin as the movement to overthrow the Shah neared its conclusion in 1978-79, and extend to Khomeini's counter-revolution and the present Iran-Iraq war, but include an examination of the 1906-09 Iranian Revolution.

LETTER FROM DIXON COLLEY

Many readers of N&L have expressed their concerns and offered assistance in the defense of W. Dixon Colley, editor of The Nation in the Gambia, West Africa. Colley, a veteran activist in the African freedom movement, had been charged with sedition by the Gambian rulers. We are very happy, therefore, to print the following message received from him in Banjul, the Gambia - ed.

After two months interval since Jan. 30, 1984, when both Counsels, Mr. Haasan Jallow for the State and Mr. Bai Modi Joof for the Defendant, Mr. W. Dixon Colley, ended their case, judgement was given.

The editor was charged with sedition: that the publication of a letter, "Till Doomsday", in The Nation, was seditious in that 1) it intends to bring into hatred, contempt or excite discontent against the administration of justice in The Gambia; 2) to raise discontent or dissatisfaction amongst the citizens or inhabitants of The Gambia.

On April 12, 1984 Mr. I.S. Mboob, the principal Magistrate, gave judgement in favor of the defendant, when he acquitted and discharged the editor of The Nation Mr. W.

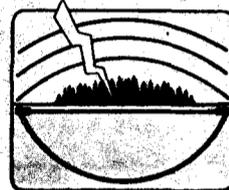
Dixon Colley, on all counts. To the many well-wishers, readers and sympathizers at home and abroad, grateful thanks. Special thanks to friends for donations and those who stood as guarantors for bail.

W. Dixon Colley Banjul, The Gambia

THIS DEGENERATE SOCIETY

Recent revelations of the large number of male mass murderers of women and children who are at large in the country, are further evidence of the total degeneracy of this society. You captured the idea well in your statement on the New Bedford rape case, on the women's liberation page of the April N&L: Now the New York papers are full of the story of the mass execution of two women and eight children in a house in Brooklyn, apparently a drug-related revenge slaying. The neighborhood people took the opportunity of Mayor Koch visiting the site, to shout "we want jobs." And when the victims were buried, the family and clergy laid the blame where it belongs by stating that the Reagan Administration has failed to control the drug traffic which victimizes the poor.

Sick of this society New York



STOP PROJECT ELF!

Project ELF, the military's plan to wire large parts of Wisconsin and upper Michigan for communication with U.S. submarines in nuclear war situations, has been stopped - at least for now. On Jan. 31, Federal Judge Barbara Crabb ordered an immediate halt to the bulldozer work already begun. The decision is a giant step toward ending the threat of first-strike nuclear war, and it is a solid step toward world peace.

This victory is also a landmark in the effort to protect public health from the risks of extremely low frequency (ELF) electromagnetic radiation. The Navy must now hold public hearings on the environmental impact, a process that may take eight months or more. We need the time to organize to stop Project ELF once and for all. In 1978 we were a few dozen people in northern Wisconsin. Today we are a two-state organization with some 3,000 members. If you want to help us or get more information, write:

Stop Project ELF 1444 E. Washington Ave. Madison, WI 53703

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

• 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.

MAIL ORDERS TO: (5-84)
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 _____

South Africa/Mozambique Pact setback for freedom

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from the official statement made by the Central Committee of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the March 16 accord between the apartheid South African government of Prime Minister Pieter Botha and the FRELIMO government of President Samora Machel of Mozambique, which was signed on the border of the two countries at Nkomati.

With much fanfare and feasting, the so-called accord of Nkomati was signed by racist South Africa and Mozambique on the 16th March, 1984. For the racist, settler-colonialist regime in Pretoria, which had always been shunned by all peace-loving countries of the world, the occasion provided a propaganda exercise on an unprecedented scale. It was indeed sickening to hear the racist South African Prime Minister, Pieter Botha, in the presence of Machel, portraying the Boers as virtuous Africans who have always championed the struggle against colonialism and oppression.

These were the words of the same Botha whose forces had fought alongside the Portuguese colonial forces against FRELIMO during the liberation struggle and fought alongside the Rhodesian forces against the Zimbabwean liberation forces. It is the same Botha whose forces continue to destabilize the majority of the frontline states. Yes, it is the same Botha whose racist regime maintains a fascist and repressive machine which ruthlessly brutalizes, kills, maims and dehumanizes the Black people in Azania. This is the upper limit of cynicism and hypocrisy which only the Boers are capable of reaching.

AMIDST ALL the dazzling euphoria created by the signing of the non-aggression treaty between racist South Africa and Mozambique, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the root cause of tension in Southern Africa is the contradiction between the settler-colonial system on the one hand and freedom and independence in the frontline states on the other. The signing of the Nkomati accord marks the succumbing of Mozambique to racist South Africa's policy of destabilization and triumph for Pretoria and the so-called policy of constructive engagement pursued by

the Reagan administration. The Pretoria regime will certainly try its best to employ its superior economic resources to turn Mozambique into one of its soulless, consciousness and economically dependent neo-Bantustans.

We fully understand and appreciate the difficult circumstances in which our Mozambican brothers and sisters find themselves at present. The Mozambicans have been living under war conditions for the last 20 years, a situation which denied them suitable conditions for reconstruction and economic development. The past three years were particularly difficult for them: a devastating drought combined with South African banditry to exercise severe pressures on the Mozambican government and its people.

BY THEIR OWN admission, the Boers are now hallucinating about prospects of humiliating all the frontline states in a similar fashion one by one and finally gaining membership of the OAU (Organization of African Unity), as promised by Kenneth Kaunda (President of Zambia), without redressing the grievances of the Azanian people. Our view is that our brothers and sisters in Mozambique went too far by signing this unequal treaty. And the pomp and ceremony that accompanied the signing of the accord of Nkomati suggested to us that our Mozambican brothers and sisters experienced no pain at their compromise with racist settler-colonial oppression in Azania.

For the oppressed people in Azania, the slogan: A luta continua, remains. If anything, things look more ominous for us now. Fortunately for us, some of the frontline states have not changed their views on the plight of the Azanian people and will not forsake us. Our task remains the intensification of the struggle inside Azania. The racist settler-colonialist regime in South Africa should know that it can't create peace within its borders by destabilizing the neighboring states to submission and then signing non-aggression pacts with them. The true road to peace is to be found in the resolution of the contradiction between the oppressive power structure in South Africa and the oppressed and dehumanized of Azania.

Down with "constructive engagement"!!!

Down with the Botha settler-colonialist regime!!!

Forward to an anti-racist, socialist Azania!!!

AMANDLA!!!

Mexican activist speaks out against repression

Editor's note: Rosario Ibarra de Piedra is a socialist, feminist and human rights activist in Mexico. She is founder of the Committee of the Families of the Disappeared and National Front Against Repression. She was recently in Los Angeles speaking about conditions in Mexico. Below we print excerpts from her talk.

Nine years ago this month, my son was kidnapped in the state of Nuevo Leon. Ever since then it has been a terrible struggle for me. I have not yet been able to find the whereabouts of my son or the other 513 people who have disappeared in Mexico. One hundred others who disappeared have come back, and in these the mothers and wives of the disappeared have seen a little of the faces of their relatives.

Mexico is going through a grave economic crisis. It is the second largest debtor in Latin America, owing billions of dollars, and the government wants the Mexican workers to repay this debt, which is not owed by them.

In the countryside, the peasants own nothing but marginal land. The rich fields belong to wealthy landowners who export the products. Mexico has to import corn for people to eat.

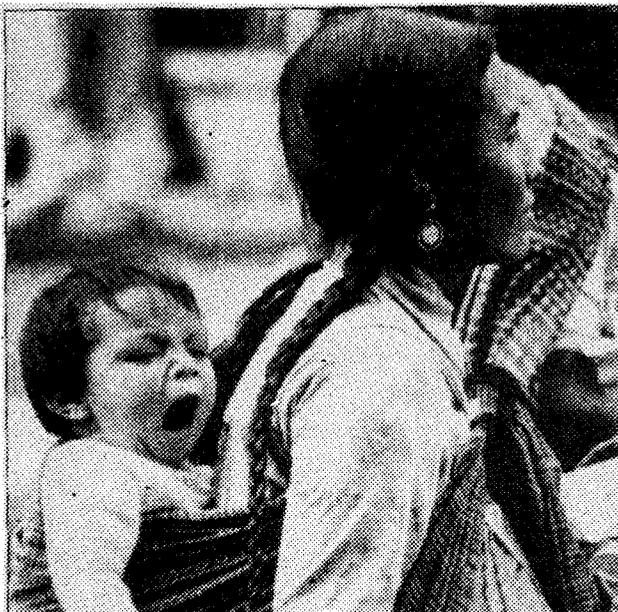
The peasants, and particularly the Indian peasants, are the most direct victims of repression. The big landowners have their own private police forces which they can use to machine gun the peasants, to drive them off the land.

If you've been to Mexico recently, you have seen there's been an increase in the armed police patrols there. They go around in patrol wagons with machine guns, and are dressed in black uniforms. In the poor areas on the periphery of Mexico City, after 7 p.m. if someone is picked up by the police without "adequate identification," they are arrested. There have been raids when as many as 1,000 people have been arrested, and then they're extorted for money in order to be released, sometimes as much as 5,000 pesos.

Another form of less direct repression is the massive unemployment. But when we talk about any of these conditions in the plazas, the authorities say we are agitators with evil intentions. The democratic forces in Mexican society are more and more being denied the right to use public meeting places, the schools, university forums, independent unions.

Last Oct. 18, the National Assembly of Workers, Peasants and Popular Forces, a coalition of 182 groups, held a national civic stoppage. Schools stopped, lands were seized, some factories went on strike, people went out into the streets. Meetings were held in the streets, in the subway stations. Housewives bought no tortillas, as a symbolic act of solidarity. At least three million people were involved, and we're planning another stoppage for June 5. Recently, before I left Mexico, there was a gathering in downtown Mexico City of 70,000 peasants that came into the city demanding land distribution.

In the middle of this mobilization that's going on are women — the wives of workers, peasant widows who have lost the tiny pieces of land their husbands used to cultivate, the women in poor communities who are refused the right to live on the tiny miserable scrap of ground where their home is located, the mothers of the disappeared.



Thousands of peasants marched on the capital, Mexico City, from all over the country, demanding better economic conditions. Marchers arrived, some after walking for 15 days, on the 65th anniversary of the death of Indian peasant revolutionary Emiliano Zapata.

Workers occupy Guatemalan Coca-Cola plant

Washington, D.C. — Less than four years after winning a bloody fight for union recognition, workers at the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Guatemala City — Embotelladora Guatemalteca SA (EGSA) — are sitting in to save their jobs.

On Feb. 17, EGSA's management declared bankruptcy and told its 460 workers that the plant would be closed — the next day. The owners claimed the plant was insolvent, offered a small separation payment, and left the country, trusting that a depressed economy and a repressive government would keep the union from responding. Instead, the workers sat down and occupied the plant. With the same courage and determination that kept them going in 1975-80, they have remained there.

In that five-year struggle to organize and maintain a union, seven workers were murdered. In Guatemala, where the line between the death squads and the government is often impossible to draw, being a trade unionist is a risky proposition and much organizing is clandestine.

Finally in August, 1980, under an agreement signed between Coca-Cola and the Geneva-based International Union of Foodworkers (IUF), the franchise was transferred to Guatemala and the union's right to exist was recognized. Coca-Cola agreed to finance the new owners, and committed itself to retaining management control of the operation for five years.

The bankruptcy may be manipulated and the closing designed more to break the union at a time when Guatemalan unions are starting to emerge in public again. The workers are holding out to keep the plant open and

BLACK WORLD

Black liberation crisis

(Continued from page 3)

sions I had on Garvey got transformed into very serious dialogues on the relationship of Marx's philosophy of revolution to the Black and Third World. Moreover, the composition of the audiences who participated in the discussions also revealed something of the nature of the discussion. Not only were there Black American students and activists, but there were also African students, Latino and Middle Eastern students, as well as white anti-war activists. More striking of all, however, was the fact that the majority were usually Black women.

In Chicago, one student activist who had come, because the flyer he saw for the meeting had the unusual combination of Garvey's and Marx's picture on it, was interested in Marx's American roots since most Marxists had very nearly written off revolution in the U.S. In Los Angeles, an African student took that point further by first criticizing those who say that Marx has no relevance for the Third World, but questioned whether Marx's view of the Black and Third World was anything more than a few random comments on the historical events of his day.

MARX'S RELATION TO BLACK WORLD

Here, the discussion turned from Marx's historical relationship to the Black world, to how that Black dimension in labor helped to fundamentally restructure Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, and how his theory of "revolution in permanence" developed out of his study of non-capitalist pathways to socialism in underdeveloped countries. Indeed, at one point this became the crux of a dispute with a Left professor who dismissed any affinity between Marx and Garveyism. Though his argument focused on some isolated facts concerning Garvey rather than the Black mass movement from practice known as Garveyism, the actual point at issue was not Garvey's but Marx's view of the Black world that he couldn't accept.

I found a very different attitude in Berkeley with Black and Middle Eastern activist-intellectuals, who wanted to pursue the question of the structure of Marx's work as the method of working out the dialectics of liberation today. To them, this was the precondition for re-transforming retrogression and counter-revolution into new revolutionary beginnings.

However, the most serious dialogue came out of a discussion with an American Black revolutionary intellectual who had come through the revolutionary experience of the '60s in search of a *philosophy* of revolution that he felt that period had failed to work out. His questions and thoughts seemed most critical because what concerned him was *how* to make Marx's philosophy of revolution concrete for Black liberation in America. For him, it wasn't a question of counterposing Black liberation to Marxism, as nationalists and Marxists had done since Garvey's day. Rather, his question was what form of Marx's philosophy was needed to work out, at last, the dialectics of Black liberation in its fullest, most definitive and revolutionary articulation.

The seriousness of these and other questions I encountered during this brief lecture tour, naturally, go beyond the preoccupation of any single dimension or subject of revolution. The interest of Black women in the Black revolutionary feminism of the Garvey period points to that.

Nevertheless, the fact that Marxist-Humanism has been able to discover the beginnings of Black Marxism in the Garvey movement, that the "new Humanism" that Frantz Fanon articulated out of the African revolutions coincided with the Marxist-Humanist projection of the two-way road to liberation between the U.S. and Africa, and the fact that the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (South Africa) in concretizing Fanon's dialectic for a new stage of the African Revolution also found an affinity to Marxist-Humanism provides us with theoretic grounding for a new kind of dialogue which can as well be a pathway and method out of today's crisis in Black liberation.

operating. According to a delegation of North American trade unionists who visited Guatemala City in late March, morale remains high in spite of a worsening health and financial situation.

There is reason to fear for the workers' physical safety. Since March 12, the plant has been surrounded by the judiciales, the Guatemalan secret police, who are often involved in the kidnapping and torture of dissidents. The judiciales are also keeping the homes of union leaders under 24-hour surveillance.

Coca-Cola in Atlanta denies all responsibility for the plant, the franchise or the safety of the workers. Instead, it refers to "a serious contraction of the soft drink market." International action, publicity and a successful boycott helped force Coca-Cola to intervene in 1980. The IUF has announced plans for another world-wide campaign in support of EGSA's workers, which will include boycotts and other forms of action. The striking workers begin each day by reading letters and telegrams of solidarity.

Contributions for food, rent and expenses are being collected by the Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, 930 F. St. N.W., Suite 720, Washington, DC 20004. Letters and telegrams should be sent to the Coca Cola Company, P.O. Drawer 1734, Atlanta, Ga. 30301, demanding safety for the workers and that the plant be kept open. Letters and telegrams for the strikers should go to the union, Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Embotelladora Guatemalteca SA Anexos y Conexos (STEGAC), at 24 Calle 6-01, Zona 11, Guatemala City, Guatemala.

—Ian Seale

May Day, 1984: Labor faces crises and challenges

(Continued from page 3)

wan or south of the border. Many of the young Asian and Hispanic women who worked at these companies brought in the last regular paycheck in families where fathers and husbands worked at Fremont.

What growth there is, is related to Reagan's military buildup as one in eight jobs here is now tied to the war industry. The sought-for goal of the Reagan economists in this "recovery" is the earth-shaking election year hope of an unemployment rate of 7.5% which is what it was when Reagan got elected with rhetoric about putting us back to work.

SPRIT OF MAY DAY

Faced with such retrogressionist policies, it is important to look back at the spirit of May Day, which after all did have its origins, as we noted, in the American labor movement. As against today's concession-giving labor "leaders," American workers have had a long rich history of labor struggle. American labor rests on the heritage of the General Strike — St. Louis, 1877; Seattle, 1919; San Francisco, 1934 — which directly challenged the rule of capital. And the sit-down movement of the late 1930s, which brought Black and white workers together, established industrial unionism with the CIO and changed the very face of the nation. And the strikes against automation beginning with the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike which asked the question, "What kind of labor should human beings do?"

It is upon this ground that new labor opposition to Reaganomics and new links within labor have surfaced in a number of areas:

Against the background of massive permanent unemployment in manufacturing, 17,000 service workers are now leading the fight against concessions as they enter the fourth week of their strike against the lavish hotels of the Las Vegas strip. The daily battles of culinary workers, bartenders, stagehands, musicians and bellhops with police over their right to protect their job, their union, and earn a living wage points with a new concreteness to the class divide in this country. (See story page 5)

New links are also being forged as witnessed by the farmworkers who were in the lead in marching in solidarity with the Las Vegas strikers. The opposition of farmworkers to losing their jobs to automation and working under the domination of their own "los monstruos" (monster machines) has inspired lawyers for California Rural Legal Assistance to challenge, with some support on campus, the role of the state-supported University of California research in automating the agribusiness of the Central Valley. This research has also accelerated the bankruptcy of small farmers in this most urbanized state in the country.

In San Francisco, cabbies held demonstrations and declared they'll strike during the Democratic Convention if Mayor Feinstein goes through with her plan to issue 100 new temporary permits. They show they aren't looking to presidential politics as a solution. Cabbies count on working long hours to make a living wage in a city where new "low

income" prefabricated housing is being built with a starting price of \$120,000.

Earlier this year some 1,000 workers from 12 different unions came out on a weekday to support strikers at a distant Union Oil refinery in Rodeo, Cal. when a young picketer, Gregory Goobic, was murdered by a scab truck driver. The march up to the massive refinery from the union hall was a lesson in itself — this huge automated complex employs only 300 workers under conditions one worker described as "babysitting for a vast amount of capital." There is a growing sense as seen in the victory at Union Oil that no strike and no layoff is an isolated event.

Discussions with workers such as those at Fremont and Union Oil reveal a searching for a total view that makes workers' growing reliance on their own actions and ideas a firm link to the revolutionary origins of May Day and a pathway out of this 1984 reality.

Whose May Day is this anyway?

"Eight Hours"

*We mean to make things over, we are tired of
toil for naught,
With but bare enough to live upon
and never an hour for thought; . . .
We're summoning our forces from shipyard,
shop and mill, Eight hours for work, eight
hours for rest, eight hours for what we will!*
Excerpts from the song sung by thousands of Chicago
workers during the marches for the eight-hour day
which culminated in May 1, 1886 general strike.

POLAND — Thousands of Solidarity activists both attempted to hold their own demonstrations in Gdansk, Warsaw, Czestochowa, Szczecin, Wroclaw and Nowa Huta, and succeeded in infiltrating the official celebrations. The demonstrators were met with police clubs and water cannons. Lech Walesa managed to infiltrate the parade in Gdansk, stunning the officials.

EL SALVADOR — Workers attempted a mass march in San Salvador to present an alternative to the presidential election farce of May 6. The demonstration was broken up by the police with close to 100 arrests and many others injured. It was the first open demonstration expressing opposition to the government and to the U.S. in several years.

YOUTH Shortcomings in solidarity movement

by Jim Mills, youth columnist

Newspaper reports in late April carried the news that the U.S. military build-up in Central America now enables the U.S. to "assume a combat role" in throttling revolutions there. This has been punctuated by the military maneuvers in Puerto Rico going on now, code-named Ocean Venture H. Just such maneuvers preceded Reagan's invasion and occupation of Grenada last year.

The heightened imperialist presence by the U.S. in the region makes it all the more urgent to deepen solidarity between Central American and Caribbean freedom fighters, and the other America here opposed to Reagan's Pax Americana. Ida Fuller's youth column in the January-February, 1984 N&L showed one way the solidarity movement can be deepened at home. A recent teach-in at Wayne State University in Detroit showed new voices, on the one hand, but shortcomings in the solidarity movement, even among its non-Stalinist Marxist participants, on the other hand.

A GUATEMALAN REFUGEE'S SEARCH

One of the speakers at the teach-in was a Guatemalan political refugee. He had been in the Guatemalan army, had witnessed its oppression of the people, and deserted. His family was murdered afterwards. So he fled, and has found assistance with the sanctuary movement in the U.S. His presence personified the need to hear Latin American revolutionaries speaking for themselves here. However, what he had to say when he stopped at our literature table indicated the urgency for a deeper kind of dialogue as well.

He, like so many other Central American youth, thinks his country needs revolutionary transformation; however, he wants a transformation that would challenge and uproot the racism of the European-descent Ladinos towards the indigenous peoples. A Guatemalan Marxist, he thought, could realize this. Discussion with him made me think about our view of Latin America. It has been under the twin impact of the freedom struggles of the 1980s in Latin America and new discoveries from Marx's last decade that Marxist-Humanism has sought to deepen our view of the Latin American revolutions.

Our birth as the Marxist-Humanist tendency some 30 years ago came as part of a new humanism which emerged in such thought and action as the East European revolts of East Germany, 1953, and Hungary, 1956, the miners' struggles against automation in the U.S., and the Black freedom movement. At that same moment came the Bolivian revolution of 1952 with its struggles over production by miners and over control of the land by the peasantry. Then, as now, much of the Left failed to help create a framework of revolutionary thought that encompassed the new revolutionary forces that were emerging on a worldwide level.

Marx, particularly in his writings after the Paris Commune, sought out new revolutionary subjects who would point the way to new future revolutions. The peasantry was certainly one of those forces. Now, with revolutions in the non-industrialized world, particularly in Latin America, Marx's sensitivity to what he at times called "the rural proletariat" can help in revolutions of the 1980s. Marx's Marxism can form a basis of concrete solidarity work on Central America. In fact, the young Guatemalan wanted to discuss precisely these ideas.

NARROW CONCEPT OF SOLIDARITY

Unfortunately, one of the workshops at the teach-in which had two North American Marxists showed that such a true

of solidarity is not yet on the agenda for much of the Left. One of them was a university professor who spoke about the Guatemalan counter-revolution. He reviewed the history of government oppression of the people, "a descent into barbarism that is hard to comprehend." When he was through, he concluded that repression can work, leaving no foundation for a movement to regenerate. Since he could not explain how the possibility for change had arisen in this period from new, almost unanticipated forces like the youth, women and indigenous people, he could not present the other Guatemala that the other America could support.

Another Marxist speaker, this one a revolutionary activist, did graphically present an eye-witness account of the revolutionary reconstruction of Nicaragua and discussed what needs to be defended from Reagan's CIA-sponsored "contras." However, when this Marxist activist was asked what kind of solidarity movement do we need in light of the tragedy in Grenada, where one faction claiming to be Marxist settled an ideological dispute in bloodshed and thus opened the door to U.S. intervention, his answer was surprisingly narrow. He cited other tragedies as in the Salvadoran revolution where one revolutionary leader, Ana Maria, was assassinated by another, Carpio. He concluded that despite that kind of practice, the Salvadoran revolution would overcome such barriers.

Even if it is true that the Salvadoran revolutionaries will not be stopped by such practices, this Marxist activist has missed the point. It is not simply a question of whether or not imperialism can be overcome, but a question of what happens after a revolution, how can it not turn into a soured revolution which opens the door for imperialism to return. We need to come to grips with what we can do as revolutionaries in a way that recognizes the tremendous creativity of today's Central American revolutions and seeks to link these revolutions with the Marxism of Marx as the only way to forge new beginnings that can end imperialism's domination.

Immigration raids

Los Angeles, Cal. — The recent U.S. Supreme Court ruling allowing the immigration service to do as they please in raids on factories, against "illegals," means they're going to kick Latinos out of this country. A few days ago I was talking to a friend, and she was telling me that they have already started. "They laugh at us, they treat us as if we were creatures with no feelings," she said.

They have buses at the factories, and they take away people who work for a miserable wage just to survive. Many women have children at home, with no one else to take care of them. Immigration comes and the workers are separated from their families, not knowing if they will be able to make it back. They could get killed attempting to cross the border again.

The owner of one sewing factory refused to pay back checks owed to workers who were taken by immigration. She told them, "You are illegals and therefore you don't have the right to get paid by a citizen."

Somehow we have to bring a human change in this society.

—Young Latino

Youth in Revolt



The opening of a new runway at Frankfurt International Airport on April 12 was met with four days of protests by several thousand youth, against the destruction of Germany's rapidly diminishing forests and against arrests in previous demonstrations in the three-year battle to stop the runway. The youth movement continues in other forms as well, from the mass Easter marches for peace, to the 4,000 who marched in opposition to an SS reunion. The movement is spurred on by the one million young people who are without jobs.

Over 1,500 demonstrators in San Francisco protested a speech by Henry Kissinger and the U.S. war on the peoples of Central America, April 16. The police viciously broke up the demonstration, arresting nearly 200 and injuring 24, who are now filing suit with charges of police brutality.

Demanding "university enrollment without restrictions," many thousand university students and applicants in all provinces of Argentina have been calling for a complete break with the admission policies of the military governments that preceded the current elected government. They have held street demonstrations, boycotts of entrance exams, fasts, classroom takeovers, and campus occupations.

Youth opposition to the Solomon Amendment, which requires all those seeking student or job training federal financial aid to sign a draft registration compliance form, has been unceasing since its inception last year. Two women and one man at Boston University won their case in Massachusetts, April 12, after refusing to comply and losing their aid. (Even women applying for aid must fill out these forms by indicating exemption.) Six Minnesota students are now confronting the Reagan Administration head-on in the Supreme Court where proceedings began April 23.

Worldwide anti-missile demonstrations

WEST GERMANY — Up to 600,000 turned out in local actions Easter weekend here. 20,000 made a human chain outside the U.S. base at Mutlangen.

BRITAIN — 110,000 came out at various locations in demonstrations called by the CND, April 15-16, beginning the spring anti-war offensive.

DENMARK — 40,000 people demonstrated for peace in Copenhagen while 13 other demonstrations took place in other towns.

AUSTRALIA — Over 200,000 people, including 100,000 in Sydney, demonstrated for peace, part of a large coalition involving Left, women's, youth and religious groups.

Write for and subscribe to News & Letters

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In the most massive demonstration in Brazil's history, well over a million people rallied in Rio de Janeiro, April 10. They came from the city and the surrounding areas. Workers, farmers, the unemployed poor, student and non-student youth, women and minorities, professionals and the middle class — virtually all Brazilians were represented at the huge outpouring.

The central demand was "Diretas ja!" (Direct Elections Now) for president, instead of the process of the government-controlled electoral college. For hours the protesters chanted and waved banners against President Joao Baptista Figueiredo's military regime while opposition figures spoke. Some protesters held a mock burial of the Planning Minister, Antonio Delfin Netto, the architect of the policies that have subjected Brazilians to a soaring 200% inflation rate and worsening living conditions.

The Rio rally was only the beginning of a week of mass protests on the eve of a planned April 25 congressional debate on legislation to do away with the electoral college. Hundreds of thousands rallied in Goiania, April 12 and in Porto Alegre the following day. The next week began with an equally massive demonstration, April 16, of over a

Mass protests shake up Brazilian regime

million in Sao Paulo where people rallied and shouted "The dictatorship will end!"

A climaxing demonstration was to be held in the capital, Brasilia, but Figueiredo's shaken regime rushed to impose martial law in and around the city, dispatching 8,000 soldiers to occupy the area and prevent the demonstration. On April 25, the direct election law was defeated in Congress.

The April demonstration culminated months of protests against both Figueiredo and the crisis engulfing all Brazil. "Diretas ja!" has united millions around the immediate question of ridding Brazil of military rule, but the problems are pervasive and deep-seated. Many from the small middle class who joined the demonstrations have been thrown out of work or have seen their standard of living plummet as incomes fell anywhere from 20-40%. But it is the vast majority of workers, the unemployed, peasants and the poor who have borne the brunt of the crisis of the last decade, which has been exacerbated by Brazil's staggering \$100 billion international debt.

Thousands are daily falling below the official poverty line of \$50 a month, and they survive at best with marginal jobs. The hungry regularly expropriate food from stores around

the major cities and in the impoverished northeast sertao, taking items with high protein content to keep them alive. Children have been the hardest hit by malnutrition.

The five-year drought in the northeast was recently broken by rain which brought devastating floods. But the roots of the famine and poverty which have hit the people there are not "acts of nature," but the lack of agrarian reform.

The land and political power are concentrated in the hands of large landowners who actually profited during the drought.

The mass discontent and opposition which erupted in the April demonstrations point to a deepening revolt. In the industrialized areas, there is a strong foundation in a militant and experienced rank-and-file workers movement. There is a small but lively Women's Liberation Movement. There is unrest in the countryside. The Indian minority is increasingly vocal in the fight against the genocidal practices of the government. There is a new ferment of ideas. All these movements are developing to not only end military rule but to transform the total crisis in Brazil.

Guinea: military coup follows Toure's death

On March 26, Sekou Toure, Black Africa's longest ruling head of state, died on the operating table of the Cleveland Clinic, of heart disease, following an emergency flight from Saudi Arabia where he had gone to confer on the disputed Western Sahara. Three days after Toure's funeral a military coup ended the 26-year political rule of Toure's Democratic Party of Guinea.

Sekou Toure, the son of a peasant, had risen through the ranks of the African trade union movement to become one of the post-World War II new generation of African leaders in West Africa. The year after Kwame Nkrumah led Ghana to independence, Guinea was the only French colony to say "No" to General De Gaulle's referendum to remain in the French community in 1958.

"Guinea prefers poverty in freedom to riches in slavery," was Toure's declaration at that historic moment. The next 26 years saw the promise of "African Socialism" that Toure expounded succumb to the economic reality of the world market. East and West development aid and economic planning only led to underdevelopment, in spite of Guinea's rich mineral resources in bauxite, uranium and diamonds.

In taking over power, the ruling military council publicized what such human rights organizations as Amnesty International had reported on for years, namely that the record of human rights violations and the jailing of political prisoners in Guinea was one of the worst in all of Africa. Some 2,900 people are reported to have disappeared during Toure's reign.

The tragedy of Sekou Toure's Guinea is that of the African revolution as a whole. Though one of the original proponents of African unity, the separation of African leaders like Sekou Toure from the African masses undermined the promise of African Socialism and destroyed that unity at its root.

British miners' strike

Editor's note: The following are excerpts from the reports of two correspondents in Britain.

Oxford, England — The British miners' strike has arisen from the continuing efforts of the National Coal Board (NCB) to increase productivity, close down unprofitable pits, concentrate output in a small number of the most geologically-favoured, highly-automated mines, reduce overall output and cut down the number of workers in the industry.

The strike started when the NCB announced plans to axe about 20 pits, which would mean the loss of about 20,000 mining jobs (out of a total of 182,000). It began locally and spontaneously at a couple of the most threatened collieries — Polmaise near Stirling, Scotland and Cortonwood near Barnsley, Yorkshire.

The national executive of the National Union of Miners (NUM) supported the strike as it unfolded, but refused to hold a national ballot of NUM members on whether to have a national strike. The regional division within the miners' ranks has thus emerged as a major problem.

Eight thousand police are involved in a massive operation to control picketing. In South Wales miners have begun picketing power stations and have received solidarity from railway drivers who refused to take coal trains across the picket lines.

— Richard Bunting

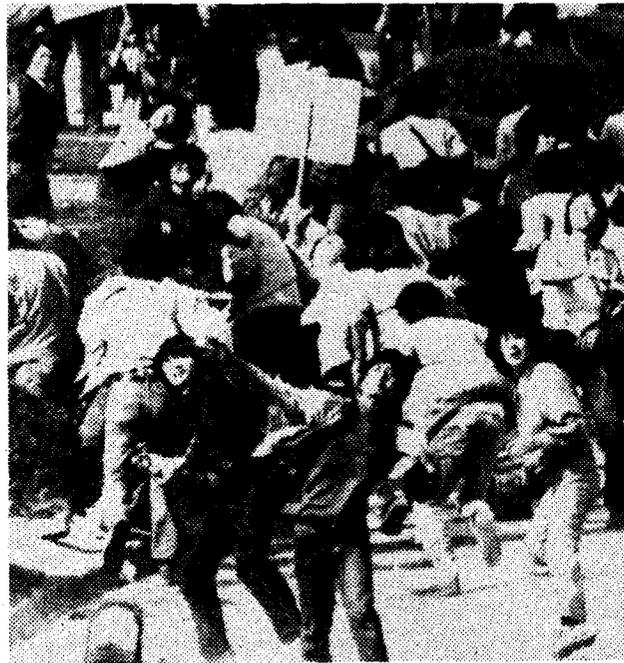
London, England — Some miners have been imprisoned after using such imaginative tactics as blocking the motorways with fleets of cars. Plainclothes police try to infiltrate pickets, phones are tapped, miners have been stopped from crossing county lines in their cars and coaches and the army is being prepared to move coal as the transport unions' solidarity blocking gets underway.

Miners' wives, who have to bear the hardship and sacrifice, are now demanding a voice in the strike. They have organized visits to other areas to persuade families to support the strike. Mass action by women in the strike could draw in those masses of women who have campaigned

against Cruise missiles at Greenham Common and all over Britain. A campaign called "Women Against Pit Closures," organized by miners' wives and feminist trade unionists, has just gotten off of the ground.

—Dave Black

South Korean demos



Marking the April, 1960 student uprising that led to the overthrow of the regime of Syngman Rhee, thousands of students demonstrated at ten South Korean universities, stoning riot police and demanding democracy and an end to U.S.-backing for Chun Doo Hwan's bloody rule. While Chun had decreed in March that police would be kept off campuses as part of a supposed "liberalization," the police quickly attacked students when they tried to take the demonstrations into the streets. The clashes followed weeks of protests calling for an end to military service.

Some professors have been allowed to return to teaching since the 1980 revolt which Chun crushed, but not at their home campuses. Some of the active oppositionist students have been drafted. In an attempt to further erase reminders of the 1980 revolt, especially in Kwangju, authorities have bribed families of victims massacred by the government to have the dead removed from one area of the cemetery. (As we go to press student demonstrations continue during the Pope's visit)

In Brief . . .

WEST GERMANY — New labor demonstrations in support of the 35-hour-week for 40 hours pay have shaken up West Germany. Several hundred thousand workers held one hour "Warnstreik" actions, and then demonstrated during that hour on the streets. Frequently demonstrators dressed as robots, symbolizing the new stage of production (and lay-offs) they are opposing. Capitalists, the press and the Kohl government have reacted with scorn and outrage.

INDIA — A dock strike shutting down all major ports late in March resulted in violence when port authorities in Paradip tried to bring in scabs under police guard. A thousand dockers charged and fought police and scabs. Six people were killed, including five police.

SOUTH PACIFIC — The anti-nuclear movement is on the rise in the South Pacific. In February, workers in Honiara, Solomon Islands, refused to provide services for the U.S. frigate Bronstein when the U.S. withheld information on its nuclear capabilities. The Solomon Islands government later announced it would not allow any warships in its waters without written assurances that the ships were neither nuclear-armed nor nuclear-powered.

China's mine project

While Reagan was in China, the Chinese government and Armand Hammer, chairman of Occidental Petroleum, announced agreement to jointly develop at Pingshuo the world's largest open-pit coal mine. This project, with the company that made Love Canal a household word in the U.S., is China's largest yet with a foreign company for private profit — over \$600 million in capital invested.

Unlike production in enterprise zones near Hong Kong which has been set up by foreign firms to take advantage of Chinese workers' below-Hong Kong wage levels, Occidental will be paying the equivalent of a wage originally based on U.S. miners pay. But not to the Chinese workers — that wage equivalent, now also based on the mine's productivity, will be passed directly to the state!

There may have been no portrait of Mao in Tiananmen Square to greet Reagan, but the portrait of Stalin erected for May Day — who Armand Hammer also negotiated projects with — reminds us that the latest massive project rests on over half a century of state-capitalist development.

U.S. military in Honduras

More than 25,000 people marched in the capital Tegucigalpa, on May Day shouting "Yankee Go Home!" They demanded the Honduran government force the U.S. military out of the country, as well as repair its own human rights record.

When the U.S. base at Puerto Castilla in Honduras was being opposed by many civilian politicians last year, General Gustavo Alvarez surrounded the Congress with hundreds of soldiers for "security" reasons, and then strode in and gave a speech which "convinced" Congress to approve the U.S. base plan. By 1984, Reagan had turned Honduras into the U.S.'s biggest base in the region, aimed at Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Inside Honduras arrests of members of labor unions and Left political groups were on the rise and the "disappearance" of oppositionists had begun. Suddenly, on the eve of Reagan's "Granadero II" military exercises aimed at Nicaragua, General Alvarez was arrested by younger officers, handcuffed, and put on a plane to Costa Rica. His "resignation" was announced. Apparently the Honduran military had not been as monolithically reactionary as others in the region.

Chilean revolt continues

Chile's first national protest of this year, March 27, turned into a virtual half-day general strike and a boycott of schools, stores and transportation. Demonstrations continued for a full week all over the country. The government deployed thousands of police, killing 10 people, but staying out of the poorest neighborhoods altogether. By imposing a curfew, the government actually aided the March 27 protest, giving people an excuse to leave work early. They went home and beat pots and pans. In April, university students called a one-day strike that was 80% effective.

The head of the military dictatorship, General Pinochet, had been visited by U.S. State Department officials just before March 27, and undoubtedly was told to avoid mass slaughter and to engage in "dialogue" with opposition groups.

Pinochet seems to be playing for time, hoping the mass protests will lose their momentum, while opposition "leaders" — including the Christian Democrats and other members of the Democratic Alliance, some of whom aided the military coup ten years ago — beg for "dialogue" and may even be holding back the projected general strike. These centrists talk seriously about reforms within the dictatorship, such as advancing the promised 1989 elections and creating a legislative branch.

Only a small part of the organized Left is calling for the formation of workers' and unemployed councils as the path to socialism. Meanwhile, the mass organizations of youth, workers and unemployed, women and indigenous Mapuche, continue to form and to grow. (For more information, write Committee for a Free Chile, P.O. Box 1121, Cathedral Sta., New York, NY 10007.)

News and Letters Committees

Draft Perspectives, 1984-1985

(Continued from page 2)

role he saw for women in primitive societies, from the Iroquois women to the Irish women before they were conquered by British imperialism.

3) He projected the possibility of revolution coming first in an undeveloped land like Russia ahead of the industrially developed West.

With the outbreak of World War I a turning point in the objective world had been reached, even as, subjectively, a turning point was reached with the collapse of the Second International. Lenin felt a compulsion to go to Marx's roots in the Hegelian dialectic. This resulted in the Great Divide in Marxism, not only as loyalty to its revolutionary nature against the German Social Democracy's betrayal of the proletariat, but as the creation of a new philosophic point of departure. By singling out the dialectical principle of the transformation into opposite, in his **Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic**, Lenin laid the ground both for his new theory of **State and Revolution** and the practice of the actual Revolution of November 1917.

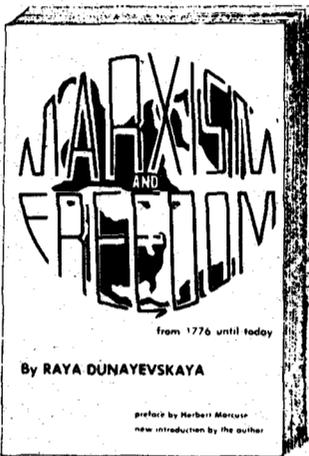
Philosophically, it became the jumping off point also for our age, when, at the outset of World War II, we proved the transformation into opposite in our age, through a factual analysis of the Five Year Plans, as the transformation of a workers' state into a state-capitalist society. In 1953, with our further philosophic breakthrough on the Absolute Idea as a movement from practice as well as from theory, we thereby created the structure for **Marxism and Freedom**.

In restating Marx's Humanism for our age, **Marxism and Freedom**, 1958, began with the age of revolutions — national, industrial, social and political, as well as the intellectual revolution which discerned and developed the dialectics of revolution as the overcoming of stages of alienation. Beginning with the machine age and the revolutions of 1776 and 1789, **Marxism and Freedom** ended with the revolutions of our day — from the battles against

Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott which signaled the Black Revolution both in the U.S. and Africa, to the East European revolts from under Russian totalitarianism.

Where, with our first breakthrough on the Absolute Idea, we had witnessed in the 1950s a series of new revolutions in East Europe from under totalitarian state-capitalism, the birth of a whole new Third World in the 1960s required further concretization of this philosophic breakthrough. This was achieved with our second major theoretical work, **Philosophy and Revolution**, in 1973.

There we concretized the dialectic of second negativity by going beyond Lenin not only politically but philosophically. **Politically** meant rejecting the vanguard party-to-lead, which had so totally misled the masses as to bring about the greatest tragedy of all — counter-revolution which came out of revolution and transformed the workers' state into a state-capitalist society. **Philosophically** meant working out Absolute Idea as new beginning, with a new sense of objectivity which revealed two kinds of subjectivity. One kind was voluntaristic. The



other was masses in motion struggling for total freedom despite their oppressive awareness of the new enemy, the new objective reality — state-capitalism calling itself Communism.

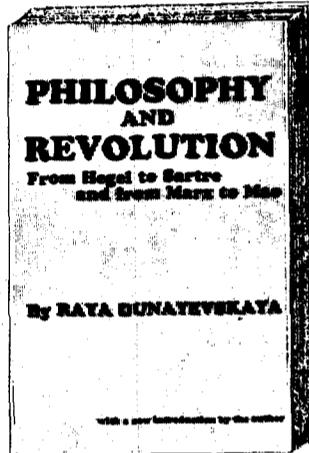
We had actually first projected this in the second edition of **Marxism and Freedom** in 1964, in the added chapter on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," which had ended with a section entitled: "In Place of a Conclusion: Two Kinds of Subjectivity." (The footnote to this section indicated that this was to be "the burden of a new work in progress" — i.e. **Philosophy and Revolution**.) The two opposing kinds of subjectivity discussed here were: 1) "Mao's, which has no regard for objective conditions, behaves as if state power is for herding 650 million human beings into so-called 'People's Communes,' as if a party of the elite that is armed can both harness the energies of men and 'remold' their minds." Under that delusion*, Mao declared himself ready to ride the whirlwind of a nuclear holocaust. 2) The other type of subjectivity — that of masses in motion — "is the subjectivity which has 'absorbed' objectivity, that is to say, through its struggle for freedom it gets to know and cope with the objectively real."

Put another way, since the new enemy comes, not from traditional capitalism but from state-capitalism masquerading as Communism and continuing to use Marxist language, the struggle for total freedom becomes both more arduous and in need of a totally new relationship of practice to theory.

What that added chapter in **Marxism and Freedom** presented in embryo is what was worked out in the first chapter of **Philosophy and Revolution**: "Why Hegel? Why Now?" By then the world had witnessed the new passions and new forces of the generation of revolutionaries of the 1960s, East and West, as well as the new revolutions in Africa both in fact and in thought, as witness Frantz Fanon's Humanism. What was needed by then was also a new sense of objectivity — that is to say, a further development of the concept of transformation into opposite when it emerges, not from reformism's betrayal as at the outset of World War I, but from the transformation of the first workers' state into a state-capitalist society.

That further development into the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism could, in one way, also have been sensed from Gramsci's projection in his **Problems of Marxism**: "The philosophy of praxis is consciousness full of contradictions in which the philosopher himself, understood both individually and as an entire social group, not merely grasps the contradictions, but posits himself as an element of the contradictions and elevates this element to a principle of knowledge and therefore of action."

*Hegel, in working out unresolved contradictions, refers to his **Phenomenology**, where he analyses just such disoriented minds: "The self-alienated type of mind, driven to the acme of its opposition, where pure volition and the purely volitional agent are still kept distinct, reduces that opposition to a transparent form, and therein finds itself." (p. 610, J.B. Baillie edition)



The fourth Miami rebellion in four years

The illumination that we gained from working out Hegel's three final syllogisms, especially para. #577; applies directly to our age. There Hegel says: "It is the nature of the fact, the notion which causes the movement and development, yet this same movement is equally the action of cognition." Where Hegel at that point consoled himself with "the eternal Idea," **Philosophy and Revolution** in our age could show that the "Self-Thinking Idea" was actually the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty. We could do that because we had become witness to the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries and had recreated Marx's Humanism for our age. In that new sense of objectivity was imbedded subjectivity — a subjectivity that had "absorbed" objectivity.

The 1970s, during which years **Philosophy and Revolution** was published, turned out to be when Karl Marx's last writings, his **Ethnological Notebooks**, were finally transcribed. This made it possible to view Marx's Marxism as a totality, as distinct from all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with his closest collaborator, Frederick Engels, whose first work after Marx's death, **The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State**, had been presented as a "bequest" from Marx. Once the **Ethnological Notebooks** were available it became clear how very far from Marx's multilinear dialectic was Engels' unilinear view of humanity's development.

The new moments of Marx's last decade disclosed, at one and the same time, Marx's rejection of others' interpretation of his "Historical Accumulation of Capital" as a Universal instead of a characteristic simply of Western Europe, a characteristic which the undeveloped lands (which our age calls the Third World) need not follow; and a philosophy of "revolution in permanence" which was not only theory but practice.

Marx's philosophy of revolution seemed to us to hold a trail to the 1980s, both on the emergence of the Third World, and on the development of women's liberation in our age from an Idea whose time has come to a Movement. This sense of contemporaneity gained a new dimension also from a study we had been making of Rosa Luxemburg's concept of the spontaneity of the masses.

Although we found that Luxemburg was nearly tone-deaf on philosophy, as a woman revolutionary she was both active in the mass, working class, anti-war, women's movement of her day, and fought the leadership of her German Social Democratic Party on their do-nothingness against imperialism. What emerged during that sharp struggle was the most virulent male chauvinism against her.

V. Organizational Conclusions

We decided not to wait until our new book was completed, but published in **News & Letters**, in Jan.-Feb. 1979, the draft chapter we entitled: "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted." By the time **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution** was completed, this became the climax to the whole work when it was developed as the final chapter which focused fully on "The Unknown **Ethnological Notebooks**, the Unread Drafts of the Letter to Vera Zasulich, as well as the Undigested 1882 Preface to the

Russian edition of the **Communist Manifesto**."

The 1980s view, which concluded that final chapter, held that Marx's Marxism, from the very beginning of his break with bourgeois society, disclosed that no concept of his was separate from that of permanent revolution — from 1843 to 1883. Our projection of Marx's Marxism as a totality

disclosed that Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" was ground also for organization, a concept we consider most pertinent for our age, including its importance to the Women's Liberation Movement's search for a decentralized form of organization.

(Continued on page 12)

DRAFT PERSPECTIVES, 1984-85,
OF NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES

will be discussed at the following meetings:

- Los Angeles
Sunday, May 20, 6:30 PM
Peoples of College of Law
660 S. Bonnie Brae
Speaker: Peter Wermuth
- Detroit
Sunday, May 20, 3 PM
Detroit Association of Women's Clubs
5461 Brush (at Ferry)
Speaker: Andy Phillips
- Bay Area
Sunday, May 20, 6 PM
Berkeley Community YMCA
1222 University Ave.
Speaker: Mary Holmes
- New York
Monday, May 28, 12 noon
Advent Lutheran Church
168 W. 100th St. (corner Amsterdam Ave.)
Speaker: Kevin A. Barry
- Chicago
Sunday, May 20, 6:30 PM
220 S. State, Room 304
Speaker: Eugene Walker

News & Letters can be contacted 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

News and Letters Committees

Draft Perspectives, 1984-1985

(Continued from page 11)

Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was published in 1982, along with new editions of *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution*, each with a new Introduction. They were the ground for our celebration of the living Marx centenary the following year.

In 1983 we projected a new slogan of "Have thumb, will travel!"

to extend the outreach of projecting Marx's Marxism as a totality. Even before then, there had been many international trips — to East as well as West Europe; to Asia as well as Africa; to Latin America as well as the Middle East. However it was the National Tour of the Chairwoman during the Marx centenary that found a multitude of new platforms, especially in Black studies, in women's liberation, and among both student and working class youth.

We thereupon decided to have a series of eight classes on the body of Marxist-Humanist ideas and the three works we call a "trilogy of revolution" as they have analyzed:

1) The revolutions of Marx's day — especially 1848 and 1871 — as they helped shape the works of Marx, for whom even the defeat of 1848 led to the theory of "revolution in permanence."

2) The revolutions of 1905, 1917 and 1919 when the dialectics of revolution in the 20th century revealed them as inseparable from the concept and act of world revolution. From 1905 on, Marx's original conception of a continuing revolution, which he had designated as "revolution in permanence," became so popular a phrase that Trotsky's essay, 1905, was designated as a concept of "the permanent revolution" although it was not rooted in, nor did it even refer to, the dialectic of Marx's projection of what was to be done after the 1848 revolutions were defeated.

3) The revolutions in our own age which we witnessed as the birth of a whole new Third World, where what had to be worked out anew was the relationship of the revolutionary forces of peasant/worker, woman/man, and reason as well as force that is inseparable from the organization itself.

The classes have given us a new self-development while our organization's outreach led both to a new local in Salt Lake City and new members-at-large in Kentucky/Ohio and Washington, D.C. At the same time, we experienced many inroads into the Latino world, and we challenged both post-Marx Marxists and non-Marxist scholar-specialists in "Marxism."*

As we put it in our 1984 Call: "The Marx Centenary opened so many new doors for us in 1983, through our projection of Marx's Marxism as a totality, that it was possible to project, at one and the same time, his philosophy of "revolution in permanence" as ground for organization, and our 30 year existence as the organizational manifestation of Marx's Humanism for our age. At the same time, the death of our editor, Charles Denby, made all tasks, especially for organizational growth, more difficult. We did, however, have the advantage of his participation in laying the ground for both our Constitutional Convention and our move to Chicago."

The move of the Center to Chicago is to a city rich in both historical roots and present-day ramifications for Black and proletarian as well as intellectual and international dimensions. But Chicago is by no means alone in the impact that the move will exert. This new stage is both national and international for us and will be especially important for *News & Letters* as newspaper.

We will have three new publications in hand by the time of the Convention:

1) Our pamphlet on the *Miners' General Strike* against Automation brings us, at one and the same time, back to the very birth of the movement from practice in that 1949-50 revolt and forward to the new stage of robotics today.

2) The new edition of *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* expresses the whole question of a Third World in combat not only with imperialism but with the new revolutionary but administrative intellectuals who had come to lead but who soon misled. The new Introduction brings us fully to the present day, from the revolution and counter-revolution in Iran to the counter-revolution again coming out of the revolution in Grenada.

3) The new mini-pamphlet on *Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies* projects the question of Women's Liberation both in and for itself, and as an expression of Marx's Marxism as a totality, so that the philosophy of "revolution in permanence" can be seen as ground for organization and for the future direc-

*See Raya Dunayevskaya's Theory/Practice column in N&L, April, 1984 on "Marx's Philosophy of Revolution vs. Non-Marxist Scholar-Careerists in 'Marxism'."



Women's Liberation.

In 1985, which is our 30th year of existence, we will have in hand, as well, a collection of some of the extensive writings on Women's Liberation by Raya Dunayevskaya. It will be ready by International Women's Day and will contain the events as well as the analyses, beginning with our creation of the category of Women's Liberation as Reason as well as revolutionary force at our birth in 1955. The development of women's liberation as Movement and as philosophy of liberation will be dialectically tied together in an introduction that will indicate new perspectives.

All these publications will help us intensify our participation in the mass movements from the Black revolt to Latino support committees; from labor struggles to the Women's Liberation Movement; from youth anti-war activities to anti-apartheid struggles.

With these activities in mind, we are proposing a totally new way of presenting our Marxist-Humanist body of ideas, not alone through our books, but through their concretization politically. Our classes this year will focus around the Perspec-

tives Theses of the last ten years and selected Political-Philosophic Letters over that same period.

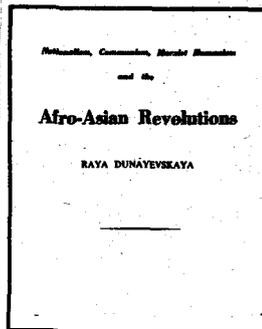
To concretize the momentous perspective of "revolution in permanence" for today is the arduous and imperatively needed task, if we are not to be buried in a nuclear holocaust unleashed by the superpowers to which all too many of the so-called Left kowtow.

The continuing CIA actions to destabilize the Nicaraguan government, the total contempt for the World Court, and the ongoing "war games" involving 30,000 military personnel from all service branches — which are being staged in the Caribbean, the Straits of Florida and the Gulf of Mexico and which match Russia's muscle-flexing in the North Atlantic — all make the Orwellian year of 1984 more ominous than ever. This Orwellian nightmare must be transformed into its absolute opposite — the beginning of new revolutions on the unified field of theory and practice.

—The Resident Editorial Board
April 26, 1984

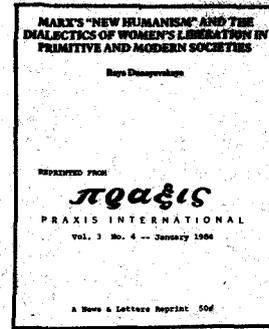
Three New Marxist-Humanist Pamphlets

Available now



Nationalism, Communism,
Marxist-Humanism and the
Afro-Asian Revolutions

New expanded edition with
new Introduction by
Raya Dunayevskaya
\$1.00



Marx's 'New Humanism'
and the Dialectics of Women's
Liberation in Primitive
and Modern Societies

A provocative discussion of
women's liberation in relation
to Marx's final writings
50¢

Off the press in June!

A 1980s View

The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and
the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the United States

Order from News & Letters, 2832 East Grand Blvd., Detroit, Michigan 48211

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.