

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Can fight against Ronald Reagan, strike-breaker, begin here?

4,000 Toledo workers blockade plant, battle police

Toledo, Ohio — On May 21, 1984, 50 years almost to the day that workers battled the Ohio National Guard as they fought for union recognition at Toledo Auto-Lite (see "Story of 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite Strike," page 9), 4,000 workers from a dozen union shops throughout Toledo joined several hundred striking Local 14 UAW workers at the AP Parts plant in battling the Toledo police and the private strike-breaking cops of Nuckols Security ("Knuckles") hired by AP Parts. They were trying to stop non-union scab workers and the company from breaking their union and stealing the jobs of several hundred workers, and came out in defiance of a court injunction limiting picketers to six per gate.

The strikers and their supporters faced tear gas, riot sticks, shields and pellet guns, as the entire police force in Toledo was mobilized. Against a tear gas attack and billy-club swinging police, the workers responded with attacks on the vehicles of both the Toledo police and Nuckols Security. The scabs inside the plant were forced to remain overnight and could only leave under police escort 26 hours after they had entered the plant. Some 41 workers from almost a dozen plants were arrested.

The mobilization of workers in support of the AP strikers had spread like wild-fire throughout Toledo union shops such as Jeep, Teledyne and GM Hydramatic. As the day shift ended on Monday, May 21, workers in plant after plant streamed out and made their way to the AP Parts plant to show their solidarity. By 4 P.M. thousands of workers were



Toledo workers face tear gas in front of AP Parts plant on May 21.

in front of the plant. Thousands more tried to get there, but police set up roadblocks around the plant preventing workers from coming.

The astronomical concessions demanded by AP — give-backs of \$5.84 an hour, the elimination of seniority rights, the end of 30-and-out pensions — were recognized by workers throughout Toledo as the latest shot in the class war being waged against working people. They responded and class struggle raged in the streets of Toledo. That powerful self-mobilization of Toledo's working people was seen on television screens throughout the country. Whether or not this particular mobilization is able to continue, a signal has been given. Working people throughout the country have seen it. Below we print a compilation of comments by striking AP workers that News and Letters Committee members obtained while on the strike line.

by striking AP Parts workers

The Monday Rebellion, May 21

The news didn't show how mean it was out there on Monday. All of a sudden you heard tear gas getting shot. They

say there were wooden bullets too. The workers came to a rally at AP Parts which was heard about by word-of-mouth (See Readers' Views, p.7). The police caused the riot more than anybody else; they threw tear gas into the crowd. I don't think anybody knew what was going to happen, they just came out. They're breaking unions, that's why they came. Word was spreading through the factories. I would like to see it happen again. If they bring in scabs again, it probably will.

We didn't organize people to come down here on Monday, they know they're next. People came out because it affects all of us. If we go down, then everyone does. Detroit and Toledo are both big union towns. The Big 3 start negotiating their contracts in June, and they know if we fail everyone will. This strike is political. After Reagan broke the PATCO strike, I knew it would be bad for every union man.

Everybody has been speaking about what happened on Monday. People called me at home from different shops. People I haven't talked to in years. The workingman fears that the same thing will happen to him unless it is stopped here. It has to be all workers together, not just one plant left to fight on its own. But I'll tell you, this will not be (continued on page 9)

Black World

Literature & liberation in Azania



by Lou Turner

The consciousness of self is not the closing of a door to communication. Philosophic thought teaches us on the contrary, that it is its guarantee. National consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension. . . It is at the heart of national consciousness that international consciousness lives and grows. And this twofold emerging is ultimately only the source of all culture. —Frantz Fanon

June 16 is Soweto Day. It is a date which commemorates the 1976 Black rebellion against white apartheid South Africa. In 1984, it is a date when fresh acts of opposition remind the world that the struggle in Southern Africa continues.

Thus, protests greeted apartheid Prime Minister Botha during his state visit to London recently to gain new legitimacy from the Western powers at the economic summit after pressuring Angola and Mozambique into "non-aggression accords". The only thing that piece of hypocrisy disclosed is the fact that South Africa's attacks on Black organizations and trade unionists inside its borders accords with the support it now receives from the Reagan and Thatcher governments' attacks on Black South African exiles. And in accord with South Africa's recent nationwide attack on the offices of the Black Consciousness organization AZAPO (Azanian People's Organization), the American INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) has stepped up its attempt to deport South African exiles

SKOTAVILLE: BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND LITERATURE

However, eight years after Soweto flashed across the world consciousness, the call of Black Consciousness, as masses in motion and as original idea, continues to find ever new forms of expression.

One new expression of Black consciousness ideas has recently come to the surface in the form of a new Black publishing house named Skotaville Publishing. Founded in 1982, following a decision made by the African Writers' Association to create a Black-run publishing house, Skotaville was named after T.D. Mwelu Skota, secretary-general of the (continued on page 10)

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Nurses' strike exposes dehumanized care

Editor's Note — As we go to press, some 6,000 registered nurses in Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn. have gone on strike at 15 hospitals which account for half the hospital beds in the seven-county metro area. This is the largest nurses' strike in U.S. history, with job security and seniority as two of the main issues. Below we print a story on a strike of nurses in Los Angeles as well as two other stories from hospital workers which we received independently this month.

Detroit: Hospital assembly line

At North Detroit General Hospital, I think they are trying to do away with both LPNs (Licensed Practical Nurses) and nurses' aides, and just keep the RNs (Registered Nurses), who have degrees. The LPN League joined Local 1199 to make us a stronger union, but when I got a letter from the hospital informing me that my hours were being cut from 80 to 72 every two weeks, I wanted to know why the union was going along with that, because it goes against our contract. Ever since Reagan busted the PATCO strike, unions have been going down.

Last December all the LPNs volunteered to take a day off so no LPNs would be laid off, but they laid off 15 anyway. Then they called them back but laid off all the nurses aides except three who were about to retire. Our yearly raise, for the LPNs, is up in July, and I'm saying to people now we're going to get what we have coming to us, because they'll lay us off anyway.

That's what has been happening everywhere. The people in the kitchen were cut to 20 hours a week, because then the hospital doesn't have to pay benefits. Most of these women are single parents who won't be able to make ends meet on 20 hours' pay. I don't know why the union's letting them get away with this.

But the worst problem is that the hospital is becoming more and more like an assembly line. I work on one-day surgeries, and where we used to keep people three days after surgery, now it's in and out, like a factory. Last week, they sent a little boy home who had just had a hernia operation. This is so dangerous, because if he coughed he could start to bleed. The doctors are keeping people in for the minimum time. They look at a Medicaid scale to determine how many days to keep people in, and we have to absorb the cost if Medicaid won't pay. As a result, we're only one-third full, and they're laying people off.

Women's lives in India

Editor's Note — Below we print excerpts of correspondence with a feminist in Bihar, India.

Yesterday evening one of my friends, Mukta, a woman of this village, came to give me the news that they want to arrange her marriage, and the family of the future husband will be coming tomorrow to take her. She said, "I don't want to, but they will get angry with me." So, she decided to go and hide in some other village far away for some time as she feels she won't be able to face the social pressure on her.

There are three ways to get married here:

- Arranged by family. This way is used seldom, in this particular tribe, because then you have to pay a heavy bride price like six cows and most of the families cannot afford it.
- The women go to the market place — a social event once a week — and from there are called by any man and instead of coming back to their parents' house, they will go to the new husband's home. Her friends will give the news to her family. This way is the most common.
- When any woman is working in the fields, a group of young men will come and take her by force to the new husband's home. She can cry or resist, all will be in vain.

There is however, one good thing to report, that wife beating in our area has come down very much in the last few months.

We are, of course, as usual quite busy with the women's center. I would love to take up many of the points we have been discussing much more fully, such as the question of China, and the role of the Indian Communist Party in the past. But I have some difficulties with time, that you will understand.

As long as I am in the village the whole day, there is somebody around, mostly women, who come to talk or come to us with their problems. This is beautiful and I love it, but I don't get much time to read except on market days when everybody goes to the market, which is once a week.

We don't have electricity; by 7 P.M. the day is over. I write with a kerosene lamp but my eyes start paining after some time. Also, I am far from any center or place where I can get material that I would need and have to wait for an opportunity to do it. That is why I take breaks from time to time to get more time to reflect and read . . .

Reflections on Nationalism and Frantz Fanon

In looking at the history of India I can summarize the nationalist movement as "a very limited Revolution from above to abort a threatening revolution from below." I have just read the chapter on "Pitfalls of National Consciousness" in Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*. I had read it some years back but it is so REAL. The question of the single party, here in India, is seen in Indira Gandhi and the Congress Party as the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, throwing few crumbs to the rest of the country and building grandiose buildings for prestige. All of this in order to hide the crisis at home and to impress the world with our elephants!

Fanon says it right when he writes, "cultures are too numerous and too voracious." Wealth is not the fruit of labour but "organized robbery," thus rich people equal "flesh eating animals."

If nationalism is not deepened into humanism, it leads up a blind ally! True, true, very true. — In Sisterhood, P.

They're taking out the human element. Last Friday, I had a 32-year-old woman patient with a lump in her breast. She went to OR for a biopsy, and when she came out her doctor had gone home. I looked at the surgery schedule, and saw her name was down for a modified radical mastectomy — and her doctor hadn't even told her she had cancer yet!

It gets dangerous when they start putting a price tag on people. I keep saying that we hospital workers have to look out for each other. If they lay some of us off, it affects all of us.

— Black woman hospital worker

Los Angeles: RNs strike for comparable worth

The 800 nurses at the Kaiser Sunset Hospital went out on strike on May 4 (ironically, the eve of National Nurse Recognition Week.) The daily picket lines continue to be lively and high-spirited, as the strike enters its fourth week, with the Black, white, Latina and Filipina nurses demanding the respect their work deserves.

Comparable worth is a key issue in the strike. Nursing remains to this day a profession heavily dominated by women, who earn a starting salary in many cases below that of the men who work in the hospitals with them.

"The doctors still see us as handmaidens," one nurse said. "But it is we, and not the doctors, who are responsible for the day-to-day life and health of the patients. We need more money, because many of us are single mothers trying to make ends meet; and most of all we are standing up for the dignity of our profession."

At the last bargaining session, May 23, Kaiser refused to agree to a comparable worth study, or to the payment of differentials for nurses who work in the operating and delivery rooms, as well as in special health care areas. Yet if the hospital hires a nurse from outside for these jobs, they must pay the differential!

The ongoing strike is proving costly to Kaiser. The hospital normally has a patient census of 560, but has been forced to reduce to less than 150 patients. The nurses are receiving support from other nurses throughout Los Angeles, and are determined to stay out on strike to win their demands.

— Women's liberationist

New York: "Doctors won't talk to aides"

At Bird S. Coler Hospital, there are not enough nurses' aides for the work they expect us to do. We're supposed to give each patient a shower and a bath once a week. Many are bed patients and wheelchair patients. We use lifts to put patients in wheelchairs, but if they're heavy it can still take two nurses' aides.

The doctor doesn't even talk to me — he only talks to nurses. Nurses on the wards do talk to us. Since many nurses' aides complained, they now assign patients to every nurse. Before, one nurse had medicine, another vital signs, etc.

In a new society, can they correct unfair labor practices? Aren't the unions run by the government in Russia? Here it's not so different, with AFSCME District 37 and the City. The union asks for 8%, and then the City says 4%, so the union takes the 4%. People were saying, "If I don't get my rights, I go to the union." But another worker said, "Gotbaum and the head of the hospitals corporation are on the same level. They probably socialize together after union contracts are settled." Sometimes they take the side of the supervision against the workers. One nurse said the union seems very remote.

— Nurses' aide

Word processor blues

New York, N.Y. — I have been a word processor at "The Company" for over two years. How I survived the regime is truly a miracle. While the company's executive staff has more than doubled in size since I've worked here, the word processing department has stayed the same size. There are presently only two full-time work processors (or VDT operators) employed, and we are handling a workload that is three times the size that it was when I was hired.

The work, apart from being over-abundant, is terribly detailed and complex, and we are subjected to a great deal of pressure. When I, or my co-worker, step away from the terminal to "answer a call of nature," my supervisor asks, "Where did she go?" I put in a great deal of overtime, because I can't live on my regular salary. When I leave work at my normal quitting time of 4:30, my supervisor gets upset.

Working in the word processing department is like working on an assembly line. And the pressure to produce more and more, faster and faster makes it seem as if the company is paying us for piece-work. We're in the same predicament as all the Detroit autoworkers who had to cope with plant production speed-up.

The general staff, which includes the word processing employees, are members of a so-called union. The union is absolutely no help whatsoever. Their response to any problem is "There is nothing we can do — that is a management problem." It's no wonder we are the victims of a sweet-heart contract — the union is a client of our company, (which is an actuarial firm), and that means that "our" company advises "our" union what health and pension benefits to provide union members with. All the union does is rob us of \$13.50 a month in dues, and yell at outspoken shop stewards for being "big-mouths."

Working in the word processing department is very dehumanizing, cold and unfeeling. I get the impression that since we work with machines, our bosses consider us to be machines. Their attitude is, just program us, and we'll keep going, all day and all night, non-stop.

— Word processing operator

Women's liberation in Marxist-Humanist Archives

Editor's Note: Below are brief excerpts from an article entitled "The Development of Marxist-Humanism's Concept of Woman's Liberation in the Archives of Marxist-Humanism" by Susan van Gelder. The full report appears in our Women's Liberation Pre-Convention Discussion Bulletin available from Women's Liberation — News & Letters for 50¢.

... The 1969 Draft Chapter 9 of *Philosophy and Revolution* (P&R) contains not one word on women's liberation. What happened between 1969 and 1973? In November, 1969, N&L began the first Women's Liberation page. In 1970 "Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices" was written by both Marxist-Humanist and non-Marxist-Humanist women. Thousands of women marched in New York City for women's liberation on Aug. 26, 1970. At our 1970 Convention some of the women from all this activity engaged in a heated debate over whether "all women are my sisters" could be a theoretical foundation for the developing movement.

But because today, we are trying to work out Marx's philosophy as ground for organization, it is especially interesting to return to the two documents from the founding of the Women's Liberation Committee in 1971: the minutes of the Marxist-Humanist Women's Liberation Conference, February, 1971; and the "Who We Are" statement worked out by the Women's Liberation Committee later that year. In Raya Dunayevskaya's presentation to that conference one is struck by how critique of Women's Liberation Movement theory and organizational perspectives for the Committee — Concentrating on Black and proletarian women; self-development; correspondence; and uniting theory and practice — flow from Hegel's philosophy and Marx's humanism. In the "Who We Are" statement the perspectives are there but Marx and Hegel nowhere to be found. I think this is why Raya asked us to read her newest article which appears in *Praxis International* last month, "Marx's New Humanism and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies" in conjunction with Chapter 9 of *P & R*. In that article a major point is how Engels did not fully grasp Marx's methodology in studying primitive societies and women's freedom. Likewise, we were so overwhelmed by the phenomenon of the Women's Liberation Movement that we did not fully grasp the methodology out of which our Committee was founded and which could guide its future development.

The "women's liberation section" of the 1973 published Chapter 9 occurs in the context of a very thorough critique both of the division between leaders and masses within the Black movement and of the mindless activism of the student youth. There is also a recapitulation of the "philosophic" part of the book. However, the Women's Liberation Movement is not criticized directly; only the movement's high points are stressed. The section begins (p. 275) with a Black woman speaking: "I'm not sure that when it comes time to put down the gun, I won't have a broom shoved into my hands, as so many of my Cuban sisters have," and ends: "women's liberation dares to challenge what is . . . and is an integral part of the very organism of liberation" . . .



**women-
worldwide**

Six days after more than 50 women's groups in Mexico organized a protest campaign, CIDHAL (Center for Communication, Exchange, and Human Development in Latin America), a resource center on women's issues, was reopened by the governor of the State of Morelos. In late March, the health minister had accused the center's clinic of performing abortions, which is illegal in Mexico. CIDHAL activists had also been working with peasant women in Tetelcingo, and the governor warned center workers to stay away from radical causes.

On April 13, the convictions of vote fraud against Alabama voting right activists Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder were overturned in federal court. In a case which had attracted national support, Ms. Bozeman and Ms. Wilder had been convicted of vote fraud because of their activity in helping elderly or shut-in Black voters to cast absentee ballots. (See March, 1982 N&L).

Six hundred women attended the first Irish Women's Conference in Dublin since 1978 on April 6 and 7. It was held at a primary school in the inner city, and included workshops on sexuality, violence against women, lesbian feminism and working women. Many women joined the discussion in the workshop on "women and the national question," but unfortunately the ground was whether one should fight for national liberation or women's liberation.

Information from Outwrite

In Colombo, Sri Lanka, 500 women from a number of pro-left women's organizations held an illegal march and picket on March 8. Police harassment did not stop the women, many with babies, as they shouted, "Victory to the Women's Liberation Movement." Demands included fighting racism by the Sinhalese majority government against Tamil women, including the release of Nirmala Nithyanandan (a Tamil author still held as a political prisoner) and support for the 1,300 women workers on strike at Ploytex Garment since Feb. 17.

Information from Off Our Backs

Miners' strike arouses British workers

London, England — Here in England the coal miners are entering the fourth month of their bitter struggle, making it the longest coal strike since 1926. The strike against closure of 20 pits, with the loss of 20,000 jobs and the virtual destruction of life in the mining communities, is over 80% solid.

MacGregor of the National Coal Board (NCB) had made arrangements to import coal from Poland and South Africa and brought in police, trained in Northern Ireland and the inner city ghettos. But the main problem about the strike continues to be the regional division within the miners' ranks. Nottinghamshire, Staffordshire and Lancashire are areas which tend to have the most accessible coal deposits and the most advanced equipment. They are not under threat of closures and redundancies, at least in the short term, and the miners get large bonuses under the 1978 incentive scheme — often far more than the basic wage — while miners in less-favoured areas such as South Wales may get no bonus at all.

PICKETS SPREAD STRIKE

Flying pickets coming from Yorkshire or Kent have been trying to shut down the important Nottinghamshire coalfield and win the miners there to the strike. This means trying to avoid the thousands of police — miners say some of them really troops in police uniform — who are stopping vehicles on the road and questioning occupants, telling pickets to turn back or be arrested.

Those who get through to the Notts collieries are sometimes able to put their case to the local miners, and some have joined the strike. Production in Nottinghamshire has been greatly reduced and night shifts at some of the pits have been suspended due to the number of miners in the area who are not working. Trials of strength, with masses of strikers trying to push through the police lines, are a daily event. Over 1,500 have been arrested, and many treated with various degrees of brutality by scared, angry or sadistic cops.

Whilst the government is pumping millions of pounds a day into the massive police operation, (police overtime alone costs one million pounds a day), it is trying to starve the miners into submission. However, many people have responded to the call for food and there has been a constant flow of food lorries to the pits.

More important, however, is money: the miners are not receiving strike pay or social security in many cases, so they are forced onto their savings. Money is needed not only to survive but also to pay the huge court fines and the expenses of carrying out picketing. Many workplaces hold collections every week.

Miners' jobs and homes at stake in copper strike

Clifton, Ariz. — On May 5, the National Guard came in here once again, against the workers out on strike for the eleventh month against the Phelps Dodge (PD) copper mines. (See N&L, May, 1984.)

The Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary had sponsored a strikes support rally that day, and several hundred people had gathered together. The women were selling food and soft drinks to raise money. About the time the shift at the mines was over, some people went down in front of the clinic, where the scabs would have to pass when leaving work. Another group of people went over to Shannon Hill, to confront the scabs driving by there.

A scab drove back and forth by the crowd outside the clinic with his gun pulled out, aimed at the people. The DPS (state police) did nothing and the people were angry and started throwing rocks at the police cars. We have lived for months with harassment, beatings and jailings by the DPS.

Over by Shannon Hill, where the strikers were yelling at the scabs, the DPS started pushing people around, harassing people. The crowd there got angry too, and when they started throwing rocks, the police fired tear gas into the crowd. Then they came in and arrested eight people — just whoever they felt like picking up. Cesar Chavez' attorney was there and he was stunned at the violations of people's rights.

It was then that Governor Babbitt called in the National Guard again. They were patrolling everywhere with machine guns, just like when they were here last year. It seems like it's war, with soldiers coming into your area.

The National Guard has left, and Babbitt has said he won't call them in again. But we have learned that they have been placed on alert for the whole next month, and that there is a recruitment campaign to get more men in.

They are expecting trouble because PD is planning to evict families from the company-owned employee housing. Their rent has been paid, but PD says they can't live there because they are not employees. At the same time, the unemployment office tells the strikers they don't qualify for benefits because they're not unemployed!

Time are very rough, and if it weren't for our hatred for the company, we would have capitulated long ago. It's graduation time at the high school, and we can barely pay for the caps and gowns of our children. But we hope that more and more people are learning about our strike, and will help support our stand for working people's rights.

—Strike supporters

Send letters and contributions, payable to Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, to: Morenci Miners Women's Auxiliary, 1113 Third Ave., Safford, AZ 85546.

Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, has given absolutely no support to the miners. He has been pleading with the Tories to intervene and settle the dispute. Other union leaders are more openly supporting the ruling class. The leadership of the power workers and the steelworkers have instructed their workers to cross picket lines. Even the unions that give verbal support have given no active support and the Trades Union Council (TUC) General Council is actively trying to sabotage solidarity action.

RANK-AND-FILE ACTIONS

Rank-and-file workers throughout the country have been actively supporting the strike. Early in the strike, health workers and nurses in Wales took sympathy action and joined picket lines. In defiance of the TUC there was a one-day sympathy strike in Yorkshire and the Humberside, where local government workers were prominent with picket lines out.

Dockers have refused to unload coal. Railway workers have refused to move coal. Print workers have refused to print a story in a right-wing paper depicting Scargill, leader of the National Union of Miners (NUM), as a fascist, and at the *Daily Express* demanded his right of reply to a front page article. Teachers, who are at present involved in selective strikes, over pay, have also been prominent at miners' demonstrations. It is the rank-and-file who have the power to decide the course of this strike, a strike the NUM says will last till December if need be.



British miners face strike-breaking police.

The cutting edge of the strike at present is the miners' efforts to block coal from British Steel's plant in Ravenscraig, Scotland, that in turn supplies body panels direct to the motor industry. However, the steel workers' union is only supporting the strike with words, for in practice they have demanded and received coal to keep the furnaces going. In the successful coal strikes of 1972-74 — when the unemployment figures weren't as dire as they are now — no coal was let in at all and the furnaces had to be rebuilt.

WOMEN DEFEND STRIKE

The left bourgeois press in a recent report stated that the present dispute resembled the 1926 strike which ended in a tragic defeat after nine long months rather than the successful '72-'74 strikes which brought down the Tory government. However, in 1926 there wasn't such a strong women's movement to add their creative ideas and energy.

Two weeks ago 10,000 women marched through Barnsley (Yorkshire) against pit closures organized by the many women's action groups around the country. In Nottinghamshire alone there are 23 women's support groups who have been organizing themselves to break the image that Notts women are strike breakers.

Women are organizing autonomously and are campaigning and picketing with the strikers. Miners' wives are having to survive and feed children on 10-12 pounds per week and as one woman said: "We are dependent on the mine in this area — there's nothing else. The only way we'll get anything done is for everyone to come out — it's our future we're fighting for."

—British Marxist-Humanists

CTA vs. riders, drivers

Chicago, Ill. — Eighty percent of the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) bus drivers think the fare (90¢ plus 10¢ for a transfer) is too high. CTA should eliminate the transfers and lower the fare to 50¢. It is the people in the suburbs, the comfortable people, the commuters who are complaining about eliminating the transfers. But Chicago is 60% ghetto, and it is the poor people who have to use the buses.

CTA cannot afford to cut back any more service. It would hurt the ridership. At night people have to wait 45 minutes for a bus, or even longer if a bus breaks down. Besides, CTA needs more people, because we are working on our days off. I have been on the board with seven hours between shifts, which means I work twice a day for straight time.

The CTA never loses. You can be terminated for the least little thing you don't do on the standards. They will suspend you when you were only doing your job and say that you "did not use the best of judgement." All of my suspensions have been because of helping people out. One day a man was short of change, and I let him put in 57¢. A spotter wrote me up. I have been suspended for stopping pickpockets.

When the company threatened to fire 1,000 drivers, Weatherspoon (the union president) bargained away our pension fund money. But Reagan has cut transit funds and subsidies, so they will fire us anyway. If we don't get our pension money back now, we'll never get it back.

—Woman driver



Workers need shorter work week to live

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Part of Reagan's re-election propaganda is the claim that unemployment is "no longer a major problem" because it has supposedly "fallen" to 7.5%. But workers inside and outside the unemployment offices are saying this kind of talk by the politicians is a damn lie.

I was talking to several workers at an unemployment office in Los Angeles. Most of them had been laid off for two or more years, and had recently obtained new jobs, which lasted only a month or two. Now all of them are unemployed again. None can draw any unemployment benefits, because they had been out of work so long. It is these people who are ignored when Reagan says "unemployment is no longer a major problem."

ONLY TEMPORARY JOBS

One worker told me, "The reason the unemployment figures have come down is that after we get out and work and get laid off again, we're not counted as unemployed. There is no place for us to go but welfare." The truth is that a lot of companies have found it profitable to hire the unemployed for short stretches like two or three months, since that way they don't have to pay them union scale. After getting laid off a second or third time, the workers say they have no way to live.

One worker used to work in the Ford Plant in Pico Rivera, and has had many such jobs since the plant closed. He was sent to work cleaning out an oil refinery, where workers had been on strike because of management's effort to bring in a two-tier wage system. He was paid \$8.69 an hour to do the sloppiest, dirtiest, most dangerous work he had ever seen, even though the union wage is \$13 an hour — and that job lasted but 11 days!

This worker told me, "After being forced to work under these kind of conditions, I wonder where we will be if we get Reagan for another four years. It's a shame how workers struggle to build these unions, and now these same unions are sending in unemployed workers as scab labor."

A lot of the workers have families, but no job, no benefits, no health insurance. A lot of these families are breaking up under this pressure. What kind of "recovery" is it that does this to people, and breaks up families which Reagan likes to praise so highly?

It is this situation of being forced to almost inhumane conditions that has a lot of workers searching for what to do next. One worker said, "There is no way you can make this system work." While some workers are forced off jobs and off of benefits, many auto and steel workers labor 54 hours a week with forced overtime.

GERMAN AND U.S. WORKERS

It is for that reason that workers are going to look carefully at what is going on now in Germany, where the workers are demanding a 35-hour week with no cut in pay. German workers face 9% unemployment — which is really closer to the real figures here, if Reagan and the politicians did not lie about them. What the German workers are striking over is even more needed here, where the 40-hour week has become a thing of the past. Only reducing the conditions of over-work for those laboring 50 or more hours a week will allow many of the unemployed both here and in Germany to survive.

But the crisis is so total that the capitalists will fight any such effort tooth and nail. In Germany the manufacturers say they might give the workers a pay raise, but "reduction in the work week is out of the question." The same is the attitude of Reagan and the capitalists here. Only by uprooting this system as a totality will labor in this country be stopped from being forced into even deeper poverty.

Asian deportation fought

London, England — On May 5, a Bangladeshi woman, Afia Begum and her three-and-a-half year old daughter were forcibly deported from Britain after a massive police search that ended in a dawn raid on a council estate house in East London. She had been in hiding for over a year.

Afia Begum had been given an entry certificate to come to Britain and join her husband. Shortly before she came her husband died in a fire that destroyed the slum tenement where he lived. According to the Home Office, Afia Begum had lost her right to stay.

In challenging this racist, sexist British society, a long campaign to let Afia Begum stay was fought by her supporters including the new celebrated "Sari Squad" who traveled around the country rallying support and exposing the white male supremacist mentality of Home Office regulation. They are now beginning a tour of Europe and will take Afia Begum's case to the European Commission of Human Rights. The focus of the campaign remained, however, in the Asian area of London, especially Brich Lane in East London where militant demonstrations and street meetings were regularly held, gaining support from all the community.

The treatment of Afia Begum by the massive state security and police operation highlights the treatment of thousands who have been deported since the Immigration Act of 1973. Every Black person in this country whether "legal" or "illegal" is under threat of police raids, passport checks, questioning and racist harassment. If you are Black, you are guilty until proven otherwise.

What is new in the case of Afia Begum is the movement against this racist state, the high stage of underground organization that gave the police the run-around for over a year and the new mass character of the campaign that spread throughout the country involving Black, women's and anti-racist organizations.

THEORY / PRACTICE

This month I am turning over Theory/Practice to my colleague Michael Connolly. — Raya Dunayevskaya.

Late Marx and the Russian Road — Marx and 'the peripheries of capitalism' Edited by Teodor Shanin. Monthly Review Press N.Y. 286 pp.

What Teodor Shanin politely calls "a peculiar history" has characterized a full century of attitudes by post-Marx Marxists toward Karl Marx's crucial writings on Russia in the 1870s and 1880s. Marx's 1881 letter to Vera Zasulich, in which he examines the Russian peasant commune as a "fulcrum for social regeneration", was actually hidden by Zasulich and Plekhanov for decades until finally discovered and printed in 1924, 43 years later. The four lengthy drafts of that letter — Marx's fullest discussion of pathways to the needed Russian Revolution — were found by D. Riazanov in 1911, transcribed in 1913, yet only published in 1924.

Some illumination of the causes of such disregard for Marx's writings can be gleaned from reading Riazanov's 1924 article on the discovery of the Zasulich letter drafts, which dares to baselessly refer to Marx's "undermined capacity for work" in this period (the actual Russian word means something more like "torn") as the reason for the brevity of the reply Marx finally sent.

By the 1930s Stalin's Russia banned all discussion of Marx's concept of the "Asiatic mode of production" and his study of the commune, and portrayed Marx as an adherent of a unilinear evolutionism in which diversity of societal forms was explained by global developmental stages. The post-World War II era has done more, but not enough, to open these writings to a full discussion.

LISTEN TO MARX 'THINKING ALOUD'

In sharp contrast to that dismal record, we can say that the "case presented by Teodor Shanin" in this volume is one of the most important contributions to the understanding of Marx's last decade since Lawrence Krader transcribed Marx's 1880-82 Ethnological Notebooks in 1972. It provides new insights into years in which Marx was "thinking aloud" on multiple paths to revolution. Marx's final decade is one unlike those in which one can cite chapter and sentence from his printed work. The unfinished nature of his labors in those years, which included 30,000 pages of notes, have tested all Marxists since his death, beginning with Engels and including ourselves.

Part Two of *Late Marx and the Russian Road: Marx and the 'peripheries of capitalism'* offers us the first full English translations of the drafts of his letter to Zasulich, together with his 1877 answer to Mikhailovskii and the 1882 Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*. Helpful to a view of Marx's study of the works of Russian populist revolutionaries is the translation of some 60 pages of writings from that movement in Part Three. From them we can see why Marx so firmly supported the struggles of the "People's Will" organization against Tsarist police terror, and why his interest in the work of these non-Marxists was often more intense than in the work of other Russian socialists who claimed to be applying Marxism to Russia.

The interpretive essays by Shanin, Haruki Wada, and by Derek Sayer and Philip Corrigan that make up Part One of the book, as well as the chronology of Marx's work after *Capital* by Sayer, both trace the development of Marx's thinking and writing on Russia 1867-83, and raise crucial questions about the relation of this work to the whole of Marx's Marxism.

The nature of the Russian peasant commune and its relevance for revolutionary perspectives were already under sharp debate before the 1870s. One camp viewed the commune as a "creation of the Tsarist state," serving as means of control and preserving backwardness in agriculture. The other camp, including N. Chernyshevskii, saw in the peasant commune a remnant of pre-class society which controlled three-fifths of the arable land of European Russia, worked pasture, harvest and forest collectively, organized community services, and defended itself against outside intrusion.

LEARNING RUSSIAN AS 'LIFE AND DEATH'

Marx focused his attention on Russia in the fall of 1869, teaching himself the language. Jenny Marx reported that "he has begun to study Russian as if it were a matter of life and death." From the first Russian book he read — V. Flerovskii's *Situation of the Working Class in Russia* — to the very end of his life, rarely did even two months pass in which he did not read and make notes on "the Eastern Question." In Aug. 1881, Marx compiled a list of Russian books in his personal library; there were then nearly 200.

Haruki Wada's essay, "Marx and Revolutionary Russia," traces Marx's studies, contrasting his footnote to the 1867 German edition of *Capital*, which had attacked Herzen's optimism on the Russian commune, with the 1873 German edition, which both deleted that footnote and added a postscript praising Chernyshevskii's work. Marx's reading of Chernyshevskii directly preceded his clarification of a key sentence in the 1875 French edition of *Capital*, where Marx now strictly limits the expropriation of the peasant from the soil in the English manner to "the countries of Western Europe."¹

The years 1875-77 saw Marx's most intensive study of Russia, leading to his answer to Mikhailovskii, with its insistence that Russia's future path was still open to avoiding the "fatal vicissitudes of the capitalist regime."

By the time we reach Marx's 1881 drafts of his letter to

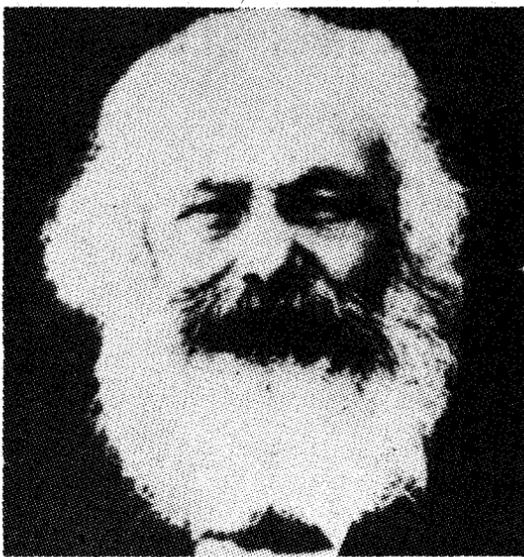
1. For further discussion of the changes Marx made in the 1875 French edition of *Capital*, see Ch. 10 of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Humanities, 1982). See also Kevin A. Barry's "The French edition of *Capital*, 100 years after," in *N&L*, Oct. 1981.

Marx's last writings on Russia: new paths to revolution and philosophic continuity

Zasulich, it is clear that what was the determinant for Marx's analysis of Russia was not the "peasant commune" (though that was the point of study), but the "needed Russian Revolution" that alone could save the commune. What was at issue was the commune's "internal dualism", with "property elements" at odds with "collective elements", a dualism which remained to be worked out.

Finally we come to the Preface to the second Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, written in Jan. 1882. It concludes: "If the Russian Revolution becomes a signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that the two can supplement each other, then present Russian communal land ownership can serve as a point of departure for a communist development". Though jointly signed by Marx and Engels, Wada believes that it "expresses the opinion of Engels more directly than that of Marx," and cites Jenny Marx's death as well as Karl Marx's poor health as the reason. Politically, Wada views the Preface as differing from the Zasulich letter drafts in that it "postulates" revolution in the West "as a precondition" for a Russian Revolution.

Sayer and Corrigan, in their "Late Marx: continuity, contradiction and learning," on the other hand, demonstrate that



Marx in Algiers, 1882, one year before he died

what we know of Marx's reading and correspondence in Jan. 1882 reveals no paralysis of mind. Further, this reviewer does not see in the text of the Preface any such "precondition," but rather a vision of the way revolutions in technologically backward lands can spark revolution in advanced ones, "so that the two supplement each other." From our perspective 100 years later, that formulation seems more relevant than ever.

'BREAK' OR 'DEVELOPMENT' IN MARX?

Throughout the book, the "new moments" from Marx's last decade raise questions on the extent to which they represent a break with Marx's previous 30 years of work, and on the way in which his view of the "Russian road" relates to other breakthroughs in the years after the Paris Commune. These questions form the centerpoint of Sayer and Corrigan's critique of the Shanin and Wada essays. Shanin had argued in "Late Marx: gods and craftsmen" that *Capital* "did not jettison the kernel of evolutionism" widespread in mid-19th century Britain. And even though Marx had, in the 1850s, already presented the concepts of "Oriental Despotism" and the "Asiatic mode of production" as "supplement and alternative to unilinear explanations", those concepts are seen as insufficient. Shanin contends that such societies were viewed by Marx as "a-historical" until disrupted by capitalism, at which time "the iron laws of evolution finally assume their global and universal pace."

To Sayer and Corrigan this "overstates the degree to which the Marx of *Capital* was a consistent evolutionist." One might also argue that in Marx's writings (1850-62) on China's Taiping Rebellion, dualities within the Asiatic mode of production are suggested. And far from Europe unilinearly showing China the "image of its own future", the Taiping Rebellion re-appears in the first chapter of *Capital* as encouragement to European revolutionary perspectives.

Nevertheless, Shanin makes an important contribution on the divergence between Marx and Engels on the Asiatic mode of production when he pinpoints Engels' last use of the concept as Feb. 1884, and reveals that in the next 11 years, through "3,000 pages of writings and letters, it was not even mentioned once". Hobsbawm's argument that Engels replaced it with the "broader concept of the Archaic Formation," is shown to be far off the mark.

The notes on "Marx after *Capital*" offered by Sayer shed light on the breadth of Marx's study and activity in this period, and on the way seemingly separate "topics" are related in thought as well as in date.² Looming above all in that last decade was the experience of the 1871 Paris Commune. It resulted, Sayer and Corrigan point out, "in a body of material as important, as neglected, and as subversive of much 'Marxism' as the writings on Russia published in this volume."

Concentrating on Marx's drafts of *The Civil War in France*, their powerful and thought-provoking essay points both to

2. By the late 1870s, and into the 1880s, Marx's work extended to non-capitalist societies world-wide. In the months after Jenny Marx's death, Marx traveled to Algeria where he observed anti-colonial resistance and investigated Arab landed property forms. About the same time he compiled a 1,700 page manuscript chronology of world history "from the first century BC to the mid-17th century," a manuscript still unpublished today.

Marx's self-critique on the role of the state machinery in working class emancipation and to his new perspectives on the means through which this emancipation is possible. Those means are spelled out as a "sustained attack on the divisions of labor that render administrations and government 'mysterious, transcendent functions only to be trusted to the hands of a trained caste.'" And they conclude with Marx's declaration that "whatever the merits of the single measures of the Commune, its greatest measure was its own organization."

MARX'S VIEW OF WOMEN; AUTHORS' DISREGARD OF PHILOSOPHY

In a book as path-breaking as this it is necessary to ask: how does it happen that Marx's view of women, as Subjects of revolution, gets left out of the account of his last decade? Whether Sayer and Corrigan on the Paris Commune, or Shanin or Wada on Marx and the "Russian road", the story of Elizaveta Dmitrievna Tomanovskaya is hardly told. Yet here is a Russian revolutionist who joined the International, met regularly with Marx in London in 1870-71, and discussed with him the destiny of the peasant commune. Before the Commune burst forth, it was she Marx sent to Paris to organize a women's section of the International; she became an activist in the *Union des Femmes*, and reported to Marx on the magnificent self-organization of the women of Paris. It is disturbing to see that not even a sketch of her life is included among the 23 biographical paragraphs from the "Russian scene."

The immediate ramifications of the participation of women in the Commune included for Marx a resolution at the 1871 London conference calling for the formation of IWA branches exclusively for women. The ramifications in thought were to last the rest of his life. By 1879, Marx was concerned with the dialectics of man/woman relations in "primitive" societies as well, compiling in that year a "copious bibliography on matriarchal law."

Marx's Ethnological Notebooks of 1880-82, which inquired into the destiny of women in primitive communism, are among his final writings. When we were able to see how Marx pointed to both the greater freedom of women in pre-class society, and the fact that elements of women's oppression arose from within primitive communism, the contrast between Marx's view on the man/woman relationship and Engels' later expression in *Origin of the Family* was uncovered. But what was also visible was a divergence on method, on dialectics.

None of the participants in this volume seem concerned with dialectics. Shanin only raises the question of Marx's method in the framework of whether Marx was "god or craftsman." Sayer and Corrigan pose his development from the 1840s to the 1880s as: "Marx was supremely good at learning. It is to assert a continuity of concern . . ." (Their emphasis).

The point, however, for our age, is not continuity of concern, but the continuity of a philosophy of revolution — and not alone in Marx's time, but in ours. It is, after all, a fact that none of the present authors take note of, that the theory of state-capitalism was being worked out as early as 1941 by Raya Dunayevskaya, when she was inspired by her study of the 1875 French edition of *Capital* as she labored over the original Russian documents of the Five Year Plans. The specific paragraph that Marx had added in 1875 was in the section on accumulation of capital, analyzing the law of concentration and centralization of capital as reaching its ultimate "in the hands of a single capitalist or capitalist corporation."³

Such a philosophic ground can lead us toward a view of the uniqueness of Marx's method, and toward his concretization of revolution in permanence⁴ for one technologically backward society, in which human forces of revolution, in the right "historic context", could change the world. Whether one agrees with that assessment or not, the authors of this remarkable book have given us an opportunity to "hear Marx think" and work it out for ourselves. —Michael Connolly

3. Long before our age's creation of the concept of the Third World, Dunayevskaya was taking issue with Rosa Luxemburg's counterposing Third World "reality" against Marx's theory of accumulation of capital. By the time she wrote *Marxism and Freedom* in 1957, she summed up 16 years of development of the theory of state-capitalism (pp. 132-137), by not only differentiating Marx's theory from Luxemburg's, but pointing to Marx's 1883 legacy as a new direction for our age.

4. Marx's concept is to be sharply distinguished from its near opposite, Leon Trotsky's "theory of permanent revolution," as well as from Mao Zedong's "uninterrupted revolution," which will require "a century or several centuries" to complete after the conquest of power. See Dunayevskaya's discussion of Marx as a philosopher of permanent revolution in Chapter 11 of the above 1982 work.

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Mexican workers strike foreign bosses

by John Marcotte

Reagan's message to American workers is that unemployment and wage cuts are caused by "foreign competition." But Reagan and our "free press" do their best to keep the truth from working people when it really blows open. I'm talking about two events, on two sides of the border, which shed light on what the problem really is and who's doing something about it.

On this side of the border is the Toledo, Ohio labor rebellion (see Lead article) which was virtually blacked out of the NY news media. And right across the border is the tremendous wildcat strike and ongoing struggle by some 7,000 Zenith workers in Mexico.

The Zenith Corporation's television parts plant in Reynosa, Mexico is one of the maquiladoras (factories), most of them right across the border, which produce only for export. Most of them are owned by U.S. corporations, some by Japanese. They employ over 150,000 workers, 80% of whom are women. At Zenith, these workers are mostly between the ages of 16 and 24. They make \$3.31 a day.

ZENITH WORKERS WALK OUT

When the 7,000 Zenith workers walked out on Nov. 8, 1983, they were joined the next day by 5,000 other workers nearby from maquiladoras such as Kimco, Hamill de Mexico, Genesco, Datacom, Controles de Reynosa, Sociedad de Motores, Lambda Electronics and Lambda Semi Conductors.

The Zenith strikers had three demands: 1) the release from jail of Daniel Lopez, an 18-year-old rank-and-file leader whom the union president had had arrested; 2) a wage increase because of 100% inflation; 3) getting rid of the corrupt union leadership.

They returned to work after four days, only when their first demand was met and they were promised immediate union elections by the Confederation of Mexican Workers. Their op-

position slate won four to one, and four women were elected to the executive board for the first time. The union Confederation then refused to recognize the election results.

In January, local union elections were promised. Again the opposition won a majority, again the results were not recognized by the union. Meanwhile opposition activists were being fired and forced to resign. On April 10, the workers organized a hunger strike, lying on cots in front of the Reynosa city hall, with regular demonstrations of their supporters. The army occupied the plaza, and on April 17, the police dragged off the hunger strikers to the local hospital.

'FOREIGN COMPETITION' IS BIG CAPITAL

Though the Zenith workers may have been temporarily defeated, they are showing us in their struggle where this "foreign competition" really comes from — Big Capital, be it U.S. or other, and its insatiable thirst for ever greater profits and lower wages. Those in the forefront opposing it are the very workers who, far from "taking our jobs," are fighting right now against such super exploitation on their side of the border, while on our side of the border the battle heats up in Toledo.

Add these two events to the fact that the U.S. government, Republican and Democrat alike, has not succeeded in its long attempt to get American labor to turn against the undocumented immigrant worker as a scapegoat for unemployment, as it further unleashes its racist INS factory raids with the recent Supreme Court ruling and looks to pass its anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli Bill.

Also in New York, workers imprisoned by the INS in its new detention center on Varick St. dared to go on a hunger strike May 1, in the face of intimidation and threats of immediate deportation. That gives you a picture of where the impetus is coming from that will tear down these borders that have too long divided us as working people.

'Changes mean nothing in Dominican Republic'

New York, N.Y. — "The Dominican people are quiet now. The government, as a result of the April rebellion, raised the minimum wage of 125 Pesos a month (\$40 U.S.) to 150 Pesos. That is nothing! Then they started mobile subsidized food stores for the poor neighborhoods. Do you know the lines in front of them are miles long? You have to get in line at dawn to get a chance. These changes mean nothing! Things are quiet for now, but that is even more serious, because the Dominican people endure and endure but can explode at any moment. It was like that in 1965."

So said a Dominican worker in New York of the events following the three day rebellion over International Monetary Fund — imposed (IMF) food and medicine price increases. As thousands of troops patrolled the country and the National Police occupied the offices of the union centrals, five union centrals called for a "march against hunger" for May 1, to start in the poorest neighborhoods in the north of the capital, where street fighting had been fiercest. The government response was promises on the one hand, such as the miserable wage increase and food stores; and on the other hand, threats that they "could not guarantee the safety" of the march — presumably at the hands of its own military and police.

The unions called off the march at the last minute, instead calling on the people to stay home and drap their doors in black, while they went to the National Palace to meet with President Jorge Blanco, who praised their "good will" and promised to meet with them every month to "maintain a direct dialogue on the situation of the working class." His latest move has been a show of "breaking off negotiations" with the IMF.

The New York Dominican worker concluded: "All over Latin America the people are in revolt. And in the Dominican Republic, where the people have a long history of struggle, it's quiet today. How long do you think that will last?"

Utah protest opposes U.S. intervention

Salt Lake City, Utah — About 400 people gathered at the State Capitol for a rally and march, May 19, to protest the growing threat of U.S. intervention in Central America as well as Reagan's drive towards the brink of nuclear holocaust.

The speakers included an Iranian whose solidarity with the American movement and Central American revolutions was not separated from his own country's struggle for freedom. Another Middle Eastern woman spoke of her participation in the anti-nuke movement in England's Greenham Common. She said that with so many struggling around the world "we'll make it."

The high point for me was meeting a Cuban exile who had been forced to come to this country in 1980. He told me that he had graduated from the university in Cuba and then, as part of his mandatory two year service to the government, was sent to Ethiopia to fight against the Eritrean movement for self-determination. This upset him as he had once been taught to respect the Eritrean struggle while in Cuba.

He returned to Cuba and, with other friends from the university, attempted to publish a book on the situation but they were arrested and jailed. He said his disillusionment with the revolution grew as he saw opposing ideas were not allowed.

He expressed Cuban that "too many are trying to use the Third World. The Cuban need the Nicaraguan revolution could be dangerous. The U.S. is trying a divide-and-conquer strategy in the region. The question is how to find an independent road?"

The dialogue with this Cuban reminded me of the Youth column in the May N&L which discussed shortcomings in the Solidarity movement when, in protesting U.S. imperialism, the issue of "what comes after?" is not discussed. If we are really for the American revolution, but leave that so abstract as to only oppose U.S. foreign policy, I'm doubtful that we will develop our solidarity with the Central American and anti-nuke movements to the point where we do make it to a new human society.

50,000 Puerto Ricans oppose U.S. war games

On April 29, up to 50,000 pro-independence demonstrators in Puerto Rico marched to protest use of their island for U.S. "war games" aimed at Nicaragua, and for storage of nuclear weapons. Organized by the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), it was joined by members of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party and other groups. It was the largest Left demonstration in years. Ruben Barrios, President of the PIP, stated: "Today independentistas tell the empire that we will not allow them to send even one Puerto Rican against our Nicaraguan brothers. Where are the jails they will need to put all the Puerto Rican patriots who will refuse to fight?"

Meanwhile, Ocean Venture '84, an "exercise" by 30,000 NATO troops, was taking place in and around Puerto Rico. The island of Vieques, where a simulated "invasion" took place including dropping "practice" bombs, has civilian population of 11,000 people. The Vieques Fishermen Association has long fought these U.S. military exercises. Fisherman Rafael Ayala was arrested May 3 and held indefinitely for violating an injunction prohibiting entering the Navy's restricted areas during military exercises.



Workers at the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Guatemala City have won their campaign for union recognition (See May N&L). After sitting in the plant since February, when management attempted to close it, the workers reached an agreement on May 26, in Costa Rica. The negotiations were made with the local and United States Coca-Cola corporation representatives. The plant will reopen in July with a new owner, and the workers will be paid to continue to occupy and maintain the plant. They are guaranteed jobs when the plant reopens as well as union recognition. In addition, Coca-Cola is setting up a fund for the widows of the workers who were slain during the organizing drive at the plant from 1978 to 1980.

LA demonstration against Simpson-Mazzoli bill

Los Angeles, Cal. — Two demonstrations here during the month of May showed how closely interwoven are the aspirations for freedom, peace, and freedom of the people of this city with the freedom struggles and aspirations of the people of Latin America.

On Mother's Day, Sunday, May 13, a coalition of women's groups and Central American solidarity organizations sponsored a "Mothers March for Peace," in solidarity with the "mothers of the disappeared" throughout Latin America, who have been marching against military dictatorship and demanding an accounting of their "disappeared" sons, daughters, husbands, sisters, brothers.

Fully half of the several hundred participants in the march were from countries of Central and South America — Guatemala, El Salvador, Argentina, Chile. Those who had lost a relative to government-sponsored "disappearance," murder, or war wore white headscarves and banded pots, as is the practice in the demonstrations in their countries. American women who had lost a relative in the wars and police killings in this country were also invited to march in front, with white scarves. The feelings and the determination of the marchers was very strong.

The following week, May 19, saw another march and rally, this time against the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill passed last year by the Senate and due for consideration by the House of Representatives. If Simpson-Mazzoli passes, it will mean a stepped-up deportation of Central American exiles from this country, back to their lands of disappearances and death.

Such deportations happen now. TACA airlines has taken over the "death flights" to El Salvador, after protests forc-

ed first Western and then Mexicana Airlines out of the business. But the cornerstone of Simpson-Mazzoli is sanctions against employers hiring "illegals," depriving Central Americans and Mexicans of any chance of earning a livelihood.

At the same time that the proposed employer sanctions would be spelled out as discrimination against all Latino workers, foreshadowing as well a national identity card system, Simpson-Mazzoli also has provisions for a "temporary workers program" for bringing in foreign workers without protection of U.S. labor laws. The Roybal bill, touted by many as a "progressive" alternative to Simpson-Mazzoli, is without the implications of a national identity system, but nonetheless places emphasis on strengthening border patrols nonetheless human beings dubbed "illegals."

Jesse Jackson, campaigning for the June 5 California primary, headed the march, which was a genuine, exciting, high-spirited "rainbow coalition" of thousands of Blacks, whites, Latinos and Asians. By the time the march reached the rally site of City Hall it had grown considerably, as passers-by and downtown shoppers joined the ranks.

Jackson got his biggest applause when he told the rally that "Mexican workers don't drain the U.S. economy, they have subsidized this economy," and "We don't just need a new president, we need a totally new direction."

Whether or not Jackson offers that "totally new direction," what is clear is that there is a hunger for a vision of liberation that transcends national boundaries and opens pathways to comradeship and self-development for peoples both here and south of our border.

— Marxist-Humanist

ON OUR DRAFT PERSPECTIVES — FIGHTING RONALD REAGAN: STRIKE-BREAKER, WORLD OUTLAW

I agree with your headline that "Ronald Reagan is a strike-breaker." He is trying to make people think that everything is rosy now, but look at what is happening to the workers in Toledo and at Phelps Dodge in Arizona. Reagan says nothing; he sanctions the police and National Guard violence against working people. I think that if more of these worker confrontations with management and with the police reach the news media, people will see the difference between that and Reagan's campaign commercials.

Angry Californian

The recent deaths of Ford workers at Rouge and Wixom are the fruit of Reagan's policies. It began with PATCO, and it has hit home in all industries now. GM has 10,000 robots in its plants. It was a robot that killed the worker at Wixom. To me that means there are 10,000 potential murderers in GM's plants. Overtime is another killer, and when there are no jobs, it's insane.

The only industry I know that is growing in employment today is the guard industry. They give you \$3.50 an hour, a gun, and no benefits. The owner is protected from the desperate, you risk your life, and he makes off with the money. In the sit-down strikes, they threw managers over the fence. We should do that with Reagan at the White House.

John Allison
Detroit

I am on layoff now from a non-union construction job, with little hope of going back. I worked since Jan. in a masonry shop here in Brunswick, making pre-fabricated brick walls. Sounds crazy, but that's what we made. Entire brick walls, some of them 40 feet by 20 feet, built inside of a huge welded frame, then trucked to the jobsite to be installed.

This is a new trend in masonry I hear, because the walls are made on an assembly line in a non-union shop. As usual the workers do not benefit from the new method one bit.

One of my best impressions from the job was that workers are as ready to organize as ever, if the organizing is done from a rank-and-file perspective. Many of my co-workers were former union members, and they all talked about the "good old days" of higher wages, with some pretty good conditions. They all realized that those days are gone, and to them the economic future looks bleak.

I was able to do quite a bit of talking and listening in the couple of months I was there, and my faith in the working class has been really reinforced. Political, union-oriented discussions with workers are so easy, as long as you ease into the subject and refrain from a salesman's approach.

Subscriber
Brunswick, Ohio

I have eleven years seniority at Rouge Steel. When they laid off people with two years seniority, I wasn't worried. When they laid off people with five years, I wasn't worried. I got really worried when people with nine years were getting laid off.

Each time we give Ford concessions, they lay some people off. It started in 1978. If the steel workers give up concessions in their contracts, Rouge Steel will come around and say we want to open up your contract for more breaks. They are putting people out of work. The unemployment lines get longer than the factory lines. Sooner or later, the unemployed are going to want some of it, and they'll come into this factory and occupy it.

Rouge Steel worker
Detroit

The Draft Perspectives (May N&L) were accurate about even profitable firms now demanding permanent pay cuts and about what the word "competitive" means. Jewel Food Stores in Chicago unilaterally lowered wages in the middle of a contract, contending that the high wages put it at a competitive disadvantage with the discount and no-frills stores. Afterward workers at Dominick's and Eagle stores were forced to accept a wage freeze until the suit which the union has filed against Jewel is decided. Meanwhile, of course, Jewel's profits have continued to climb.

Regular reader
Chicago

Ronald Reagan is a "world outlaw." It is proved everywhere he goes. I felt very proud when I saw thousands of Irish marchers denouncing Reagan's mass murder policies in Central America, and declaring their support for liberation movements in El Salvador and Guatemala. When you think that Galway is a little city of 25,000, it is amazing that 5,000 turned out to protest Reagan. There were even priests and nuns, some of whom must have been to Central America and seen it themselves.

For once Reagan's rhetoric didn't work. He came to pose as a "native son" looking for his genealogical roots, but the people were interested in the real crisis of the here and now — including 20% unemployment in Ireland.

Irish-American
Michigan

After reading the Draft Perspectives, I felt it was important to grapple with the Iran-Iraq War with the sense of objectivity that has absorbed subjectivity as it was discussed there. Reagan says he is for freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf, but not in Nicaragua. In Iran there was no May Day holiday this year. Instead there were new labor laws and attacks on women. The discussion of Mao in the Perspectives made me think about Khomeini. You can see a lot of Mao in his attempt to re-mold minds. He sees both genuine Marxism and the masses as his opposition.

Iranian activist
San Francisco

You wake up in the morning, turn on your TV and try to guess what new crisis will be told. Will Reagan send U.S. troops to Lebanon or Nicaragua, Grenada or the Persian Gulf? The Persian Gulf outcry at the State Department makes me sick. They didn't say anything while hundreds of thousands of Iranian and Iraqi youth were being slaughtered, but they scream loud and long when their barrels of oil are delayed or spilled.

Black worker
Detroit

BLACK MOVEMENT'S IMPACT . . .

One of the things that is most striking to me about the Jesse Jackson campaign is the way in which Jackson himself has been radicalized by the movement. I remember him from a few years ago, when he headed Operation PUSH in Chicago and preached about women staying in the home to make sure their children went to school every day in clean clothes (little girls in dresses and boys in suits), and that the children learned to respect authority in the home, school, and society.

Now he speaks all the time about women's rights, and far from stressing "respect for the forces of authority," he is challenging many "authorities" of this society. There is no doubt that he is saying some revolutionary things, and yet he stops so far short of opening up the idea of social revolution.

Feminist revolutionary
Los Angeles



. . . AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION'S CRITIQUE

Sunday night at the restaurant where I work they gave the waitresses a new uniform with a scoop-back tank-top leotard. We had to start wearing it the very next day, but I put a blouse over it because it was freezing and rainy and I had a cold and had to hand out fliers outdoors.

My boss told me to take off the blouse and then to take off my bra. Then she told me if I didn't I could just go home, so I did. Why should I be out there freezing? If I have to sell my flesh, I might as well hook.

No longer employed
Chicago

The May 11 anti-rape rally in Detroit really fell on its face in some ways because the NOW, UAW and City of Detroit self-appointed leaders did little or no publicity among the schoolgirls and mothers who

Readers' View

did the organizing in their neighborhoods against rape in the last few months. Nevertheless, among those few hundred who did turn out, the most passionate response came from the youth there, many of whom were in junior high school.

One 14-year old girl was enraged about the rapes of schoolgirls that have been taking place, but her rage was also toward the attitude to youth in her high school, where students have to wear I.D. tags every day, and where teachers act as if the youth can't think.

Participant
Detroit



NATIVE AMERICA'S ONGOING STRUGGLES

There are now over 71 indictments in Washington and Oregon against native people for fishing their own waters. They face felony and conspiracy charges, with huge fines and possible imprisonment, under the notorious Black Bass Lacey Act. This a covert conspiracy designed by the Federal and State governments to circumvent recent court decisions favorable to Native Americans.

In Michigan, a similar struggle has gone on for a full 10 years, ever since Judge Noel Fox ruled that Ojibway and Ottawa people have treaty rights to fish in northern Lake Michigan and eastern Lake Superior without interference. The campaign of vandalism and violence against Indians that followed the decision seems to have abated this year, and more Indian families are going into commercial fishing. For more information on support for those arrested in the Pacific Northwest, contact:

Northwest Indian Women's Circle
PO Box 8051
Tacoma, WA 98408

We were so glad to hear about the court decision that Leonard Peltier can apply for a new trial, after more than six years in prison for a crime he did not commit. It turns out that the bullet which was in the trunk of the dead FBI agents' car (which was supposed to match his gun) wasn't from his gun at all. The FBI documents that said that were suppressed by the prosecution.

My brother went to see him in prison, and he says it was like Christmas there when the news came. But there's still a long way to go before he gets freed.

Shainape Shcapwe
Detroit

YOUTH'S REBELLIOUS IDEAS . . .

Most people don't talk about what's going on in the world. There is a group of elite seniors who act like they know about the current events, but they don't have insight into political oppression or anything like that.

As for Reagan's "squeal rule," I always thought it stank. It's a hundred percent unconstitutional, but what does the constitution mean anyway? I would have been directly affected by it if it were not killed. My American history teacher told us that they only make laws for people eighteen and older. That is, they only answer to the people who elected them, but that much isn't even always true anymore.

High School woman
Michigan

I'm seventeen. All the time I was growing up, I was told to shut up when some kind of discussion was going on. All I wanted to do is express my opinion. It brings me back to that saying: "children and teenagers are to be seen and not heard." Why is this? When a doctor's diagnosis is wrong, you sue them for malpractice. Why can't we sue our parents for malpractice in parenthood?

My way of thinking has been changing. I'm more open to other things, including my choice of friends, their religions, race and color. Parents' prejudices against religions, race are just a few of the reasons for the gaps in communication.

Woman teenager
Oklahoma City, Okla.

In the capitalists' attack against U.S. workers, one obstacle is the minimum wage, won by labor struggles in the 1930s. But Ronald Reagan, strike-breaker, is trying to destroy it by attacking the youth first with a proposed law known in Reagan speak as the "Youth Employment Opportunity Wage Act." It would extend to 16-to-19-year olds what other workers have been experiencing — the "opportunity" to earn lower wages — by legalizing a sub-minimum wage of \$2.50 an hour. He says it will create jobs, but I say it's just one more way of lowering our standard of living.

Subscriber
Chicago

. . . AND THE REVOLUTIONARY FORCE OF PHILOSOPHY

What is so interesting about your Draft Perspectives is its refusal to separate the analysis of the objective situation, especially the horror of Ronald Reagan, from what you call subjectivity. But I was wondering about the way subjectivity is broken down in the article. You speak of two kinds of subjectivity — of masses in motion struggling for total freedom — and a voluntarist kind of subjectivity of misleaders who substitute themselves for masses in motion.

However, it seemed to me another kind of subjectivity emerged as well when you traced Marxist-Humanism's development in three major writings through three decades of world events. Isn't there this third kind of subjectivity, that of a revolutionary grouping which rather than being vanguardist helps to bring forth what the masses are doing, their revolutionary subjectivity. At the same time because of a global and historic view, it can actually push the movement forward.

When the revolutionary subjectivity of masses in motion is interpenetrated with this third kind of subjectivity of a revolutionary philosophic action group, then isn't that the time when one can truly transform objectivity? Or translated, isn't this the pathway whereby we can really get rid of Ronald Reagan in way which doesn't allow his kind ever to come back into power?

Philosophy student
Michigan

The Draft Perspectives discusses the need for a new relation of theory to practice, and then shows how to practice such a new relation by examining the way News and Letters Committees responded to world events of the 1980s, beginning with 1979 and the revolution in Iran.

The task of seeing to it that 1984-85 becomes not a year of counter-revolution, but of new revolutions "on the unified field of theory-practice" is not an easy job, but, as Marx told us, history does not pose problems that it is incapable of resolving. I think the Draft Perspectives emphasizes the need for us to break from old routines, break from intellectual sloth, break from the tendency to fasten on a set of conclusions, and instead creatively develop philosophy.

Subscriber
Los Angeles

News and Letters Committees must be the only socialist group on earth that reviews Marx's contributions each time it sets out to decide on what to do for the next year. The reflections on Marx are fascinating in themselves, and I find the whole procedure a real one-of-a-kind thing.

Not-so-old politico
Massachusetts

Thank you for printing that magnificent quote from Antonio Gramsci in your Thesis. When it said that the philosopher "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," I felt he was speaking to me. We always say someone is "an armchair philosopher," or that he is "a tireless activist." Why shouldn't those two meet in one human being? Incidentally, did you quote that passage to explain how News and Letters Committees sees its own role?

Student
Oakland, Calif.

WHAT HAPPENED IN TOLEDO — WORKERS' VIEWPOINTS

I was down on the AP picket line in Toledo a week after 4000 workers battled police in the streets, to cover the story for News & Letters. While the spirit of the workers had not diminished, despite the court injunction limiting the number of picketers, it was at a local bar where workers from every factory and shop in the area gathered that you saw, heard and felt the "indignant heart" of the American working class.

When workers from AP, Jeep, Teledyne, Dana, Sun Oil and numerous other plants get off they stop by the bar to eat, talk about what's happening in the world, and especially what is happening at their own plant.

Hanging over the bar is a whole array of caps from the various unions, with the latest joke being an old WW II gas mask suspended in the middle of the collection of caps with a sign on it reading: "AP Parts Hard-Hat!" Workers have also decorated one of the beams over the bar with their old grievances from AP. Bar policy provides striking AP workers with food and beer at half price.

We had gone to Toledo to show workers the story we had recorded from our discussions with them. When we left the bar, the workers who had brought us there with them so that we could talk with other workers told us how much they appreciated the way we had covered their strike. "You guys from News & Letters have been better than anyone else because you really listened to us and got the story down in our words."

Lou Turner
Detroit

You want to know how we heard about the demonstration on Monday (May 21)? My daughter told me. She's ten years old. A ten-year-old friend of hers whose daddy works at AP told her, "something's going to be happening there."

What happened was a membership rally. The union didn't do it, and they don't have any right to say they did. It was so spontaneous that no one knew what was happening. When the shift changes at American Motors, the news goes around. We went to show everyone: "You guys have support world-wide."

It was in my interest to be there. My son should be able to get an apprenticeship when he gets old enough to work. If he works in a Burger King or pushes buttons, how do

they expect him to buy a vehicle?

Jeep skilled tradesman
Toledo, Ohio

The UAW at Jeep were viewed as leaders of the rally at AP. We had been on alert ever since the previous week. People were waiting for when the signal would be given down the line. For days they had been pressing to hear it. The plan was to spread it along the assembly lines to people who were forewarned.

People are trying to send a message that unions have to draw a line. People are ready and willing to do it. True to American history, it will take a violent confrontation to get that kind of publicity. We haven't heard any response from the union officials yet, but I get another response: People ask me every day, "Is today the day we go back to AP?"

Jeep chief steward
Toledo, Ohio

When I heard how the workers in Toledo were fighting the police for protecting the scabs that were taking their jobs away, I wished so much that I could be there to join them. I feel just the way these workers feel — that a scab is the lowest form of life that exists on this earth.

When a scab comes down the street men turn their backs and angels weep in heaven, and the devil shuts the gates of hell to keep him out. No man has a right to scab as long as there is a pool of water deep enough to drown him in, or a rope long enough to hang his carcass with. Judas Iscariot was a gentleman compared to a scab. For betraying his master, he had the character to hang himself — a scab hasn't.

A worker who knows his class
Kentucky

Yesterday I was selling N&L at the unemployment office and a UAW member laid-off from GM Norwood who bought the paper got to talking about the AP Parts strike in Toledo. He told me that "they're doing what we all should have done." And he said that when and if he gets called back he "hopes to be able to bring that spirit in to the shop and the local." He wants to talk more about the views in N&L.

Marxist-Humanist
Cincinnati, Ohio

the parties took the arms away from the people. If the Dominican people had guns and pistols like are available in the U.S., do you think we wouldn't have made a revolution by now?"

Dominican worker
New York City

OUR COVERAGE OF AFRICA

Your coverage of Africa in N&L is excellent. I especially like the way you have not forgotten the Black Consciousness Movement ideas and struggles. The statement in the last issue from them on the treaty between South Africa and Mozambique was exactly the kind of critique that is helpful now. The other thing I appreciate is the fact that you don't consider "independent" Africa as a sphere where the battle is over. In fact, it needs to begin again, and this time it will have to sweep away the fakers and parasites who were born in Africa, but left it in mind. They work hand and glove with U.S. imperialism.

I should say "imperialism," period, because Russia's support of the Ethiopian dictatorship is important also. Without Russian backing they would never have been able to stop the Eritrean liberation struggle from total victory.

African liberation activist
New Jersey

BRITISH MINERS AND THEORY

Things are starting to buzz over here with the miners being the primary movers, but there has been developing for some time a rupture within the ruling class corresponding to the deepening crisis. This crisis is also mirrored by the left. There is such a serious gulf of ideas on the left on the relationship between activity and thinking as an activity, that there is a profound pessimism permeating the ranks of socialists. It is as if theory is a game played between the periods of intense class struggle activity.

Reader
London

EDITORIAL

U.S. imperialism out of the Gulf!
Stop the Iraq-Iran genocidal war!

The latest intensification of the Iraq-Iran war is the most serious since Iraq's invasion of Iran triggered that war four years ago. Can it become the actual flash-point for a nuclear confrontation between the super-powers? This cannot be ruled out. Today the threat has been fired up by Khomeini's declaration that June 5 is an "epic day." That this does not refer to the actual 1979 revolution, but to the religious demonstration against the Shah in 1963 when Khomeini was expelled from Iran, should not be lost on revolutionaries who might have any illusions left about the Islamic revolution.

On the other hand, there is an accumulation of other facts in this lengthy, bloody, barbaric, stale-mated war which points to its continuing regional character.

Thus, despite all the threats of Iraq's ruler, Hussein, to destroy Iran's chief oil depot, Kharg Island, he has not gone all out at that spot, although he has Exocet missiles and superior air power, has degenerated to using mustard gas and has attacked individual targets, even when these tankers belong to his main benefactor, Saudi Arabia. This tyrant who had deluded himself that the invasion would bring a quick victory soon learned that when a country has gone through a revolution, as Iran had, such tremendous new energies manifest themselves — even as the revolution is being turned into its opposite and the crisis at home is already evident — that it will defend itself from attack.

Hussein was thus compelled to increase his dependency on Saudi Arabia, which has been sending him endless money since its rulers, too, had learned to fear a revolutionary upheaval in their own country after Iran had encouraged the occupation of Mecca. Hussein has also had the support of the Gulf emirates. He is now attempting to instigate super-power intervention — hopefully on his side.

Herein is the rub. The super-powers want neither Iraq nor Iran to win. They will not allow them to decide where the nuclear confrontation will begin.

It is true that Ronald Reagan was all too willing to jump at that opportunity. The impotence of the U.S. imperialist Behemoth has never been clearer than since Reagan's fiasco in Lebanon. Thus, despite the massive Navy armada in the Gulf, despite the Rapid Deployment Force established by Carter, despite Reagan's all-too-eager, unsolicited offer to come to the "defense" of the Gulf states, none would take the bait. So hated is U.S. imperialism in the Middle East that even his imperialist friends in the Gulf region had to reject the offer because all too obvious were the global strings attached to this "aid" — the request for U.S. bases in the region. Reagan had to take a step back and settle for sending 400 Stinger missiles.

Even that he had to do without asking for the consent of Congress. It is not for any human reasons that Congress does not want to send troops to the Middle East. Rather, it is because Russia has made it clear that it is not intervening in that war and is not looking for any confrontation with the U.S. at that spot, at this moment. In a word — as true imperialists but not as trigger-happy as Reagan — the U.S. Congress will not allow Iran and Iraq to decide where the U.S.-Russia confrontation will take place.

WHAT THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR COST IN HUMAN LIVES:
THE MIDDLE-EAST NOW

One million lives have been lost and more than another million are disabled, diseased, famished. In Iran alone over 2,000,000 have been left homeless. Nothing stops these bloody rulers. At this very moment 300,000 Iranian troops are massed for attack and if there is such an attack Iraq promises to destroy Kharg Island.

The super-powers look on and want neither side to emerge as victor. That is the reason this war has remained regional. It is true that Oil is crucial to the whole West — to the U.S. less so than the rest of Europe, and to Western Europe only a little less than to Japan. But the most that they are willing to do at the moment can be seen from the hints by Japan (which has an open line to both Iraq and Iran) that it will try to get a joint statement from the six powers now meeting in London asking for a cease-fire. The question is: Why?

The truth is that the Middle East has so many trouble spots that it is no longer possible to call anything the lifeline. Ever since the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon, that has become the test, not only for the imperialists but for the entire Left. Because that revolution remained unfinished, nothing — absolutely nothing — in the Middle East could be decisive without asking the question: Whither Lebanon?

Thus, although Syria had the illusion that it won — and in an immediate sense it did — the PLO didn't think it had lost, because Lebanon remained its "home" base. And if Israel deluded itself that the neo-fascist Gemayel victory meant that it had a "friend", that was the greatest of all illusions because it prompted them to undertake the 1982 genocidal invasion of Lebanon. At this point, that war was not only disastrous for Lebanon but proved to be devastating for Israel itself, which now finds itself wracked with internal strife and sinking into ever-greater degeneracy.

Finally, despite Syria's victory, Syria itself is so unsure of how long its domination of Lebanon will last, that it is not excluding a deal with the U.S. — not alone in Lebanon, but in the Iraq-Iran war.

What, then, are we, as revolutionaries, to do? First and foremost, everything possible, must be done to stop the Iraq-Iran war, and, as American revolutionaries, it is imperative to stop any intervention by U.S. imperialism. These two principles — stopping the war and keeping U.S. imperialism from intervening — go hand in hand with clearing our heads on the fundamentals, that is on the revolutionary goals of creating a new, human society. Isn't it high time — indeed, way beyond high time — to dig deeply into the question of why the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon remained unfinished? It certainly is no academic question. The fact that the Left has not met the test of that Civil War for a full decade has resulted in the totality of the crisis now, which confronts us with the possibility of a nuclear holocaust that will put an end to civilization as we have known it. The only way to end the horrors all around us is through genuine, social revolution.

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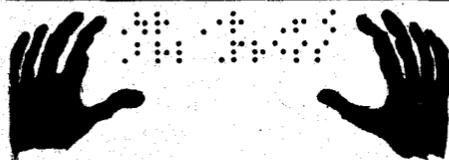
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DOMINICAN MEMORIES

If Balaguan had not in his 12 years in power killed off 400-500 of the best Dominican youth, we would have been out of this situation a long time ago. In '65 the people — men, women and children, a lot of women died fighting in '65 — started with sticks and stones and ended up with tanks! We had the military by the throat, that's why they yelled "Communist!" so the U.S. Marines would come to their help. And still the revolution dragged on for a year. But

BLACK-RED VIEW

The Brown decision: decades of struggle

by John Alan

"Only when people themselves begin to act are rights on paper given life blood . . ." —Martin Luther King

Thirty years ago the U.S. Supreme Court in the historic Brown vs. Board of Education decision ended the "separate-but-equal" doctrine that had dominated the Court's legal position toward Black Americans since 1896. In setting aside this odious doctrine that gave judicial sanction to the practice of racial discrimination, Chief Justice Earl Warren concluded that "In the field of public education the doctrine of separate-but-equal has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal", thus casting into limbo all other practices of "separate-but-equal".

It is unfortunate that many of those that commemorate the Brown decision have focused their remarks on the legal aspects of the case, how it has succeeded or failed over the decades, saying little or nothing about the two decades of Black mass activity that literally prepared the group for the 1954 decision.

The one person who seemed to have some indication that the decision of the Court was caused by forces beyond the Court and the legal profession is Paul Wilson, the former assistant attorney general of Kansas who was on the losing side. Wilson told the *New York Times*: "I really did not see how the decision could have been otherwise — history had simply overtaken the law". (My emphasis)

Indeed the history of the two decades that preceded 1954 was one of radical changes in Black mass activity and consciousness that was only later surpassed by the Civil Rights Movement and the urban mass revolts of the 1960s. It was during those decades, while the Supreme Court was finding it prudent to be bounded by the "separate-but-equal" doctrine, that Black masses were challenging and cracking the racial structure of American society; upsetting, wherever they could, the racist equilibrium that it wanted to establish.

TWO DECADES OF BLACK MASS ACTIVITY

The 1930s witnessed a major transformation in the relationship between Black labor and white labor, beginning with the formation of the CIO. Not only did Blacks become an integral part of organized labor, they were crucial to the rise and the success of the CIO. At the same time, Black workers contested racism both within the unions and the factories.

Outside of the CIO the severity of the Depression caused the spontaneous growth of a Black movement called Jobs For Negroes Campaign that used direct action methods of picketing and boycotting to compel white merchants doing business in the Black ghetto to hire Black workers. This movement started in Chicago but soon appeared under various names in every major city. Of course such a movement alone could not solve the ills of unemployment. It did, however, serve notice to Roosevelt's New Deal that Blacks were not going to permit the old disadvantages and discrimination to remain intact.

Mass activity was directed against restrictive covenants that kept Blacks locked in the most undesirable section of the cities at the mercy of the landlords. Mass support was given to the Scottsboro case to prevent legal lynching, while the activity of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union virtually led an underground existence. And not the least among this Black mass activity was the March On Washington Movement that put American civilization on trial during World War II.

The March on Washington Movement combined the negative attitude that Blacks had toward U.S. imperialism's involvement in World War II and a militant demand for racial equality. It was universally felt, as proclaimed by the Chicago Defender, "that Negroes had their 'Own War' at home against oppression and exploitation", and that the disparity between the idea of freedom and the practice of so-called American democracy had to be resolved first.

Although the 1941 March on Washington did not materialize — a choice of the leaders and not the masses — it, nevertheless, was a genuine spontaneous movement of large masses of Blacks engaged in political protest at a time of war. Its significance was not the magnitude of its successes (it did open holes in the walls of segregation that never could be sealed again) but its existence as the self-movement and self-development of an oppressed people in the act of transforming racial conditions of inequality in this country. It was that which eventually found its fullest expression in the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.

THE BROWN DECISION — THEN AND NOW

We should know that the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court did not end segregated schools. Linda Brown, in whose interest the school litigation was started, recalled recently that "it was not the quick fix we thought it would be." E.D. Nixon, one of the original leaders of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, said that "we thought that the problem was over until we took the children to the school and the police pushed us out, that's when our feet hit the ground. We found that if we wanted to really integrate, we were going to have to fight for it. It was from this that the idea of boycott grew."

What must be emphasized is that any serious assessment as to the degree of Black freedom in history, in the present and in the future, is unrealistic without grasping how central the activity and thought of the Black masses are in its achievement.

Czech anti-nuke activist: "No mutilated Europe"

Editor's Note: Zdena Tomin is a Czech writer who is a part of the Czechoslovakian human rights group Charter 77. She is now in exile and active in the European Nuclear Disarmament movement. The following are excerpts from a talk she gave earlier this year to an anti-nuclear group.

Our movement faces constant harassment and persecution, but that hasn't succeeded in breaking the movement. There are now 1,200 involved, with more signatures coming. Two years ago Charter 77 opened itself to dialogue with Western peace movements even though we are a human rights movement.

Nine months after entering Britain in 1980 I lost my Czechoslovakian citizenship, and cannot return. Having lived in both parts of the world, I have no illusions about either. I feel human rights, freedom, democracy and peace are two sides of the same thing. We cannot have lasting peace without basic freedoms.

I was in Prague when the tanks came. The first week after the Soviet invasion (in 1968) was one of the best I have ever lived. I was proud of being Czech, it showed me what non-violent resistance of a people can do. In that week unarmed people in the hundreds of thousands were surrounding the Soviet tanks, talking to the soldiers in their own language. It was the only time we wanted to speak Russian. We said don't you see we want socialism of our own kind, a democratic socialism? I have seen Russian soldiers weeping with frustration. Everyone was helping everyone.

We were winning because no amount of tanks and soldiers could kill us. After a week the Communist Party leaders signed a capitulation, for they had no faith in us and that broke it. I say this to show why I'm deeply involved with the Western peace movement. Having been made stateless, I am a citizen of Europe.

Many of my fellow Czech exiles have accused me of being a duke for Moscow, which is silly. In charter 77, we ask for something, not just against something. Even the German Democratic Republic was forced to admit SS-20s were deployed on our territory. This broke the lethargy for the first time since 1968. First the Charter 77 leaders were rounded up and told not to speak out, threatened with 10-15 year prison sentences. Then the government went around looking for support for deployment. Usually they take around petitions and people support them because it's easier. This time there were whole factories where the workers flatly refused. These were expressly political questions, and it is not easy to do this in Czechoslovakia or East Germany. The official CP paper had to print an editorial protesting the deployment. The protest was so widespread it was considered wiser to mention it.

There is a petition circulating in Czechoslovakia saying that we protest the deployment of all nuclear weapons in all of Europe. It is tremendously courageous, and it is protesting both sides' missiles. Over 2,000 signed this. Signing a petition with your name, address and your job takes great courage. Your whole life can change, your children may be punished, like the dissidents. This is the physical beginning of a peace movement.

Thousands of youth are adopting an anti-nuclear stance, and again saying peace, love, freedom — youth who don't even remember 1968, and when 99% of Czech writers have been banished. The youth are grouped around punk rock groups, with Czech lyrics that are actually protest songs. Last year we had two demonstrations of about 400 young people that were brutally broken, but they were calling for peace and for freedom.

I have a message for you. Please don't betray this overcoming of barriers in people's thinking, this growing awareness that is also of the East European movement. We can't live in a mutilated Europe.

One thing I feel is not enough understood is the fact that if we are opposing nuclear weapons, I think all must see that the nuclear threat comes out of the cold war. We must smash the cold war. We can't say let's have the freeze first.

The Communist Party calls their missiles "the workers' bomb." I am from a worker's family. I don't want a bomb. No workers want bombs.

Thatcher and apartheid

London, England — British capitalism thrives on racism, Thatcher particularly knows the profitability of British capital of South Africa. She has eagerly welcomed a visit by South Africa's fascist Prime Minister Pieter Botha.

The trading links with South Africa, the banks, the gold, the diamonds, even the exported coal (in the midst of the miners' strike) are as lucrative as ever. Thatcher will also conclude a spy plane deal on behalf of British Aerospace. The United Nations 1977 arms embargo can easily be bypassed by arguing that the aircraft will be used as part of civil authority in coast guard work.

The depth of hypocrisy in Thatcher's racist Britain was again shown when a white South African athlete, Zola Budd, was immediately given British citizenship, as a guest of the very rightwing newspaper *The Daily Mail*. The British authorities have bent over backwards to make sure she could be on the British Olympic team. And at this very time a British Rugby team is touring white South African clubs and this may lead to Britain being banned from the next Commonwealth Games, as there is a ban on tours of South Africa.

The fact is, however, that South Africa's apartheid rules, that Thatcher wants to uphold, were set up by the British so that they could keep control of the land. And British capital, today, continues to govern South Africa's daily affairs. Thatcher's Britain drips with the blood of exploited Black labor.

For over 20 years the British ruling class had been frightened of inviting a South African Prime Minister here, though a lot of politicians (including a Labour Party visit in the mid-1970s) happily visit South Africa. Thatcher's cheeky invitation to Botha will be met by mass demonstrations. We will show her that fascists are not welcome here.

— Nigel Quinten

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*.

Toledo workers challenge Reagan: blockade plant, battle police

(continued from page 1).

another McDonnell-Douglass.

Many of us backed the cops when they were on strike last year. And look what they did on Monday. It was real police brutality. They beat people left and right, beat some bloody. They fired tear gas. You saw three cops beating on one worker, dragging him and hitting him.

One AP Parts worker left the rally after it was over and drove past the pickets and honked. The police followed him for about a mile, then stopped him, pulled him out of the car and beat and kicked him. They handcuffed him and beat him again, and called him names. They charged him with driving intoxicated and resisting arrest.

Another AP Parts worker got arrested in the street. They said he was throwing rocks. At the time the police were sending tear gas bombs into the crowd. I believe he was identified from the Knuckles shack camera on top of the plant. Knuckles has been photographing us, operating the gates, patrolling and looking for fights ever since the strike started. But on Monday, when we had 4,000 out here, they showed they are a bunch of wimps; they hid behind the police vans.

The press coverage of our strike has been the worst ever. You can't believe anything you read in the Toledo Blade. But the lowest thing they did was to print the names, ages and home addresses of the workers arrested on Monday in their paper. They are saying: you'll never work in Toledo again.

The day after the arrests, every one of us got a letter from Paul Putnam, the president of AP Parts, offering a reward for information leading to the arrest of workers who supposedly destroyed property and hurt people in the strike.

They say they will pay up to \$10,000 for this information. We call this the "Judas letter," and none of us are ever going to call their "Reward Line." Putnam said we are a "nameless and shameless mob." Well, they are the ones who are nameless and shameless. We don't even know who really owns the company. And then Putnam has the nerve to say he knows most of us personally. He sits up in his office. He wouldn't know me if he saw me on the street.

What we had down there at the rally Monday was union solidarity, like it should be. You had workers from Jeep and Dana and Teledyne and construction workers, all together. We didn't plan it. I was walking the picket line Monday morning — our regular shift — and when I went home that morning I had no idea 4,000 workers would show up to support us. I didn't even know there would be a rally. None of us did.

It was unity and brotherhood that brought people down there. Brothers, sisters, fathers, uncles. Everybody on strike here has people in these other plants, and they are worried that what happened here could happen to them. Yes, on Monday we put a railroad tie through a Knuckles truck and smashed up other things. We threw rocks to defend ourselves. We are fighting for our lives here.

"The reign of terror," March to May

Things had been building for three months before the contract ran out in early March. When they started negotiating in January, the company offered a package that included \$5.84 an hour taken out of wages and benefits. We had already given up \$1 an hour three years before, and now we were working six and seven days a week in overtime. We were looking to get some things back. The package they gave us was meant to change the whole agreement. When the contract ran out March 3, they just imposed their final offer.

About that time they hired Nuckols Inc. They put up stockades and they installed flood lights. They were planning on a strike from the beginning. They also began shipping machinery out to their non-union plant in North Carolina. They were all set for a long strike. They started taking applications from scabs.

We took a strike vote and voted to authorize a strike. But the union leadership said we could fight better from the inside. So on March 3 we held a big meeting and voted to go into the plant without a contract. That weekend they set up all the new security equipment outside the plant. They were ready for a strike. On March 6 they implemented their contract; they had "offered" us a 40% wage cut, no thirty-and-out, mandatory overtime. There was no posting on union bulletin boards. They started reprimanding people for "loafing." Often these were the hardest workers, and they were running 100% of production. But in that plant 100% production doesn't make it; they say they have to have 150-180% of production.

I never thought I'd see management become so evil; I think they were trying to get rid of us. They were writing people up for everything — you had to raise your hand to go to the john. There are some things that I just refuse to do, and that's one of them. I haven't raised my hand to go to the john since I was a kid, and I'm not about to start now. Even if they put us back to work, I won't come back because they treated us so inhumanly. There are just some things a human being can't do.

We stayed eight weeks under their conditions. They fired several of our people. Everybody got time off. I want to put in that all the good foremen, the ones sympathetic to us, got fired in this period. They didn't want to carry out the company's plans. There were about eight foremen who were fired, and they have been coming to the picket line during the strike.

Through this whole period of working without a contract, there were no negotiations. It was hell. That was a reign of terror.

On May 2 we walked out. We had demonstrations downtown at the company's building. They treated us like dogs, like immigrants. They want us to be like slave laborers.

End theft of Indian youth

On the Canadian radio show, "Our Native Land," I heard about a Manitoba Indian boy adopted over seven years ago by a white single man in North Dakota. The Child Protection Agency (CPA) accepted him as an adoptive parent because he was well-off. He took the boy home and abused him physically and mentally — raping him. After many years of this, the boy shot him. He was tried in the USA, found guilty of murder, and is now in prison. Manitoba Sioux are demanding that at least he be returned to Canada so they can look after him.

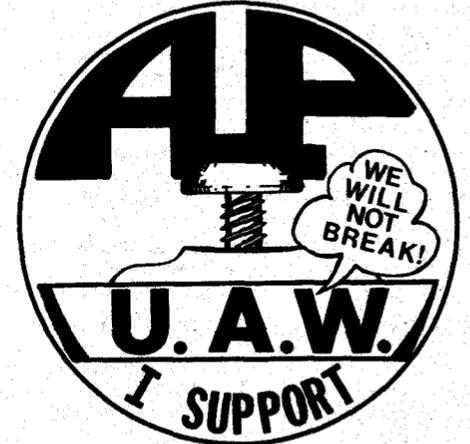
When I was growing up we used to hear the CPA putting out all these statistics. They attributed suicide rates among native people to our life style, to "slovenly living habits." The Public Health Service Indian Division doctors would often take babies from young girls and sell them. It wasn't just for the money; it was their attitude. When I was 11, I heard a doctor saying "Why would you let anyone live like that with those?"

The CPA always gave babies to white families; I never saw one go to a native family. It's more than just pushing people off the reservations; it's a genocidal policy. In the last few months, the CPA is saying they regret some mistakes they made. It's not from the charity of their hearts. It's from the attack on their policies by Native Canadian and Native American groups. We are demanding that they allow children to go to another Native home, that money not be the only thing considered. We are putting emphasis on Indian children knowing their own culture. It's good to see the agencies scared. We at least are making them do something a little different. — Shainape Shcapwe

The union even offered the company a package, not knowing whether they could even sell it to the membership, of \$3.40 an hour in concessions. But the company said no. The workers would have refused it, too.

There are only three women in the plant. But I want to say that all our wives picketed downtown, in our demonstrations. Last week a man who was on strike died. He had 27 years with this company. They wouldn't pay any benefits. All the company did was order flowers to be sent to the house. His wife and some other people took the flowers and brought them down to the picket line and threw them back over the fence and called the company murderers.

We held a rally for the strike at a park here in Toledo. One of the speakers was Baldemar Velasquez, the leader of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC). He told us: "Welcome to the bottom!" That is the truth. Have you ever seen the conditions of migrant workers? That is where we



are all going if we don't put a stop to these companies and the concessions.

The guys who walk around with slide-rules and calculators are making the decisions for this company. They don't listen to us. Now we are told we have to pay for their screw-ups. We will never agree to their concessions. You have to have something to live for, and that is why we won't give in. It says it right on our button: "We will not break!" Then came Monday.

One worker's story

One AP Parts worker was arrested two days after the Monday rebellion as AP, Nuckols and the Toledo police proceeded to bring in more strikebreaking scabs. Here is his story from an interview a few minutes before he was arrested.

I was the first to be fired at AP. They said the reason was because I was loafing. That meant that I couldn't keep up production as a welder after I had asked to be put on another job. Because they had suspended the contract we couldn't bid on jobs any more, so they made me work at a job that I had asked to be transferred from because of health reasons.

AP's main plant is in Goldsboro, North Carolina. It's non-union and AP is trying to make the Toledo plant non-union. For years AP made replacement parts, then in the 70s they switched over to major parts assembly with the Goldsboro plant. In 1977 they began lay-offs. Some people, like myself, were out as long as four years. By 1981 they were back up to full production making major assembly parts of the exhaust system of the car. It was after that that AP began to move to break the union.

That's why they prepared in advance for confrontation. They brought in a professional strikebreaking security outfit from Cincinnati; they built a guard house on top of the plant; and they built a second fence around the plant. What AP didn't expect when negotiations broke down was that we would continue to come to work rather than go out on strike right away. So we were still in the plant. That was when they started to harass us and come up with reasons to fire us.

I have worked at AP for 17 years, and like many workers here I had been in the service during the Vietnam War. From Nixon to Carter to Reagan, the situation for working people in this country has gotten worse. Nixon made us fight his war in Vietnam and Reagan wants us to fight more of them. I can't see fighting somebody else's war. The only fight I have is right here at home for myself and my family.

You see all these guys out here on this strike, this is our cause. Our fight is right here and we have been supported by workers from all over Toledo. Workers have come from Cleveland and Detroit because everybody sees that if we are going to stop what began when Reagan destroyed PATCO, labor is going to have to take a stand here in Toledo. After Reagan broke PATCO they went after the Greyhound workers. It's clear now that the next target is the UAW. If we don't stop them here we can forget it. Everybody understands that, that's why workers came from all over this city on Monday to support us.

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Story of 1934 Toledo Auto-Lite strike



Toledo, Ohio, 1934. Workers at the Auto-Lite company were on strike 4,000 strong fighting to get their union recognized by management and to win their first contract. A judge friendly to the company ordered that no more than 25 pickets could walk in front of the gates. Quickly the company brought in scabs until 1,800 were working inside and the strike seemed headed for failure.

But on May 7, 1,000 members of the Lucas County Unemployed League led by A.J. Muste showed that not only would they not scab, they would support the strikers. They broke the injunction and began mass picketing. Their numbers swelled to 6,000 by the third day and continued for two weeks.

When a bolt thrown by a scab sent a woman picket to the hospital on May 23, the pickets erupted, battling police tear gas, clubs and fire hoses with bricks and home-made slingshots. They forced the police to retreat and blockaded the scabs in the plant for 15 hours until they were rescued by the Ohio National Guard.

The next day the Guard fired into the crowd of strikers and supporters, killing two and wounding 25. But by then no force could stop the workers or keep them from victory. The company agreed to close the plants, and on June 1, 40,000 rallied at Lucas County Courthouse, where the unions of Toledo voted to call a general strike. On June 4, the company recognized the union and granted a first contract. Two years before Flint, Michigan made the CIO a reality, the Toledo Auto-Lite strike showed it could be done.

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BLACK WORLD**Literature and liberation**

(continued from page 1)

banned ANC (African National Congress) during the 1920s and 1930s.

Skota founded the ANC's newspaper *Abantu-Batho* and in the late 1920s made the radical call for the ANC to convene a Pan-African congress in South Africa with the aim of linking the Black struggle there with others in the Black world. Along with being author of *Nkosi Sikelela i Afrika*, the African national anthem, Skota is regarded as one of Black South Africa's early modern writers.

The chairman of Skotaville Publishing is Es'Kia Mphahlele, the South African essayist, novelist and teacher, who returned to South Africa in 1977 during the Black consciousness upsurge sparked by Soweto, after 20 years of exile. Upon his return to South Africa Mphahlele immediately recognized the new objective/subjective situation created by the Black Consciousness movement. He criticized the older political leaders for claiming that they had organized the revolt from exile, and instead declared that "the students did it all on their own steam, driven by their own hurts and esteem of themselves."

Along with establishing Skotaville, Black writers have also revived the literary journal, *Classic*, published originally in the 1960s. In the first issue of *Classic*, Mphahlele wrote movingly of the world of exile and the meaning of return to South Africa where "life for an oppressed person is one long, protracted, agonizing compromise," but separated from which, the Black writer "cannot create a sustained literary work."

STRUGGLE, CULTURE DEFINE EACH OTHER

To break free of an imposed European literary and educational tradition to create a relevant literature that has the "purpose of promoting the liberation struggle" is how Mphahlele Mutlootse, one of the young founders of Skotaville, views the significance of the publishing house. Through such a "purpose" the writers at Skotaville feel that Black literature can truly reflect the Black community.

From the historical beginnings of Black literature in South Africa, when the first novel written by an African, Thomas Mofolo's *Chaka*, both took as its subject an heroic Black figure and was written in the author's native language of Sesotho, language, literature and liberation have developed inseparably. Thus, in 1976, the Soweto Rebellion had begun over the imposition of the oppressors language of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in education.

Mphahlele had been quite eloquent on the relationship of culture to liberation in his 1971 introduction of the American edition of his famous novel, *Down Second Avenue*. In singling out the American Black struggle, Mphahlele concluded that it is not our "negritude" that will be brought to account in the struggle for freedom, but "mastery of the techniques for bringing down the white power structure that will count. And, I insist that this very struggle defines a culture . . . Culture and political struggles define each other, all the way."

That extended internationally through the Black dimension in literature in 1960, the year of the bloody Sharpeville massacre, when the famous African-American poet Langston Hughes collected a volume of African writing for an American audience. Hughes' anthology called *An African Treasury* showed such sensitivity to the new developing sub-

jective forces of liberation in South Africa that he led the way in publishing the voices of African women writers, such as Phyllis Ntantala's "Widows of the Reserves".

When she gathered her writings on Black women under apartheid into a single volume called *An African Tragedy*, Ms. Ntantala acknowledged Langston Hughes as "the great African-American poet and humanist, who . . . wished me success in my writing, adding also that if more women state the case of the African woman, perhaps we would get somewhere."

Not only intellectuals, but the masses have shown the greatest creativity with new forms of opposition as seen in the massive trade union movement whose human power, today, challenges the very capitalist foundations of apartheid; in the guerrilla strikes against military and economic installations; and in the internationalism expressed through the many support committees abroad working out linkages with other struggles.

Thus, whether as international outreach, as historic continuity, as the subjectivity of Black women's liberation, or as actual freedom struggles, the liberation of Black literature from the confines of an imposed European tradition of necessity marks the beginning of a literature of Black liberation.

Inner city health care

Chicago, Ill. — More than 100 health care workers and students attended a panel discussion, sponsored by the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) in Chicago on the "Crisis in Health Care for Blacks and Minorities." Though the panelists were health care professionals who reported statistics on the latest health care situation in Chicago and nationwide, the one speech that was well received and deeply felt was given by a Black woman health care, have no health insurance and are forced to go to the saying, "I've been to many of these meetings, where we come to testify, but I must criticize many of the speakers tonight, because they lack the passion that is needed to fight the crisis we face." Rather than giving more statistics, she wanted to make us see the "flesh and blood" of these statistics.

She recounted stories of the women and children she had met through her work in the clinic and told us of the horrors that are involved when people can no longer afford clinic care; have no health insurance and are forced to go to the Cook County hospital. One of her stories included a pregnant woman: "I talked with a young mother who tried to self-abort 5 times because she refuses to lose her dignity by going to Cook County." She also told us how she carried babies to the hospital during the winter months. She wanted us to remember that women and children are the statistics that hospital bosses see on paper.

—Diane Lee

"If ever America undergoes great revolutions they will be brought about by the presence of the black race on the soil of the United States: that is to say, they will owe their origin, not to the equality, but to the inequality of condition." — Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America.

Southern Black politics

Montgomery, Ala. — As far back as September, 1983, any average politician could predict that the Rev. Jesse Jackson would vie for the Democratic Party's presidential nomination. For Black Montgomerian politicians to say that they were taken off guard when Jackson announced is hard to digest.

The constituencies of some of these Black politicians . . . began to look for new leadership. Joe Reed, city councilman in Montgomery and head of the Black-wing Alabama Democratic Conference (ADC) of the State Democratic Party, lost one-third of his constituency, despite Rev. Jackson's coming to Montgomery to campaign on Reed's behalf, to Mrs. Corine Dunaway, a Black post office worker in the 1983 municipal elections. In every race, local and statewide, particularly in the Black belt, a contender from the people challenged the ADC-machine candidates. This Black-on-Black challenge signaled that being Black was not enough.

Black politicians, sensing the insurgency of the masses, moved from the color line rationalization to that of telling the masses that their candidates were not intelligent enough to handle matters of government. Twentieth century plantation politics took ironclad shape with Black politicians serving as overseers to whip the masses in line.

The stride toward freedom pattern since slavery has always been a process to maximize and concretize the gains for inclusion, for first class citizenship. These movement patterns without exception have been mass in character . . .

Since the world-shaking 1955-56 Montgomery Bus Boycott, there has been no significant people's movement in Montgomery to date. The people are admonished not to march as a means to express discontent. They are ridiculed if they even suggest a people-led demonstration as "undignified." It is reasoned that Montgomerians, after all, are the contemporary authors of "direct action" which reverberated around the world in the form of protest marches; therefore, it is incumbent upon Montgomerians in this period to be more "sophisticated" in their tactics to deal with injustices. Montgomerians are bombarded with rhetoric to make them feel ashamed if they dare replicate their 1955 creative approach to redress civil wrongs. Meanwhile, their gift of organized protest is hailed and practiced by progressive forces the world over as a means to advance democracy.

People who encounter injustices, particularly police abuse, are advised that these are personal problems and that they should "grin and bear it." Suffering injustices without redress has become a way of life. Democracy in Montgomery has not been advanced since 1956.

When it was proposed that African Ambassadors be invited to the 25th Anniversary of the Bus Boycott to be observed in Montgomery, SCLC welcomed the proposal, but MIA (Montgomery Improvement Association) vehemently rejected the proposal. MIA insisted that the observance be strictly Montgomery-oriented. MIA leaders have yet to understand and to appreciate that the Bus Boycott Movement served as a model for democratic action to fight for African independence. MIA has yet to see the linkage between African-Americans and Africans in the struggle against world-wide racism.

—Montgomery Black activist

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YOUTH

Academics trivialize Black revolutionary history

by Ida Fuller, Youth Columnist

The Reagan Administrations' crusade to change school text books has recently shown itself in every major report on education. Thus the latest commission on school federal funding concluded that a "greater discipline" can be imposed by re-writing school books.

Reagan's move to re-write history comes from his attempt to stop opposition to his capitalist-imperialist policies. But just as dangerous is the attitude of some liberal academics contributing to that re-writing by ignoring historic periods of revolt in the U.S.

Recently I took a class on Afro-American history and was shocked to find out that the professor gave the credit for U.S. slave emancipation, not to the revolts of the slaves leading to the birth of abolitionism, but to Abraham Lincoln. We were told that Abraham Lincoln emancipated slaves from the goodness of his heart and not from the pressure that Black struggles exerted on him.

In a further re-writing of history, our professor claimed that the American Black population supported the imperialist Spanish-American War. He thus totally ignored the opposition of Black anti-imperialist leagues of that period which related the fight against the war abroad to battling racism and lynching at home.

To challenge this re-writing, I read parts of an essay article on "Black Opposition to U.S. Imperialism at the end of the Nineteenth Century" from *News & Letters* (April 1984) to the whole class and received an exciting response from students who rushed up to get copies of *News & Letters*. They wanted to discuss the roots of Black anti-imperialism manifesting itself in opposition to the Grenada invasion today. The professor on the other hand, simply said: "I did not consider that period significant."

Contrast his attitude to history to a talk I heard given on the same campus by a Marxist-Humanist, Lou Turner, on "Black Consciousness from Garvey to Fanon to Biko." In taking up Garveyism, Lou Turner broke with the history book definition of it as a "Back to Africa Movement" and showed that its real essence was "freedom here and now" in the U.S. He did not dissolve that movement into Garvey's personality, but instead brought out its simultaneous race, class and sex consciousness as a ground for today. Furthermore the

Cal State — ROTC must go!

Los Angeles, Cal. — Students at Cal State—L.A. have responded to the threat of a Reserve Officer Training Corps (ROTC) coming to campus by launching a campaign against both ROTC and the militarization of student life. Though the college administration has sought to justify bringing the ROTC program here on the basis of a non-binding poll, within three weeks the newly formed Committee Against ROTC gathered 1,000 signatures and significant student support for the effort to keep the program off campus.

The duplicity of both the administration and military apparatus in this affair is becoming clearer day by day. First, the administration contended they were bringing in a ROTC class, not a program. But when members of the Committee Against ROTC obtained a letter from one administrator to a major who heads an ROTC program, promising to implement a full program, even sections of the until-now unresponsive student government began to make their voices heard.

What is clear to everyone involved in the campaign to get ROTC off campus is that this is no single issue question. On the contrary, the effort to bring ROTC in is a direct effort to involve more students in Reagan's plans for a Central American regional war. Our opposition to ROTC is grounded in nothing short of stopping all militarism NOW!

— Student, CSLA

What direction for Central America solidarity?

Below are two excerpts from letters I received from a young worker in Ohio and an anti-war activist from San Francisco — Jim Mills, youth columnist.

In your column (May, 1984 N&L) you make several good points about the shortcomings in the U.S. solidarity movement. Your last paragraph is particularly important. As you say the question is not whether or not imperialism can be thrown out, but what will be the nature of the newly created state? Our function as I see it is to generate a broad-based opposition to Central American intervention — hoping to give the revolutionary forces breathing space.

It is easy to be too critical of the revolutionary movements in Central America, especially from a college campus in this country, or from any other safe, relatively prosperous position in this country. We have no right to selectively pick and choose who we will support in Central America. We must support ALL of the revolutionary movements, at the same time doing our best to stop U.S. support to the fascist forces in the region. Central America will be an acid test for radicals in this country. It is only logical that if you fail to support a progressive, revolutionary movement against fascism in Central America, then you will probably fail in the same way to support any similar movement of the working class in this country.

You mentioned the Grenada case — where one "Marxist" faction shot the other out of power and opened the door to the U.S. invasion. Grenada was a tragedy and another notch on Reagan's gun, but was Bishop the victim of an internal power struggle or a CIA fifth column? I am convinced that those who murdered Bishop were not Marxists at

talk showed the internationalism of the Black movement in Garveyism's solidarity with the Latin American revolutions and in the three-way road of internationalism, masses in motion and ideas between the U.S., the Caribbean and Africa, especially South Africa.

The search of Black youth for these ideas could be seen in the comments of a young Black activist who found the Marxist-Humanist analysis of the Garvey movement very relevant for today. "The reason I'm in Jesse Jackson's campaign" he said, "is not because I believe in Jackson, who can't change much within this capitalist system anyway, but because the Black masses are moving. This is why I feel the need for ideas which can push the movement forward."

Another youth, a South African, appreciated hearing about the roots of Black revolutionary internationalism: "It was very much the self-activity and ideas of the American Black struggle that inspired our Soweto revolt." This interest further manifested itself in the Jesse Jackson demonstrations of the past month here in California.

Clearly, in this battle to rediscover our past for the sake of the present, it is not only Reagan who must be fought but all those historians who aid a burial of revolutionary movements by considering them "insignificant."



Black students at the University of Cape Town, South Africa, pitched eight tents on campus in May, demanding adequate housing for Black students. The areas where apartheid laws force Blacks to live are far from universities; housing is overcrowded and dilapidated, and transportation is costly. Hundreds of Black students marched on campus calling for "Black workers and students to unite for better housing," and Black students at other universities expressed support.

Meanwhile, the government closed the elementary and high schools in Atteridgeville, which students have been boycotting since police killed a girl during a student strike (see January-February, 1984 N&L).

Anti-war activity continues in the Midwest, from Minneapolis, where about 300 people were arrested in a protest against weapons manufacture at Honeywell, including many supporters who had broken no laws; to Des Moines, where dozens created a human billboard opposing the re-commissioning of the USS Iowa as a nuclear missile carrier.

Beginning May 5, the third anniversary of the death of Bobby Sands in the infamous H-Block prison in Belfast, bands of youths in several cities of Northern Ireland attacked police stations and army patrols, throwing stones, gasoline bombs, and bottles. Police fought back, arresting 17 youths and injuring several others.

all, but the advance shock troops of the CIA. In solidarity, comradely, Chris

I felt your May column in N&L contributed a great deal to the debate on Latin American support work which has been central to the movement as a whole since the invasion of Grenada. My experience right after Grenada was that while activists in the Bay Area threw themselves passionately into demanding U.S. imperialism out of Grenada and also stepped up opposition to Reagan's intervention in Nicaragua, few of the "independent Marxists" "had the time" to discuss what I think is the most urgent question: What was wrong with the very attitude toward Marxism within the revolutionary leadership in Grenada that could have left Bishop dead and an opening for Reagan's invasion? I especially want to know how could one who had so shown that he was with, and for, the masses — Bishop — yet feel that the differences among the leadership could be kept private from the Grenadian masses?

Many youth I know in the movement do want answers to questions like these and are very concerned with a philosophy of revolution. Yet so many of the self-styled left leaders in this country try to keep the movement in check by only calling for an end to U.S. imperialism. The speaker you reported on who did address Grenada acted as if the discussion of philosophy of revolution were unnecessary because mass spontaneity alone could guarantee the next revolution. If they want to limit the discussion of revolution in Central America, how will they relate to masses in motion — like the youth — in this country?

— Laurie Cashdan

Dead end jobs for youth

Detroit, Mich. — Last summer I worked in the Michigan Youth Corps, but I hope I don't have to do the same job this year because they worked us so hard. The girls worked picking up papers, with our hands, out in the hot sun.

I felt most sorry for the guys who worked in the fields (open lots), slinging scythes, cutting grass, out in the sun. It was such useless work. The city should have had a big mower out there, so we could do something useful, like planting gardens. My first year I worked at the pool watching kids and cleaning the floor on my hands and knees. But that was better than working in the fields.

This summer I hope they'll put me at the pool again, if they call me back. I have arthritis in my knee, and they worked us so hard in the outside job. I sometimes came home limping. They ignore it when we write things like this on our applications.

The supervisors treated us like we were nobody — unless we did everything they said, and were at their feet. Some kids were suspended just for acting smart, and some for saying that the work was too hard. When you get suspended, you usually can't work anymore that year. They replace you right away from the waiting list. A lot of kids had a hard time from all that work. And the supervisors always had more papers for us to pick up at the end of the day.

I think Governor Blanchard just wants to keep youth off the streets. He says it's an opportunity for youth to learn something, for our futures, but you don't learn anything except pulling weeds. There are few good jobs, and you have to know someone to get one of those. But the only alternative would be to work at a fast food restaurant, and you have to have connections for that too.

I could never start a bank account to save for my future on what they paid us — minimum wage. The sub-minimum wage Reagan's proposing now would mean only working for bread or breadcrumbs. Out of what we were paid, I had to save for school supplies, and school clothes, and I was also contributing to my household every week. To start a bank account you need \$100, and I couldn't save that.

We can't save, and in Detroit they want to close the public libraries, so it'll be hard to get books. And this mindless work doesn't develop us for the future. It's terrible the way youth are treated. They should take some machines out of the factories, and have people working instead of robots.

— Black teenager

Student protest actions: England and South Africa

London, England — Students at North London Polytechnic occupied and closed down their Department of Philosophy in protest over an organizer of the NF (National Front, a neo-fascist organization) attending their lectures. However, the fascist is now being escorted to college by 150 of his friends, the police, who knocked down barricades erected by the students and lined the corridors and lecture hall.

Several hundred sympathizers and students have since been demonstrating outside the college and several people have been arrested. A NF photographer was chased, knocked down and had his camera stolen after he had already given the police pictures of the student demonstrators. Fourteen senior staff members refused to identify those photographed, and so were summoned to appear before the High Court which had also summoned college authorities from banning this racist.

Neil Kinnock, leader of the so-called opposition to Thatcherism, supports the right of the NF to express their views, and the students were called "a vociferous band of law-breakers" by the lawmakers.

Six thousand pupils have been boycotting classes at six high schools near Pretoria, South Africa where angry students stoned the staff rooms. Eight hundred miles away in the Eastern Cape Town of Cradock, the boycott continues of seven local primary and high schools, and in the nearby town of Reinet most of the pupils have been struck off the register for having boycotted classes.

The initial sparks to these flames of protest, which are fueled by the inhumanity of South African apartheid, are varied — solidarity with a fellow student who was arrested, demands for a representative student council, protests against corporal punishment and the removal of a vice-principal, Mathew Goniwe — who is also chairman of a local residents' association in Cradock and a local Black leader.

He has since been arrested by security police to which students responded by increasing their action and overturning a school inspector's vehicle which was then set alight.

— Lydia A.

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OUR LIFE AND TIMES

200,000 strike throughout West Germany

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

It began on May 14, "the toughest fight" the West German labor movement has made since World War II, over the demand for 35 hours work for 40 hours pay designed to reduce the double-digit unemployment rate. The campaign centers on the union, IG Metall, concentrated in the auto industry. The movement built slowly, fighting reactionary capitalist propaganda all the way, including polls of workers by the media showing their supposed lack of enthusiasm.

Some union leaders have publicly "thanked" conservative Chancellor Helmut Kohl for angering workers by breaking a postwar tradition of public government neutrality in labor disputes, in order to attack the 35-hour proposal as crazy. They replied that the same reasoning thought 40 hours, and before that, 60 hours, to be "impossible." A surge of rank-and-file support for the proposal followed Kohl's attacks.

Christian Democrats have also attacked the Social Democratic Party (SPD) for being "the party of strikes." One leader became almost hysterical when the printers' union head publicly threatened to concentrate its selective strikes on the most anti-labor publications, and he started foaming at the mouth in the Bundestag about interference with press



Thousands of workers march in Bonn.

freedom, "demanding" the SPD do something about it.

By late May, major firms such as Honeywell, Daimler-Benz, and Opel were closed down partly or completely by either strikes or lock-outs following selective strikes. It is expected to be a long, bitterly-fought struggle, since so far

management will not even consider the demand for 35 hours.

Union solidarity is 100% — more than 200,000 workers — and picket lines at plant gates are merely symbolic. Management still seems stunned that this is happening to them in "peaceful" West Germany and unsure of what to do. Some argue that it is an influx of young anti-war workers and "militant foreign workers" who are behind this new type of labor movement.

At a small rally in Stuttgart, transport workers came out in solidarity with the 35-hour demand of the auto workers and against the government and employer "offensive." They had earlier shut down the tramways for 15 minutes to show solidarity with the labor representatives at the beginning of negotiations.

"We will not let them bring us to our knees, like in 1933. It is not a question only of reduction of labor time, but of maintaining our democracy," stated transport union leader, Manfred Kanzleiter. Another speaker demanded: an end to management's right to lock out workers, sending back the Euromissiles, and support for the people of Nicaragua and Chile, all to big applause. On May 28, thousands of workers marched on Bonn to show their serious intentions, but so far the nerve center of the movement remains in Stuttgart.

Food riots in Haiti

On May 21, mass food riots broke out in this famine-ridden country, less than a month after the food riots in the neighboring Dominican Republic. It began in the large town of Gonaives, when a woman was killed by a soldier of the hated Duvalier dictatorship. Enraged townspeople attacked the central military barracks in the town, looted food warehouses, and burned stores and homes owned by government big shots.

CARE food sent for free distribution to relieve the famine had been openly sold in the streets or lay undistributed in the warehouses. Duvalier sent in the army who restored "order" by machine-gunning people.

On May 29, rioting spread to the country's second largest city, Cap-Haitien, a scene of many previous revolts. People had seen CARE trucks giving food to pigs while people starved. Rebels looted food warehouses, shouting "Pigs are being fed while people starve." Soldiers began to fire, killing at least five people. On June 1, riots over food also broke out in the town of Hainch.

A Haitian revolutionary-in-exile told us: "The main reasons for these riots are 1) 27 years of repression, 2) hunger, 3) government austerity plans, and 4) these people next door in the Dominican Republic. You have people, especially market women, going back and forth all the time between the two countries. The U.S. and the Haitian government are very worried. This is the first time in years that masses of people are revolting in the streets to protest hunger, repression and their miserable living conditions. A U.S. vice-admiral, Ralph R. Hedges, suddenly appeared on a three-day visit to Haiti beginning May 23. So we know American imperialism may have already been asked for help by Jean-Claude Duvalier."

(Information thanks to Haiti Information and Documentation Center and Haiti-Progres)

Banking crisis

The banking institutions of the world, which exist on the confidence that their depositors have in their ability to withdraw their funds on demand, is facing the greatest crisis in its history. When large depositors at Continental Illinois started withdrawing millions of their deposits, they started a run that could only be stemmed by a \$7.5 billion backup by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) which is supposed to back only deposits of up to \$100,000.

In a period where literally hundreds of smaller banks are hard pressed for cash and have hundreds of "unproductive loans" outstanding, the FDIC has committed over 30% of its assets to bail out failed banks, and if hard pressed, could not meet its obligations to guarantee the funds of the depositors.

Internationally, dozens of governments, both in Latin America and in Europe are in essential default on loans that are in the billions and constitute a large part of the assets of America's largest banks. Outright repudiation of these loans could topple the entire banking system.

The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank struggle on a day-to-day basis to keep up the interest payments and defer payments of principle to the distant future,

but they demand a price. As a condition for extension of loans, they impose economic conditions on the countries involved that affect the daily lives of millions throughout the world. They demand restriction of imports, devaluation of currency, austerity on national budgets and are, in reality becoming a super-world government that regulates what national governments do.

Outside of repudiation of international debts, which is unacceptable to world capitalism, there is nothing that capitalism can do that will ever see these debts paid off, or the debt of the U.S. government of \$1¼ trillion dollars which grows week by week as Reagan wastes more billions on arms.

The irony of the situation is that capitalism cannot even permit the "communist" countries to go broke! European banks recently added a \$250 million loan to Russia while Poland and Yugoslavia have huge debts to U.S. banks. Loans are being made to mainland China and the good health of the "communist" countries is of deep concern to the banking world.

Irish anti-Reagan rally

Many groups gave Ronald Reagan a taste of rebellious Ireland on the recent campaign swing through his "ancestral" land. Some 10,000 demonstrators paraded through the streets of Dublin June 4, joined by families and other passersby. Shouting "Reagan! Out!" and singing "Go home, ya bum" to the tune of Auld Lang Syne, the protesters rallied near the Parliament building, as Reagan addressed the legislators.

Faced with double rows of steel barricades and walls of police, two and three deep, demonstrators cheered speakers denouncing U.S. foreign policy, especially in Central America. "What the Americans are doing in El Salvador and Nicaragua is just another form of tyranny," said a librarian marching with her family.

On May 26, before Reagan's arrival, 1,000 had marched through Dublin led by nuns called the Sisters for Justice who carried a coffin bearing the names of the four U.S. Catholic churchwomen murdered by Salvadoran army soldiers in 1980. The marchers carried a petition of 20,000 signatures opposing Reagan's foreign policy and presented it to their government.

Free Papua Movement

When the Great White Father, Pope John Paul II, recently stopped in Papua New Guinea, the ignorant Western press duly reported on how tribal people greeted him in traditional dress and dances. In fact, the Papuans have resisted religious colonization longer than most. The Catholic Church, after a century of missionary effort, still has to import over 90% of its priests from the West.

In neighboring West Papua (renamed Irian Jaya by the ruling Indonesian government), the Melanesian indigenous people are waging a life-and-death struggle for survival. Under "leftist" Sukarno, Indonesia took over this land after the Dutch pulled out in 1963, much the same as they militarily annexed East Timor under rightist Suharto after

the 1975 Revolution forced the Portuguese to leave. A group of West Papuan rulers colluded with the Indonesian government to formally join Indonesia in 1969.

Recently the Indonesian government began its own mission to, as they imperialistically declared, "bring Irian Jaya from the Stone Age into the 20th century." A campaign has begun to transport poor farmers from the island of Java, often against their will, along with government officials to settle in West Papua. What the Indonesian government calls converting "nomads running around naked" into settled farmers, the Melanesians call land piracy, out to uproot them and destroy their centuries-old culture. Hundreds have already been forced from their traditional lands.

A group which emerged in the 1970s to fight for self-determination — the Free Papua Movement (OPM-Organisasi Papua Merdeka) — has intensified its resistance in the face of this genocidal plan. Militarily, they often have to face the Indonesian Army, which is equipped by millions of U.S. dollars, with nothing but spears and arrows. In late May, the Indonesian Army stepped up its attacks by holding exercises with troops, ships and air support along the border with Papua New Guinea. Thousands have fled into Papua New Guinea seeking refuge.

The Pope had nothing to say on this self-determination movement. But 100 years ago, Karl Marx foresaw the long struggle when he praised an Australian Aborigine as "the intelligent Black" for rejecting all the missionary-colonizers' lies.

Philippines rural revolt

For more than a decade in the Philippines, the indigenous Igoro tribal peoples of the mountain provinces of the North, have been in the forefront of rural resistance to the genocidal thrust of the "development" projects of U.S. backed dictator Ferdinand Marcos and his World Bank-IMF overlords.

It was the Bontoc and Kalinga peoples in Ifugao and Mountain Provinces who for a full decade battled the government's projected Chico Dam, which would have driven them off their lands. They eventually forced a government retreat in late 1981, in what has been called the equivalent of the Philippines of the 1968 Tet debacle in Vietnam.

But in a typical Marcos-type "victory," 81 Igoro families of the tiny Ibaloi indigenous group had their land expropriated to make way for the Marcos Park, planned since 1976. Relocation of the displaced people was planned in the form of 45 cogan huts, located on a hillside in the park. The idea was to provide tourists with the spectacle of an "authentic Igoro village." However, with no electricity, no water, and no land to farm, the huts — except those of a few workers who were given jobs as caddies and gardeners in the park — stand empty and broken-down as erosion pushes them down the mountain.

In Brief . . .

GRENADA — The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement was officially founded as a political party by Kendrick Radix and other comrades of the martyred Bishop on May 28, the 40th anniversary of Bishop's birth. The new group has also launched a weekly newspaper. Its very right to existence is being challenged in a vicious McCarthyite manner by the Grenadian Voice, a new reactionary paper.

FRANCE — Two giant Citroen plants near Paris were occupied by workers for a week in May. At the Optalix transistor plant in Amiens, 250 mainly women workers — worried about a plant shut down — took 15,000 transistors out of the factory (value over \$200,000) and hid them "in a safe place" pending negotiations to make sure the plant stays open. Meanwhile, trains went on strike for a day, as workers on the national railroad demanded a 35-hour week.

JAPAN — Anti-war protesters marched and rallied in Yokosuka. They surrounded the ship base there to demand a halt to the projected deployment of nuclear-capable missiles on U.S. ships which use Yokosuka and other Japanese bases.

Important Notice

NEWS & LETTERS IS MOVING TO CHICAGO

Our new address is 59 East Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605

- **Detroit News and Letters Committee** will remain here, but will have a new address: Room 1740, Book Building, 1249 Washington Blvd., Detroit, MI 48226.
- **The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism — 1941 to Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S.** will remain on deposit at Wayne State University Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs. The Guide to the Collection is available for \$1 from News & Letters. The entire collection of 7,000 pages is available on microfilm for \$60 from Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI 48202.

Our next issue will be an August-September issue, all subscribers will have their subscriptions extended one issue.