

GM's Saturn to wring more from workers



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

What are General Motors and the United Auto Workers bureaucrats up to now? With GM's creation of a new passenger car division, the Saturn Corporation, they have cooked up another scheme to try and convince the American workers that we are entering a "new era" of friendly labor-management relations.

In this new Saturn division, GM's contract with the UAW will be negotiated separately from the UAW contract of other GM workers. The Saturn factories supposedly won't have assembly lines. Instead there will be small teams of workers putting together a section of the car.

But as I see the whole thing, there is no basic change. The work load for each worker will increase, and the foreman will still be the boss over you. So what if they call what they pay you now a "salary" instead of "wages"? You can bet the workers won't be making the kind of salary that GM Chairman Roger Smith makes!

This isn't workers' control of production. It's part of the same system workers have been fighting for 200 years. The joint GM-Toyota plant in Fremont, in Northern California, is already practicing these "new" "Japanese-style" worker-management relations. There have been news stories here in Los Angeles quoting some Fremont workers talking about how "friendly" and "concerned" management there is.

ROBOTS REPLACE WORKERS

These articles don't tell you that there were 4,000 workers at the old Fremont plant, but there are half that number now — and the hiring wasn't based on seniority! If you had even so much as filed a grievance, they weren't going to let you back in.

The reason there are so many fewer workers there now is because of Automation. And that's what the Sat-

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Black World

State of Black America



by Lou Turner

Just when it seemed that nothing could be new in the deep polarization between Black America and the Reagan Administration, the developments in the period from the January 15 Martin Luther King holiday to the first week of Black History Month disclosed such serious retrogression in nearly every area of Black reality and thought that they could only intensify the crisis that Black folk already face.

The very latest came Feb. 4 with the sweeping cuts in social programs that Reagan wanted enacted in his 1985-86 budget. Declaring that his budget would "change the course of our nation's history" if enacted, Reagan cited neither history nor human need when he went on to justify his ominous escalation in military spending in the face of the deepest cutbacks in social programs carried out by technologically advanced Western society in the post-World War II era. Rather, like the semi-feudal slave-holders of the benighted South who claimed divine inspiration for the earthly misery of their "peculiar institution," Reagan has sought to institutionalize misery with the peculiar inspiration that "the Scriptures are on our side."

FACTS OF BLACK LIFE

That Black America has been singled out in particular by the Reagan Administration was on the mind of one Black Chicago woman who spoke out against the recent lay-off of 150 Illinois Civil Service employees, mostly Black women, due to Federal cutbacks. "It appears that Blacks are being hit the hardest, probably because we voted overwhelmingly against President Reagan in the last election," she said.

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U.S.-Russia secret talks; Israel-Lebanon stalemate

The Middle East in full disarray

by Peter Wermuth

The sudden United States-Russia talks on the Middle East, the content of which is kept secret by both, puts the first such dialogue between the two superpowers since the 1970s on the agenda. It was after the last such superpower communication, of Oct. 1, 1977, announcing a possible "peace" conference, which so upset the Middle East—Israel and Egypt in particular—that Sadat undertook his spectacular trip to Israel which resulted in the Camp David peace accords of the Carter Administration. Even the presence of Russia, Reagan's "evil empire," doesn't disturb this President as much as his preoccupation with trying to erase every single action of the Carter Administration.

Those with a knowledge of the Middle East know that once the superpowers enter, their nuclear prowess reduces to nought any and all militarization of the regional powers. It is the fear of such superpower entry which moves Egypt, Jordan, and even the Palestinian Liberation Organization, to the various maneuvers they have recently undertaken. They know that it is only when they can exercise their own moves, that they can force the U.S. to choose them as allies. It is within the context of these latest moves that we have to re-examine both the Israel-Lebanon stalemate and the Israeli troop withdrawal that has captured the headlines of the most recent period.

That Israel's "unilateral withdrawal" from Lebanon will hardly heal the wounds of that war-torn nation was shown Feb. 6, when hundreds of Israeli troops raided villages in southern Lebanon in a crackdown against Shi'ite resisters to Israeli occupation. Though the Israeli cabinet voted to pull its troops out of Sidon by Feb. 18, its Defense Ministry made sure to remind the Lebanese remaining under its control that "no acts of resistance to our authority will be tolerated."

The Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon will take no less than six months and three different stages to complete, after which Israel plans on maintaining a presence through its proxy, the "South Lebanon Army" of Maj. Antoine Lahad. The Labor-Likud "alignment" also reserves for itself the "right" to enter Lebanon any time in the future "in order to pursue terrorists" and will station several hundred "advisers" in southern Lebanon on a permanent basis in order to ensure that Maj. La-

had does his job of protecting Israeli interests.

As if this were not enough to keep the southern half of that nation within its "sphere of interest," Israel broke off withdrawal negotiations with the Lebanese government no less than three times, insisting "this withdrawal requires consultation neither with Syria nor Lebanon." Israel thus "departs" from Lebanon the same way in which it came—with callous disregard for the lives of thousands of Lebanese who from every angle have suffered enormously from its Lebanon fiasco.

In Lebanon itself each day brings ever more reports of kidnappings, car bombings and political assassinations as the fratricidal feuds between the many political and religious factions continue. In the face of this chaos each leader of the major Lebanese political factions dutifully made their now familiar trip to Damascus in January and February to confer with Syria's President Assad, as if in his hands lies the key to "peace" in Lebanon, if not the whole Middle East! Neither Assad's references to the "integrity of Lebanon" nor Israel's decision to withdraw its troops can conceal the continuation of Lebanon's de facto partition between Syria and Israel.

LEBANON'S '75-'76 CIVIL WAR

The truth is that the "chaos" in Lebanon today is not due to its "national character" or even to the Israeli invasion alone, but rather is a consequence of the aborted civil war of 1975-76. That civil war, where a leftist coalition of Palestinians, indigenous Moslems and Christians waged a class and national struggle against the rightist Phalangist rulers, was aborted from within when all factions—from the PLO's Arafat to the Druse's Jumblatt to the Communists—allowed the Syrian invasion that

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Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs

presents

A LECTURE-

Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts

by Raya Dunayevskaya

- WSU, Detroit
- McGregor Auditorium
- Thursday, March 21
- 7-9 PM

AN EXHIBITION-

Marxist-Humanism, 1941 To Today: Its Origin and Development in the U.S.

- selection of documents from the 7000 page Raya Dunayevskaya Collection
- historic photographs of freedom movements worldwide
- page-proofs of Ms. Dunayevskaya's new work: *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*

at Reuther Library, W.S.U. The opening reception is March 21 after lecture.



WOMAN AS REASON

by Terry Moon

There can be no more appropriate month than March,* the month of celebration of women's thought and activity, to begin a discussion of a soon-to-be-published new book by Raya Dunayevskaya: *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future, a 35-Year Collection of Essays—Historic, Philosophic, Global.*

What makes it imperative to begin discussing this work is that it not only includes essays about Rosa Luxemburg, working women and women's fight for freedom, but the sweep of the essays—as summarized in the Introduction—reveals a power of thought that can give direction to the Women's Liberation Movement today. That power of thought is the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, and we see its impact throughout the Introduction as well as in the book as a whole. Nor is it a question only of the book. Rather, Marxist-Humanism is unique because it is in the objective movement as well as the subjective. Dunayevskaya has named it "the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory."

The book is divided into four parts: I. *Women, Labor and the Black Dimension* II. *Revolutionaries All* III. *Sexism, Politics and Revolution—Japan; Portugal; Poland; China; Latin America; The U.S.—Is There an Organizational Answer?* IV. *The Trail to the 1980s: The Missing Link — Philosophy—in the Relationship of Revolution to Organization.* Here I want to focus on the Introduction which takes up each of those parts and is actually a summation of the whole expressing a total view.

In the Introduction Raya Dunayevskaya writes that what characterizes our age that gave birth to the Women's Liberation Movement was "a new stage of production—Automation—and a new stage of cognition." That "new stage of cognition" is at least two-fold. Certainly it refers to the cognition—the thought, the Reason—of people who are fighting for their freedom. But it as well refers to what the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. worked out and singled out, what it is that she sees that is new, that is a development both in a philosophy of total liberation and in the fight for freedom. These two elements are tightly intertwined throughout the Introduction so that on the one hand you see women fighting for their freedom as living, thinking human beings; and, unseparated from that, you can experience Dunayevskaya thinking.

Dunayevskaya explains in the Introduction: "each of the four Parts into which the essays have been divided comprises the whole three decades; thus each includes the totality." I think that Dunayevskaya is using the word "totality" here to mean something more than taking up the whole 35 years that the book covers or even including many different dimensions, for example Black and working women. The reason the book takes this form, where each section "includes the totality," is because here totality also means we are to see the development of a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory being met by the movement from theory grounded in, and reaching to philosophy.

NEW RELATION OF THEORY/PRACTICE

Dunayevskaya wants us to be able to see the development of this new relationship of practice to theory. That means that Part I, for example (one could make this analysis for each Part of the book but there is not enough space here to permit that), includes a 1950 article on the miners' wives and a 1953 essay on women in the post World War Two world that show in the early 1950s that Dunayevskaya "felt strongly that new forces of revolution were emerging—not only in labor, but in women and youth not in production."

That same Part I begins with an essay that shows you a development since those 1950s articles when she felt those new revolutionary strivings, to our age of Women's Liberation when Dunayevskaya first created the category that is that essay's title: "Woman as Reason as Well as Revolutionary Force." It is that category that shed new light on those 1950s articles and made it possible for me, a 24-year-old Women's Liberationist who was certainly no Marxist-Humanist in 1969, to see a wonderful continuity between my women's liberationist self and working-class women at the end of World War Two. What Dunayevskaya saw those post-WWII women fight for in 1949-1953 appeared to me in 1969, after a new category had been created, as just what I thought were the goals of today's Women's Movement: new relations between men and women in the factory and the home and "a total reorganization of society."

This relationship of the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory being met by a philosopher of total liberation is throughout the Introduction and can be seen in what Dunayevskaya calls "the crucial nature of the Black dimension." Why, I had wanted to know in

* March 8 is International Women's Day, a day inspired by women in the U. S. who in 1908 declared that day Working Women's Day. March 25, 1911 is the anniversary of the horrible Triangle Shirt Waist Company Fire where 146 died. That tragedy came on the heels of a tremendous strike in 1909 of 20,000 working women who fought for and won shorter hours and other protective legislation. March 5, 1871, the same year as the Paris Commune, is the birthday of Rosa Luxemburg, that great Polish/German/Russian revolutionary whose life and thought open so many doors for today's Women's Movement.

New work in press by Raya Dunayevskaya

'Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution'

those early days of Women's Liberation, was News and Letters Committees the only place I could go in all of Detroit to hear Black women discussing the women's movement? I always felt there was a secret, almost like a trick. In fact, it was the same thing that kept me



coming, seeing the movement I was involved in being made explicit and then developed. Raya Dunayevskaya is one woman philosopher who has not left the Black movement out or relegated it to a footnote or something to-be-taken-up-later-by-others as so many contemporary feminist theorists have done. Unlike them, she insists "that Black women helped to shape the new Women's Liberation Movement in the U. S."

But she doesn't leave that as a statement. Black women are a key element in every part of the book, not only in Part I, "Women, Labor and the Black Dimension." In the Introduction, Black women emerge as thinkers and activists, be that the women who created "Women Power Unlimited" to aid the Mississippi Freedom Riders in the Civil Rights Movement of the early 1960s; or right within what Dunayevskaya calls "The New Voices" that she quotes in the Introduction from her book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.* Those voices

Comité de Madres fights El Salvadoran terror

Los Angeles, Cal.—Cristina Interiano, a member of the Salvadoran Committee of Mothers of the Disappeared and Murdered (Comité de Madres), was the guest speaker on Feb. 3, at a meeting called by the Women's Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

Cristina's words were simple and direct: "My son was assassinated in February 1979. That's why I joined together with other women in El Salvador. The Comité de Madres was born in 1977 following a demonstration of university students. They were demanding better treatment and were massacred or put in jail. Many mothers got together and went looking for their sons. In jail they were told that their sons were not there.

"Because of the repression and suffering in El Salvador, I decided to flee the country. We want the help of the North American people. We want them to demand human rights for the people of Central America."

Fourteen members of the Women's Coalition had recently taken a trip to El Salvador at the invitation of the Comité de Madres. They presented slides of their trip and spoke of the inhuman conditions that Salvadorans, especially women and children, are enduring in two overcrowded refugee camps in San Salvador, where there's not enough food, water, ventilation, or sunlight, and doctors and medicines are urgently needed. Some children have napalm burns from government napalm bombing in the countryside.

In November 1984, the Comité de Madres was awarded the first Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award, but the U.S. State Department denied committee members permission to come to the U.S. to accept the award, on the ground that they were "terrorists" and "subversives," thus endangering their lives still further in El Salvador.

Like women throughout Latin America, the Madres continue to fight for their human rights, freedom and life itself, and to speak to us of the urgency of our task here—to listen and learn from their words and deeds.

—Latina

conclude with "the Black woman who spelled out what freedom meant to her: 'I'm not thoroughly convinced that Black Liberation, the way it's being spelled out will really and truly mean my liberation. I'm not sure when it comes time "to put down my gun" that won't have a broom shoved in my hands, as so many of my Cuban sisters have."

Those "New Voices" can be seen as another historical example of this movement from practice being met by the movement from theory and thereby developing. These "New Voices" are Women's Liberationists challenging the Left's narrow idea of revolution and freedom and declaring "Don't tell us about discrimination everywhere" (continued on page 9)



women-worldwide

Yale University's Local 34 of the Federation of Government Employees unanimously approved a contract proposal on Jan. 19. The mostly women clerical and technical workers who had been on strike for ten weeks (see N&L, Dec. '84) won a 20% raise over three years. Their strike had received strong support from students and the predominantly male membership of Local 35.

On Dec. 12, a U.S. District Court jury awarded Jocelyn A. Thompson \$202,000, supporting her contention that she was fired as Assistant Director of Human Rights for the International Association of Machinists Aerospace workers because she had agitated for an increase of hiring of Blacks and women to the union staff. William W. Wimpisinger, president of the 700,000 member union, said, "She was on a goddam campaign to force a woman on the executive council..."

Information from off our back

Demonstrations organized by the Women's Action Forum (WAF) in Pakistan recently forced Islamic authorities to cancel the sentence of 15 public lashes and three months in jail given to a teenage domestic servant pregnant from a rape, whom they found guilty of "illicit sexual activity." New Islamic laws were enacted in October 1984. WAF has called on minority communities to join their resistance, because these laws also discriminate against non-Muslims.

In January, students at the University of Michigan held a sit-in at the office of the Vice-President for Student Affairs to demand more campus security and more attention to rape and sexual assault. Ann Ryan, Chairwoman for women's issues for the Student Assembly said she was appalled at the lack of awareness of feminist issues on campus. Graffiti have appeared again on Ann Arbor streets, warning "A woman was raped here"

On Feb. 5, a massive move by British army and police bulldozed the Peace Camp at Molesworth (planned as the second Cruise site—Greenham is the first). Greenham Women for a Miners' Victory have been active throughout the miners' strike and the women's mention has opened up an important dialogue between miners' wives and feminists.

Kaiser nurses' solidarity

Oakland, Cal.—I attended a rank-and-file meeting four unions with contracts at Oakland Kaiser Hospital. We discussed how to build solidarity with the nurses who are turning in their ten-day strike notification on Feb. 15. The same unions are involved as in the Valle General Hospital strike, and the workers felt a need to form an ongoing rank-and-file hospital committee between the unions to evaluate grievances and to begin to get a total picture of the types of speed-up and cutbacks that are being carried out over the entire facility.

All California Nurses Association (CNA) nurses work for Kaiser are covered by a master agreement with Northern California Kaiser Hospitals. The agreement affects almost 5,000 nurses serving 1.9 million patients. Kaiser plans to open a half-dozen new facilities in the near future and wants separate negotiations with each. The CNA contract was up at the end of last year and salary, pension, and fringe benefits are also being proposed for take-aways and concessions. Kaiser is losing money, but wants "to take advantage of the times."

Kaiser walked out of the last negotiating session as is standing firm on its plan to operate the new facilities with separate contracts, weakening CNA and other unions in the process.

The nurses are wearing red ribbons as a sign of solidarity, and those of us in other unions are beginning to show our support. I believe "an injury to one is an injury to all", and want to see our rank-and-file committee grow in strength.

Factory time opposed to human time

by John Marcotte

If you work in production you really see how crazy capitalism is — and how inhuman to the working class. At work things are slow now. They cut out all overtime. At the wages we make, that's a real hardship. But it's always when things are slow that the bosses start to crack down on lateness and absenteeism.

One of the bosses got so upset when he saw a worker standing by the time clock one minute before quitting time, he docked the worker 15 minutes. Then he called a big meeting of all the supervisors who in turn called meetings in all the departments to "lay down the law" to us: when the bell rings you are to be at your machine, or else. Workers say, if you come in one minute late they take out 15 minutes from your check, and if you're out they don't pay you, so why the hell should the boss care?

On the other hand they say they have no work. A worker with seniority came back from a two-month childbirth leave. It took them one week to "find" work for her, which cost a week's wages.

Now look at this. A friend in a frozen food plant says they were all laid off for two weeks. Now, since they were called back, they have been forced to work overtime, working 58 hours a week! No work, then over-work.

At my plant, they say they're slow, but they're still spending lots of money on new automatic machines. There's a newly automated line in the plating department that one plater tells me does in several hours, with one worker, the work it took four people to do in one week. They laid off one plater and sent two to work in other departments, and yet they're getting out lots more production than before. In wire forming, they have been getting the bugs out of a machine they say cost \$50,000 that makes belt buckles with the tongue and roller already on, eliminating those two jobs from assembly.

Here's another side of this speed-up. In one assembly department, a worker used to work piece-work under a previous owner. He says, "I was told one gross (144 pieces) was worth \$8 to them. If I made 11 gross an hour, I got paid \$3 and change. Then the new owners started pressuring me, so I said OK, fifty gross a day, no more. It's not worth it. The foreman kept trying to push me to make 88 gross, but I stuck to 50."

Now instead of piece-work there is a bonus. A worker was put on a new machine last week (the

old machine chopped off part of a worker's finger and the bosses got scared when the insurance company came snooping around). The bonus was set-at 35 gross. This worker is very fast. The boss wanted him to work this machine to see how much production could be gotten on it.

The worker called him over and told him, "Take me off this machine, raise me 25 cents an hour or make the job easier. I spend \$26 in transportation to come here and make you bonuses, and you never raise me, but you always put me on when it's a rush job." The boss told him the bonus was "for the benefit of the worker." Everyone knows that is the most bare-faced lie, when the bonus pays only 5 cents per gross. That is 10 or 15 dollars in two months to be rushing all day.

All I can say is, we are right to rebel against this crazy and unjust system we experience every day. I was surprised by a worker who is in one of those religions where you can't drink or dance or curse— he told me he had to take a foreman outside and beat the hell out of him for the way he spoke to workers like dogs. I guess that's what Marx meant about the religion of the oppressed being different than the religion of the oppressor. When you see this system up close from the bottom, even your religion can turn out different.

Lesson in Reaganomics

Los Angeles, Cal.—I am a 56-year-old man with four children. I had been working at the Ad-Art Sign Co. for the last nine years. Just before Christmas Ad-Art laid off 30 workers (and didn't have to pay their Christmas bonuses). Then just before New Year's (so they didn't have to pay holiday pay) they laid off 120 more workers, leaving only six to finish up what work was left.

There was no warning at all. They just gave us our checks and the word to go home and not come back. We still haven't heard anything from the union. I pay my union dues of \$16 a month, and some of us pay as much as \$90 a month. Where in the hell is the union? At our last contract we were asking for a \$1 raise, but settled for 40¢. The way I see it, we gave the company 60¢ so we could work.

I was making \$12.50 an hour when they laid me off. I have been offered a job driving a truck for \$6.00 an hour. I was getting medical insurance through Ad-Art, but now that I don't have a job, what am I going to do? Blue Shield wants \$400 a month for a family of five. Could all this be Reaganomics? — Unemployed

Wages less at Super Plus

Chicago, Ill.—Super Plus grocery stores were owned by A&P, and they sold them to Certified Foods. All of the employees lost their seniority, and we're all on a 90-day trial basis. Everyone is starting out at \$4.50. I was getting \$5.65 before, and there were people making up to \$12. We don't get any benefits now, and there are not going to be any raises or paid vacations for a year.

We had a union, Local 1550 of the United Food & Commercial Workers, before A&P sold Super Plus. People were saying maybe it would be better not being in the union, but when we found out that everything we had before is gone... The union didn't call a meeting. The union man just came to the store and said, don't quit, stay with it, because we'll try to get back in. He just said it to a few people, and I heard about it.

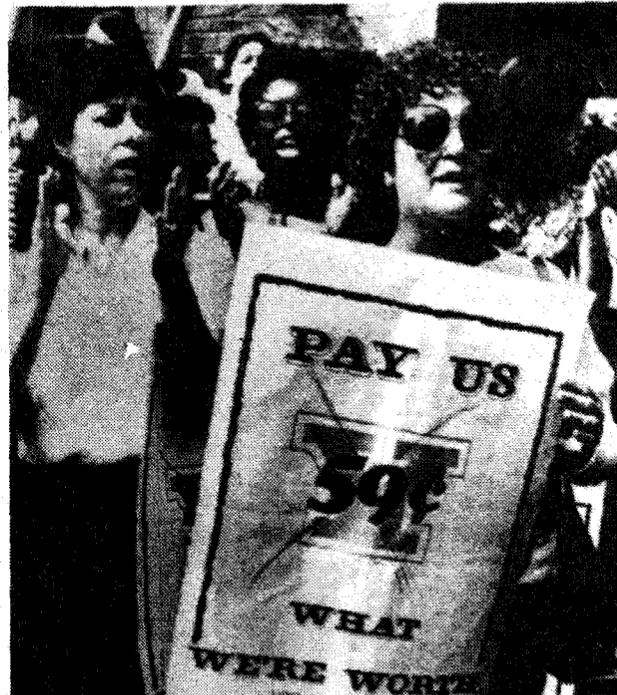
Certified didn't tell the employees anything at first. Then all of a sudden they said, if you want to keep your job, you have to fill out an application and a 200-question questionnaire. When I was interviewed by the new owners, they asked me three questions: Did you know that we are buying Super Plus groceries? Did anybody tell you what to say on the interview? Did anybody tell you not to accept any offer that we made you? I think they were asking about the union.

I'm a cashier. The management demands that we get out at least \$1100 worth of groceries an hour. They have a list in the office that has our daily productivity and our weekly productivity. They like to point out the people who don't do good, so they put a little black mark by your entry number and say, "you got to do better." At the end of each day they know exactly how much money we took in and gave out. If the money in our drawer is \$5 over or under, we get a write-up.

In addition to denial of benefits, lowered wages, set quotas of productivity, etc., they have us on a point system where we are given points for absences (whether they're told in advance or not) and for leaving work early even if sick or there is no work to do. Also we weren't informed about how many points would lead to suspension, dismissal or whatever.

Everybody's pissed off. They really are. A lot of people are trying to find other jobs. Most of the people who work here are students or women with children. This is the only job they have, and they're trying to support a family. We can't quit, because we won't get unemployment. — Super Plus cashier

Columbia U. clericals win



Women members of new union at Yale University which pledged to support organizing at Columbia.

New York, N.Y.—By threatening to strike with strong support from students and other unions, 1100 clerical and technical workers forced Columbia University on Feb. 1 to grant them union recognition and to agree to negotiate a contract. The workers had voted to join District 65-UAW in a close election in May of 1983, and Columbia was contesting the results.

Columbia pays its "clerical support staff" as little as \$9-10,000 per year, and last year it cut their medical and maternity benefits. One worker explained that the cuts affect all employees, "but we feel it more than the professors because we're making so little to start with." She said that many people only work there to get free tuition, which is now so high that only children of the rich can pay to go there.

These 1100 workers are the largest and last group to be organized at Columbia, which has had smaller bargaining units organized periodically by various unions since the late 1960s. District 65 promised its strike fund to pay employees in any of the other Columbia unions who struck in support of the new unit.

Three thousand students signed petitions in support of the clerical workers during the first week of classes in January, and many joined a spirited rally on Jan. 23. One Barnard student explained: "Students are supporting the workers' demands, first, because they are right, and second, because we can see ourselves in those jobs in a few years. The days are gone when every graduate could be a doctor or lawyer."

Both sides had watched carefully the recent 10-week strike and victory of the clerical workers at Yale University. (See Dec., 1984 N&L.) The contributions of two Yale workers at a meeting of District 65 stewards and Columbia workers produced an electricity not usually present at stewards' meetings as the two groups pledged to support each other. In these anti-union times, the Yale strike was seen as a do-or-die turning point for campaigns to unionize university clericals.

— Supporter of Columbia clericals

Seniority and health key at U.S. Auto Radiator

Detroit, Mich.—U.S. Auto Radiator is getting ready for a strike in November. They are working us hard and stacking up radiators in the back. When the contract comes up, the union is going to be asking for sick time and a nurse. The company won't give in to them and we'll go on strike for three weeks to two months.

What is going on here has a lot to do with the new contract coming up. The present contract has a rule saying the company has the right to move you anywhere they like. If you turn down a job, the company can use disciplinary action against you. At the same time that people with less seniority stay on the same job, people with more time in are demoted or put on harder jobs. It's like punishing you for your seniority.

When a job is available in the plant, it is posted on the wall. That could mean a promotion for somebody. Sometimes it isn't a pay promotion; it's a better job. Recently a job was put up on the job post. It should have gone to the worker with the most seniority, but a woman got it who had way fewer years in. If they job post, it should go to a high seniority worker. If it doesn't, why have a job post?

The company has been hiring people for a long time on and off. They get them trained and then they put them on afternoons. They want people in there who aren't in the union. Sometimes they hire and fire them. They make it so rough. It's like a tug of war with the company on one side and us on the other.

— Three women workers, Plant One

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

urn Corp. is all about, more robots. One worker will be doing the work two workers do now. The UAW is going along with this, like it always has. Meanwhile, there are laid-off workers among the millions of homeless in Ronald Reagan's America. The homeless now include workers and their whole families.

I think both GM and the UAW are worried about something and that is why they have started this public relations campaign about the Saturn Corp. I know the UAW is worried about what the Canadian autoworkers did, when they voted to break away from the International UAW. The Canadian workers had earlier stayed on strike for several weeks longer than the GM workers in the U.S., despite the International's efforts to get them to go back to work, and that's how they won a hefty pay raise from the auto companies.

This breakaway of the Canadian autoworkers has had an effect on the consciousness of autoworkers here in the U.S. We have seen the UAW leadership betray us again and again. One autoworker here told me: "I'm glad some workers finally told the International UAW to go to hell! When are we going to do something too?"

The point is that the more workers move in a militant direction to defend their rights and wages, the more they have to break loose from the stranglehold of the international labor bureaucracy. The UAW is now trying to tell us that we are all part of one happy "team" with the corporations. Workers are learning that the continuous sell-outs imposed on us by the union leadership demand working out a new beginning for the labor movement that comes from ourselves.

POWER AND FREEDOM

I think American workers can learn something from the Black workers in South Africa. They are the ones who are really standing up to GM. They are saying: "Get your investments out of South Africa. You are just part of our total exploitation." They have started their own trade unions that don't separate fighting the company from their total vision of what they are for — power and freedom.

I know that the homeless workers here laid off by robots, and the workers who can't even pay their rent with the wages they are making, are also looking for ways for a total struggle against this capitalist system that mutilates us as human beings and tries to mutilate our thoughts.

The Middle East in full disarray

(continued from page 1)

crushed the rebellion, all on the grounds that Syria's "Israel is Enemy Number One" stand made it some kind of ally! That showed that no forward movement to social transformation is possible in Lebanon or anywhere else in the Middle East so long as the Left fails to so reorganize its thought as to break from the narrow nationalism that led it into the Syrian trap.* The persistence of the contradictions that led to the aborted civil war of 1975-76 determines the dialectic of events in the Middle East today, and it is from that angle that we must view the myriad contradictions and shifts in alliances in that area.

No sooner were the first troops withdrawn from southern Lebanon than Israel announced on Feb. 8 tougher guidelines against Palestinian dissent on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin threatened that "all forms of punishment [will be used]...including expulsion: administrative arrest and detention, and sealing [read: destruction] of homes." To show these were no idle boasts, Rabin sent in hundreds of Israeli troops to "patrol" the Palestinian refugee camp of Dehaishe on the West Bank the same week.

This drive to tighten the Israeli grip over the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza strip was accompanied by an announcement from Rabin that free municipal elections will not be allowed on the West Bank: they were last held in 1976 when Rabin was Prime Minister, and withdrawn by Begin's Likud government. Meanwhile, the unholy Labor-Likud alliance has done virtually nothing to discourage rabid anti-Palestinian settlers like Rabbi Moshe Levinger, who has set up an armed camp across from Dehaishe for three months now.

Though Prime Minister Peres and Rabin are now trying to claim credit for removing their troops from Lebanon, they are completely ignoring the fact that what brought on the infamous Israeli Lebanon invasion to start with was Israel's desire to secure firmer control over the West Bank, where huge Palestinian protests erupted just prior to the June 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

Perhaps most tragic within Israel itself is that we are faced with the fact that neo-fascist Ariel Sharon, the architect of the Lebanon war, appears to be succeeding in making a political comeback. Whether or not such a rightist fanatic comes to power matters little in the short run, however, since Labor has moved so far to the right as to be indistinguishable from Likud.

OPPOSITION IN ISRAEL

There is opposition to the continued drift of Israel to the right, as reflected in the 141 soldiers who went to jail rather than serve in Lebanon, and in massive disillusion with the entire war effort. The "left-wing" of Labor, Mapam, split from it rather than join its "national unity government," and recently Mapam opened discussions with Peace Now and other groups about forming "a new party of the Left." The limitation in this, however, was pinpointed by a correspondent from Davar who wrote, "more severe even is the lack of an idea" in this effort. The need for a new idea is most pronounced in Israel today, not only for recognition of Palestinian self-determination, as crucial as that is, but to pinpoint

*For an analysis of the Lebanese civil war and Syria's role, see Political-Philosophical Letter #1: "The UN Resolution on Zionism—and Ideological Obfuscation Also on the Left," Jan. 24, 1976, and Political-Philosophical Letter #6, "Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the PLO, but the Whole Left," August 1976, both by Raya Dunayevskaya.

the pathway to its achievement—a social revolution in Israel and in the Arab world independent of all state powers.

THE FRACTURED PLO

Though such a perspective is hardly determining the agenda of the Israeli Left today, neither does it govern the thinking of the fractured PLO, now divided into three parts: Arafat's PLO, the "National Alliance" (a Syrian proxy) and the "Democratic Alliance" of Dr. George Habash and Nyet Hayatemeh.

Just what the pro-Syrian "National Alliance" thinks it can achieve by reducing Palestinian struggle to the whims of Syria and permanent war against Israel is hard to see. Even harder to see is what Dr. Habash and Hayatemeh think they can achieve by trying to "re-unify" the PLO on the basis of (as Habash put it) "bolstering the alliance with Syria," the same Syria which massacred thousands of Palestinians during the Lebanese civil war and in last year's fighting in Tripoli. Assad himself has left no doubt as to where he stands: "Syria will lead the Palestinian struggle henceforth."

Arafat (for now at least) has decided that he is through with Assad, and instead has allied himself with that other butcher of the Palestinians, King Hussein of Jordan. Arafat apparently thinks an alliance between the PLO and the "moderate Arab states"—which now supposedly include not only Jordan but also Egypt and Iraq (Iraq has re-established relations with U.S. imperialism)—will enable him to get Reagan to "pressure" Israel into granting the Palestinians a homeland "in association with Jordan."

Hussein, like all Arab rulers, has no intention of letting the Palestinians speak for themselves. He even insisted that he, not the PLO, represent the Palestinians in negotiations with the superpowers! Though Arafat for now has refused to go along with that, there is no telling how far he will go to capitulate to Hussein in his effort to tail-end one if not the other nuclearly armed superpower.

Whatever Arafat decides, Israel's rulers have no intention of granting the Palestinians a homeland. Two days prior to announcing the withdrawal of troops from Lebanon, the Israeli cabinet unanimously voted to set up six new settlements on the West Bank at a cost of no less than \$15 million—and this at a moment when Israel faces a deep economic crisis, with an unprecedented 7% unemployment rate! Even that is not the end of it, for these are but part of 27 new settlements planned for the next four years!

But no matter what Israel might feel emboldened to do, the really new is what, if anything, the U.S. and Russia will do. The maneuvers of all these regional powers and groups, whether in Lebanon, Israel, or among the Palestinians, will truly be made obsolete if the United States and Russia decide to enter full force into the Middle East. The only genuine opposition that can stay the hand of such superpower intervention is not the rulers of the various Middle East states, nor the leaders of the different competing groups whether among Palestinians, Lebanese, or Israelis; rather it must involve new kinds of movements based both on the undeniable quest for freedom of the Middle East masses and on a rethinking about the need for a full revolutionary vision, a total social uprooting, independent of all powers, world or regional.

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. These works challenge 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 in-

herent 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. 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.

British miners out one year

London, England—By the beginning of February the British Left was regarding the miners' strike as a defeat, the only remaining question being how big a defeat. This was premature, because of the resistance of the rank-and-file and the strike's effect on government economic policy, which is now in tatters.

On Feb. 11 several thousand picketed two London power stations in solidarity and stopped all coal deliveries. Also that Monday morning the rate of return to work by strikers, thousands of whom are suffering terribly, dropped dramatically. It could be months before the government can legitimately claim to have more than 50% of the miners reporting for work. The miners know full well that at least 50,000 jobs are on the line. There is also a good chance of the pit deputies joining in, which would shut down all the mines now operating.

There has been considerable international support for the British miners. In West Germany, although the right-wing mining union refused to help, the metal workers, who fought long and hard last year for the 35-hour week, gave generously.

In Britain there is much anger at the Labour Party and union bureaucrats who have failed to deliver solidarity and who at worst have scabbed openly. Since MacGregor, the Coal Board boss, also represents AMAX and is connected with General Dynamics and the military-industrial complex, and previously had closed down most of the British steel industry, it was obvious from the beginning what was in store for the miners. Neil Kinnock, the Labour Party leader, knew it and is cynical enough to see a defeat for the miners as a defeat for the left wing of his own party.

One miner told me, "Whatever the union puts on the table at negotiations, unless we the rank-and-file get to decide on it, there'll be no end to this strike. For a start, over a thousand have been sacked for misconduct in the course of the strike and they have got to be reinstated. That is crucial."

The Trades Union Congress has called a Day of Action on March 6 against the axing of public services. The fact that March 6 is also exactly one year after the beginning of the miners' strike is a coincidence as far as the leadership is concerned. They don't want any convergence of struggles with the miners. But millions do.

—Dave Black

Another Arab-Israeli Conflict, or Shift in Politics Between the Two Nuclear Superpowers?

A collection of articles by Raya Dunayevskaya

Israel's Genocidal Invasion of Lebanon (1982)

"Nothing but horror and utter disgust characterizes the world's reaction to Israel's gruesome invasion of Lebanon...History will not forget such barbarism. Opposition, and even putting an end, to these uncivilized acts, cannot, however, be sufficient unto the day without, at one and the same time, showing how it had resulted from a transformation into opposite of what Israel was at birth in 1947-48, and what it is today..."

Lebanon: The Test Not Only of PLO But the Whole Left (1976)

"Not only is it a civil war between masses and rulers, both Lebanese, but the Palestinian Left who have helped have played a most ambivalent role both in a class struggle sense and in a global context. It therefore is necessary to probe the dialectic of developments from Arafat's waffling, Syria's complete turnabout and actual occupation to the not so obvious shrouded acts of the whole Left — from the Nasserists and "Left" Ba'athists — to the Communists, Trotskyists and independents..."

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Charles Denby Editor (1955-1983)
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Workers discuss Dominican revolt

New York, N. Y. -- Dominican workers in New York shops have been discussing the growing rebellion in the Dominican Republic over the government and International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed hikes in the prices of the most basic foods, medicines, and gasoline. A general strike on Feb. 11 shut down factories, businesses and transportation. President Jorge Blanco called out the military, and hundreds from the poor barrios were arrested in battles with the police and army.

One woman just back from a visit home said, "The Dominican people are getting ready for war. They are dying, the children are starving. Medicine is absolutely unaffordable. A gallon of cooking oil now costs ten U. S. dollars."

"All the best produce is for export; all the good things are sent over here. What is left for the people? Garbage. No one has a job. The worst is the humiliation. People and children, their eyes big with hunger, actually came begging to me because I had a few U.S. dollars."

CIVIL WAR EXPECTED

Another woman said, "I just phoned my mother. They expect a civil war. The poor people are not going to stand for this. Gasoline is now 3.95 a gallon in pesos, which used to be equal to the U.S. dollar. Before President Jorge Blanco announced the latest price increases in January, troops and cops took over all the streets. Only the police and military got a raise. Of course--the government knows what's coming. The last time, in 1965, the revolution was only in the capital. This time it will be over the whole country."

Another worker explained that on the eve of declaring these latest increases, union, community and Left leaders were rounded up. The press has been censored. But the protests have erupted spontaneously, all over the country. Barricades and bonfires have closed the streets as "neighborhood strikes" have continued and spread daily, on any given day shutting down some 25 neighborhoods in the capital and various cities and towns in the interior, as supermarkets and warehouses are sacked and the food distributed in poor neighborhoods. A general strike has been called for Monday, Feb. 11.

No one can tell where this spontaneous rebellion will lead. The whole country is militarized, with reports coming out, despite censorship, of youths shot and bayoneted and hundreds and hundreds arrested and savagely beaten by the Army, Air Force and National Police, just for being out in the street. The homes and offices of members of unions, student organizations and the Left are ransacked and searched, the occupants arrested. None of this stops the growing revolt.

MASS CREATIVITY

As far as the organized opposition, a Dominican worker here said, "The terrible thing is there is no one to replace the present government. If (former president and now Dominican Liberation Party head) Juan Bosch comes in, it'll mean Communism. (Former dictator) Bal-

aguer would bring us back to disappearances and killings. Former vice-president Jacobo Majluta doesn't care about the Dominican Republic, only enriching himself. Pena Gomez (leader of the ruling Dominican Revolutionary Party, PRD) is only concerned about foreign policy; he never gave a damn about the Dominican people. Under Balaguer, the people thought, if only we could get rid of him the other parties would do better. Well, they've had their chance and have done no better. I see no alternative there."

Another worker added, "The Dominican Left is in ten splinters. One is pro-China, one is pro-Russia, one pro-US. Which one presents an alternative? None. Things could go on like this for 10 or 20 years, except for some unexpected event like a military coup. I predict some bourgeois party will win the next election, and it'll still be the PRD, because of disarray on the Left."

But this worker is over here. The Dominican masses, now in motion over there, are showing in their actions they have no intention of going on like this for 10 or 20 years more. If the Left is not with them, they too will be surprised by the spontaneous creativity of the Dominican masses. —John Marcotte

Mission Foods strike ends

San Francisco, Cal.—The seven-month-old strike at Mission Foods in Richmond, Cal., ended on Feb. 8. In spite of the tenacity of the Latina women who dominated the strike activities, the union settled for far less than was initially demanded.

The union accepted a 30% wage cut in exchange for an agreement to rehire all striking employees. Union officials maintained that amnesty was the final issue to be resolved in the tumultuous strike that at its height featured a regional boycott and angry picket lines at local supermarkets. Mission Foods workers walked out in July when the company announced that it was cutting wages from a starting hourly rate of \$5.25 to \$3.75. The Richmond plant is the only organized facility of the Mission Foods company, which reported earnings in excess of \$50 million in 1983.

Local newspaper accounts report that rank-and-file unionists have condemned the settlement. They suggest that both scabs and members who crossed the picket lines were allowed to vote on the contract. During the last several months of the strike, pickets appeared at many Bay Area supermarkets. These actions, led by Hispanic women who comprise most of the Richmond plant employees, forced most of the targeted stores to remove the company's product from their shelves. This coupled with a boycott gave the union significant muscle in late negotiations.

In spite of the militant self-activity of the women, the union's "management" failed to protect the real interests of the employees of the Mission Foods Corp.

—Bob, Bay Area

Report from Chile

Editor's Note: The following reports on conditions inside Chile are excerpted from a clandestine Chilean journal, "Carta a los Periodistas" (Letter to Journalists). The four-page daily newsletter appeared after the state of siege imposed by the Chilean military dictatorship of General Pinochet banned all newspapers and magazines opposed to the government and censored all the others. Information collected by supporters of the opposition outside Chile and smuggled back in (including the December, 1984 N&L article) give people more news of the extent of the opposition to the Pinochet regime than they can get inside. At last report, "Carta a los Periodistas" was raided and closed.

Jan. 21 - The beaches of the central coast have been transformed into places of protest that are organized spontaneously on weekends. The most recent was last Saturday at Playa Chica in Cartagena, after a concert by a popular rock group.

A large group composed mostly of youth, without any planning, began to chant "y va a caer" (the dictatorship will fall), followed by happy and contagious shouts of "anyone not jumping is Pinochet." In a few minutes, more than 4,000 were participating in the protest. But it could not last long because the police broke it up.



Jan. 22 - Combined forces of the military, police and CNI (secret police), at 1:30 a.m. on Tuesday, began a repressive operation in the large neighborhood of San Miguel, in a poor area of Santiago. According to residents, like the mass arrests in other shantytowns recently, the police and military rounded up people, blocked access and detained passersby while they decided whom they considered suspicious and arrested them.

Next Sunday there will be a "Fifth Commitment" meeting at which labor and neighborhood leaders, professionals and students will reaffirm their pledge to No Active Violence, in support of human rights, against violence, and for democracy. (Time and place given.)

In an extensive public declaration, the Confederation of Farmers and Indigenous People, "El Surco," denounced the superexploitation of fruit workers. It denounced the government's suspension of public works employees in agriculture, and industry's firing of workers who demand raises and the restoration of lost benefits.

Jan. 25 - Some 30 women--mothers, wives and children of political prisoners exiled to Pisagua--arrived at noon yesterday at La Moneda (the seat of government) and blocked the gate. Policemen stopped them and questioned them. They said they wanted to meet with the Minister of the Interior and demand the release of their relatives "with the same speed with which they were taken away to the North." Four women were permitted inside while the rest were forced to leave. The women were told they will be notified of a date the Minister can see them.

A solidarity of revolutionary ideas...

Solidarity with the revolutions in Latin America and the Caribbean must include a solidarity of revolutionary ideas--a dialogue between revolutionaries of South and North America.

In trying to see what can we do now, naturally first on the agenda is to oppose Reagan's counter-revolution...But having witnessed the last 25 years of unfinished revolutions, we cannot leave it at the fact of solidarity...What El Salvador has made so absolutely urgent is that if we are really going to have total revolution, an absolute revolution from under absolute tyranny, it cannot only oppose feudalism and oligarchy or capitalist-imperialism. It has to show what it is for...

The transformation of reality has a dialectic all its own. It demands a unity of the struggles for freedom with a philosophy of revolution. Only then does the elemental revolt release new sensibilities, new passions and new forces--a whole new human dimension...This is the task history has "assigned" to our epoch. It is a task that remains to be done. —Raya Dunayevskaya, Latin America's Revolutions

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PAUPERISM IN AMERICA'S STREETS— AND SHOPS

Pauperism was a new term to me, as a description of conditions in the USA. When I read your article on it last issue I felt compelled to go back and read Chapter 25 of *Capital—Marx's "General Law of Capitalist Accumulation."* One quotation really hit me: "The overwork of the employed part of the working class swells the ranks of its reserve, while conversely, the greater pressure that the reserve by its competition exerts on the employed workers forces them to submit to the dictates of capital."

Marx call this the "condemnation to enforced idleness" of some by the overwork of others. Isn't this what we are living through today? Some periods I have worked a great deal of overtime, just so that management won't hire new people. My shop is non-union; but it goes on in union shops too.

Woman typesetter
Chicago

The article on the "growing pauperization of America" (Jan.-Feb. N&L) was very good, but very depressing. When I read about those six-year-old children allowed to work in the pickle harvest by a Federal Court ruling excluding them from labor law protection, I thought—look out! Don't let Reagan hear about this. He'll say that they are getting plenty of nutrition from eating cucumbers while they pick, and cut them off school lunches. This country is sick.

Subscriber
Seattle, Wash.

The news last week that Stroh's will close its 135-year old brewery, a major downtown landmark representing 1,000 jobs, has Detroiters upset. Mayor Young's euphoric "State of the City" report says, "Detroit is alive and well..." Yet just last month 300 Vernor's workers and their union got 24 hours' notice that the Detroit bottling plant would close. All but six jobs will be lost.

Mayor Young is as bad as Reagan. He stampedes the constitutional rights of students in "school shakedowns"; he is pushing casino gambling; and his administration is so inept that it takes four years to remove a dead tree. Yesterday my daughter waited an hour for a bus in freezing rain. No wonder Young seems unconcerned that federal dollars for cities are being cut—the services those funds would pay for are already non-existent.

Disgusted
Detroit

People come here to America from all over the world. And what do they find? "Sweatshops with a union label," as John Marcotte calls them. You could say that America today gives everyone fleeing pauperism in the Third World a chance to find a new pauperism here. Economists of the Milton Friedman school don't care whether the sweatshops are in Hong Kong or New York. They glorify both.

Bus driver
Chicago

The story on poverty made me think of a man I recently met who is homeless. He applied for help from the Welfare Dept., and they got him a room in a hotel. The first night he was there, there was one stabbing, and four other fights which ended with people going to the hospital. He decided to go back to the streets; it was safer there than in the hotel Welfare had put him in!

Young worker
Los Angeles

Michael Connolly's article on "the real state of the union" shows us how alive Marx is today. In reading the article I was reminded of Marx's life-long critique of science. Marx demonstrated, from his 1844 manuscripts to his mathematical notebooks and its critique of Newton's calculus in 1882, that science can't be divorced from society itself.

One of the things that has contributed greatly to the pauperization described in Connolly's article is the de-

velopment of telecommunications and transportation technologies that give corporations much more flexibility in where they locate. Corporations now establish "hurdle" profit rates for their various subsidiaries. If a particular firm doesn't make a sufficient rate of profit, the corporation either closes the plant, opening another in a different location, or invests in a completely different kind of commodity altogether.

Observer
Illinois

'MINDS OF OUR OWN'

I was very impressed with the 24 Catholic nuns Suzanne Casey mentioned in the story about Reagan's attack on abortion rights (Jan-Feb N&L). Everyone assumed that when the priests who had signed the statement by Catholics for a Free Choice retracted their support, the nuns would retract too. It shows that you can't assume that a woman will follow a man. We have minds of our own.

Puerto Rican woman
Chicago

WOMEN FIRE UP BRITISH MINE STRIKE

At long last the N.U.M. (Mineworkers union) is going to do something about the scabs. Whoever is scabbing in Notts after Jan. 30 will be expelled from the union. Then they will start on areas such as Derbyshire. The only trouble round here is they are proud of the fact that they are scabs. They are nothing but Maggie's cronies in my eyes; they are no better than her. If that woman thinks she can starve us back to work she is a very silly woman, because the support for the strike is still solid for all the media have tried to do against it.

Myself and one of the other women from the kitchen did a debate on Yorkshire TV. There were eight striking miners and eight scabs and two women of each side. We won the debate, but we found out the day after that they paid the scabs £100 each and all us strikers £25...

We've been on our own now for 10 months, and I can't see any of the other unions backing us fully. But Marga-

Readers' View

ret Thatcher didn't realize when she took the miners on that she was taking on their wives and families as well. She will find out there is more than one iron lady.

Margaret, strike kitchen
Notts, England

I am writing this letter from my cell at Risley Women's Prison. Never in my wildest dreams could I have imagined anything like this. I realize now how precious freedom is. Having said that, the definition of freedom is just a sham unless it goes hand in hand with our civil liberties and basic human rights.

I stood on the Ollerton picket line to demonstrate my absolute support for the magnificent stand the striking miners and their families are making...The British working class have always had to fight for the good and decent things in their lives...and only by their lion-hearted determination have we continually achieved better standards. This great cause must be upheld.

Miners' supporter
Cheshire, England



HOUSING IN NATIVE AMERICA

Not long after the last issue of N&L came out, I had the opportunity to speak on Marx and labor to a class of Native Americans in Chicago. I read them Shainape Shcapwe's story about the protests on the Fort Totten reservation in North Dakota. When I got to the part about the "low-cost government housing" built only a few years ago which is now falling apart, there were nods of agreement from nearly all the students.

I saw the Federal housing myself last summer in South Dakota. It's instructive to observe how Indians with "low technology" can build log and frame homes that last through the long winters, but when the latest methods of prefabricated "high-tech" housing are

SOUTH AFRICA AND BLACK AMERICA: 'THE ELEMENTAL IDEA OF FREEDOM'

I have been thinking a lot about the protests the Black Consciousness Movement staged against Kennedy when he was in South Africa, and I wondered what N&L would say about that. Lou Turner's column last issue helped straighten out my thinking. He shows where our focus should be, on "the revolutionary aspirations of every sector of Black South Africa ... from the powerful Black trade unions and student movements to the dispossessed masses in the ghettos and rural areas." I think we should defend the BCM against those who try to brand them as "racists," but the point is never to lose sight of what the masses of people are actually doing.

Activist
Los Angeles

The Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) in Los Angeles has brought together many surprising dimensions coalescing where they had not before. It's true that the movement has been fronted by the "old guard," the SCLC and the NAACP. But it has also united with the highly active Transafrica group, and magnetized numerous churches, labor, a student group, and a number of ordinary people like the woman who said simply, "I just can't stand the way they do us in South Africa."

Chicanos Against Apartheid and the Asian Committee of the United Teachers of Los Angeles are also present, voicing not only endorsement of the FSAM, but welcoming the opportunity to work in this predominantly Black organization. A Chicano autoworker from GM Van Nuys who had initiated the practice of wearing an anti-apartheid

red ribbon at work testified that this had started Blacks and Latino workers talking to each other for the first time. There is a great sensitivity to the elemental idea of freedom expressed by Black South Africa, a solidarity that goes beyond the fraternity of skin color.

Black activist
Los Angeles

In my last year in Los Angeles, I fell out with the African National Congress (ANC) American backers because of the determination to place the ANC up as the sole force in the struggle. It is true, though, that even within South Africa, UDF (United Democratic Front) takes an ANC line and Mandela is the people's choice. Yet, it is not for us outsiders to take sides, but as you say, to try to understand the dialectics and dynamics of the struggle there. AZAPO (Azanian People's Organization) mobilized enough force during Kennedy's visit to prevent him speaking at Regina Mundi church. That, at least, testifies to a maturity of black consciousness there. Now there is another step to travel; I doubt if black consciousness is sufficient in and of itself.

Have you made an analysis of the "Council for a Black Economic Agenda" headed by Robert Woodson of Washington, D.C., that met with Reagan on Martin Luther King's birthday? (Ed.: see "Black World", page 1.) They remind me of Booker T. Washington and his Negro Business League. Like Booker T., they hope to accommodate the conservative mood, coming as it does after the Civil Rights movement era, even as

put up by the government, they turn out to be firetraps, wind tunnels and worse.

Professor
Univ. of Illinois - Chicago

FROM ITALY AND INDIA

This has been a dreadful Christmas in Italy. On Dec. 23 a bomb blew up a train going from Naples to Milan, with 15 dead. It was a fascist attempt. Since the first bomb blew up a bank in Milan in 1969, the protest movements, so strong at that time, have by now almost ceased to exist. In 1968-69 the unions united into one national union, and the working class was in the strongest position ever in Italy's history. By now the labor movement and the unions are completely divided, while most youth refuse to join the union. This is mostly due to the leaders inability to cope with robotics and unemployment...

Correspondent
Milan, Italy

The article on the Philippines (Nov. N&L) was very good. It is interesting to see that the ideology of the New Peoples' Army, is the same as the classical 'Marxist' ideology of the vanguard party about the Women's Liberation Movement, arguing that "It will damage the unity of revolutionary forces." The Revolution, however, is coming closer and we have to see what happens after. Will it be another aborted Revolution? Will the reason for it be the classical ideology of the major guerrilla forces? Will they go to state-communism? Of course, all these are questions in the air.

What I liked also in the same issue was the "shock of recognition" of which Charles Denby spoke about: "when strangers from different countries react so much in the same way to ideas that they feel like they have always known each other." This is the way I feel with you all. Or rather, it was in embryo within me when I came in contact with you all, and has developed to a much more mature stage now.

Friend of N&L
Bihar, India

Booker T. came after the era of Reconstruction.

Black Woman Professor
Boston

Things are slow here in terms of Black progress. Just like all over, there is conservatism, but in the South things have never been where they could have been.

There's a Black newspaper that was recently republished, the Arkansas State Press. Also, here in Marianna, there is a federal suit about ward redistricting. We have a school board election coming up, but the choices are not any better. We are more concerned with getting along with whites than improving the quality of educating Black kids. You got kids who know nothing of the '50s, '60s or early '70s. Also, we have a new Black radio station, KCLT, in West Helena, Arkansas. It may be the only Black-owned radio station in Arkansas.

Blacks are still giving away land in the South; the biggest factor today is money. But the whites are going out of business too. Farming is in the worst condition since the Depression. Agriculture is in trouble in America which means the American economy is in trouble.

Enclosing \$2.50 for subscription. I'm not a Marxist but the information is good. It would be good if you could come South sometime and get an up-front view of the "second reconstruction" coming to an end. But this system will change or it will be destroyed. It's already destroyed many of our people.

Black activist
Marianna, Ark.

MARX'S MATHEMATICAL MANUSCRIPTS: HOW CAN THE DIALECTIC BE UNCHAINED?

"Unchaining the revolutionary dialectic," the title of Dunayevskaya's "Theory/Practice" column last month, is such a provocative way of looking at the revolutionary movement from Marx's day until today.

I have in mind especially Stalinism, which in the name of Marxism didn't just not practice revolutionary dialectics, but was determined to bury it.

Philosophy student Chicago

Please send me a copy of your pamphlet, "The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts."

Friend Boston

How is it that in 1985 only Marxist-Humanists have been able to produce a bulletin with such a significant discussion on Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts?

sought for the methodology which had led even revolutionaries to become "Planners." It is by tracing some of that process that we have the ground for discerning in Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts the relevance of battling the computer ideology of today.

Young woman California

How did Marxist-Humanism come to discuss Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts today? Just as it took Marxist-Humanism to flesh out the "new passions and new forces" Marx only mentioned in Capital, so you cannot say that Marx was directly critiquing today's "computer consciousness."

M. C. Chicago

What seemed to me the most difficult and yet the most important point in Raya Dunayevskaya's article on "Unchaining the revolutionary dialectic" in the Jan.-Feb. issue was singling out Absolute Method as but the "road to" Absolute Idea, and coupling it with a statement that the name for the Absolute Idea in our age is Marxist-Humanism.

Marxist-Humanist Los Angeles

I really liked the pamphlet on high tech and Marx's mathematical writings. People don't realize that high-tech workers have to live under the factory clock too.

ty of a worker very precisely. With my job I will eventually have a hand-held computer which will be a built-in time clock, monitoring everything I do.

Health inspector New York City

Ed. Note: "The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts," a new bulletin of discussion by Marxist-Humanists, traces Marx's 1880-82 writings from their creation and disappearance, through their rediscovery in the 1920s and their perversion by Stalinist academicians in the 1930s to their urgent relevance for our computer age today.



GUATEMALA WORKERS NEED YOUR SUPPORT

Guatemalan Coca-Cola workers are struggling for their economic survival and perhaps their lives. On Feb. 17, 1984, some 460 workers occupied the Guatemala City Coke plant after the franchise owners declared bankruptcy and dismissed the workers.

In May, 1984, after three months of occupation by the workers and an international solidarity campaign, Coke signed an agreement with the workers guaranteeing that the plant would be re-opened with union rights.

Now Coke refuses to abide by the May, 1984 agreement. The plant remains unopened, with 300 workers still inside. This ongoing struggle has come at a time of intensified violence inside

Guatemala under the military dictatorship of Gen. Mejia Victores.

We appeal to all readers of N&L to send letters and telegrams to Coca-Cola's office in Atlanta, Georgia, demanding that they implement the May 1984 agreement; not drink Coke or other Coke products; organize public vigils outside Coke plants; send messages of support to the workers sitting-in.

STEGAC 24 Calle 6-01, Zona 11, Ciudad de Guatemala Guatemala

TWO VIEWS OF TECHNOLOGY

I just wanted to say something about the "Readers' View" by Angela Terrano (Jan.-Feb. N&L). She spoke about Bhopal, India and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and she said that workers' control of technology wasn't enough.

Community activist Chicago

We always quote Marx's 1844 statement that "To have one basis for science and another for life is a priori a lie." But it isn't often that you see someone make it concrete for our times as Angela Terrano did.

Workers' control sounds like the opposite of what Union Carbide did, and I'm in favor of workers' control. But I think that what Terrano is saying is that we can't just "take over" the capitalists' technology, and put it to our use.

Black woman Chicago

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy

- Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
The First General Strike in the U.S. by Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer \$1 per copy
Dialectics of Liberation Summaries of Hegel's works and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks, by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy

- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Marxism and Freedom ... from 1776 to today 1982 edition. New introduction by author by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
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Two essays on women from Marxist-Humanist Archives

Editor's note: This month's Archives lecture by Raya Dunayevskaya in Detroit (see announcement, page 1) will initiate a special month-long exhibit, prepared by the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs at Wayne State University, around the 7,000-page Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism — Its Origin and Development in the U.S., 1941 to Today. We print below two excerpts from an unpublished essay included in that Collection, written by Raya Dunayevskaya in Jan.-Feb. 1953. Both excerpts will be included in her new book, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future, to be published this Spring by Humanities Press.

On Women in the Post-War World, and the Old Radicals

During the war, women by the millions left the kitchen for the factory. The physiognomy of the labor force changed very considerably, and with it, the relationships in the home. But this is by no means a completed battle. The revolt of the women, which began during the war, did not end with the end of the war. Quite the contrary, it has intensified. It is a daily, an hourly struggle in which the woman wants to establish new relations with her husband, with the children, with other women, and other men.

From all this, the radical parties were as isolated as they are from the mass movement in general. But the new imprint that the women were making in society as a whole could not leave the parties unaffected, and the struggle burst out there when the men began to return from the war and resume their old posts, even as it did in bourgeois society. But it was so wrapped up in Marxist jargon that it was not always easy to see that between the party and bourgeois society there was no basic distinction on this very basic question.

To get a concept of the smaller battle in the party, it is best to see it in society as a whole first. The mass movement into the factories was looked upon with suspicion by men in the same manner as the first movement of the Negroes into industry, before the CIO: would they bring their working conditions and standards down? And just as the Negroes proved to be loyal fellow workers, so did the women. Only the women looked at the men with suspicion, too: will these try to dominate them in the factory as their husbands, fathers, brothers do in the home? They were determined that no such thing should happen...

THEY WERE OUT SEARCHING for a total re-organization of society. In that search, some women also came to the radical parties. These radical parties failed to recognize this new concrete revolutionary force in society, but that force recognized them, for it had set up new standards by which to judge this so-called revolutionary movement.

In that same period, at the end of the war, a fight broke out in the Workers Party, over their failure to grow. They looked, not to the type of propaganda they had put out which was governed by their view that the American masses were "backward." No, they looked

only at the people who had carried out the line and, since these happened to have been women who had replaced the men in all posts where needed, it was against them that the fight had started.

For the first time our tendency, which had never paid any attention to struggles between members for posts, began to pay attention to this one. For it was clear that this was not an individual question, but here a social problem was involved. We came to the defense of the woman who had occupied the post of city organizer which was now being contested: "What is this bourgeois nonsense of the men returning to their posts as if the women who had done all the work during the war years were not genuine political leaders, but just substitutes?..."

Abolitionists and their Relation to the Black Dimension

We break our story to go back over 100 years and show the roots of true Bolshevism in the Abolition Movement. This, the most amazing development of our country's history and the most outstanding example of what Marxist history knows as Bolshevism, was born in America 83 years before its birth in Russia. Being American, it was no accident that it centered around white and Negro relations. When we have finished telling this story, the question of white and Negro relations in the Marxist movement right here will have an objective, and thoroughly American, point of reference.

One hundred and twenty years ago the Negro slave was the laboring class of this country. American prosperity depended on Southern cotton. Southern cotton depended on the slave's labor. Of all the things wrong in this young country, slavery was the most concrete...

Anti-slavery was an ever-growing war. New layers of the population were entering into it all the time. Some began to insist that anti-slavery was the business of a specialized group of people: the churchmen, the charity giver, the social worker. William Lloyd Garrison drew together the different fragments of the anti-slavery movement on the central principle that the whole nation was involved in anti-slavery, however unaware of it. This was not in his head. He proceeded to publish a paper which became famous all over the United States. For the ex-slaves, the *Liberator* was the means by which they spoke to each other and to the whole country.

OTHERS DEBATED ISSUES in the anti-slavery movement. The ex-slaves did not have to debate anybody. They voted not with their hands but as an im-



movable body. "They have risen in their hopes and feelings to the perfect stature of men; in this city [Boston], every one of them is as tall as a giant." Again, Garrison writes that an opponent "... is trying to influence our colored friends ... but he finds them true as steel, and therefore angrily tells them that he believes that if Garrison should go to hell, they would go with him."

This constantly moving relationship between the ex-slaves, who were the base always, and the other layers of the movement, is the sole secret of their success. This unusual — and typically American — movement had no trade union posts, no government patronage, no party favors to offer anybody. People grew in this movement at a time when growth was the greatest hunger of the country as a whole. Inside this movement, the different elements of the population were brought closest together, making for the sharpest clashes and the speediest developments.

Since Garrison's specialty was fighting against slavery close to home, the climax came when white women brought anti-slavery right into their homes. It began simply on the masthead of the *Liberator*. A woodcut showed a kneeling slave woman. It was entitled, "Am I not a woman and a sister?" The slavemaster claimed he was protecting Southern womanhood. The Abolitionist claimed that slavery had turned the South into one huge brothel. The most intimate human function of childbirth had become planned public breeding of slave laborers. The *Liberator* opened the question up for the Northern women to decide for themselves. They looked into their own lives. Here, too, industry had made sexual relations and childbirth the mere reproduction of factory workers. These women tied their lives to that of the slave and enlisted completely behind Garrison.

ONCE MORE THIS NEW relation broke up old patterns. Abolition had revolutionized relations between the slave and his master, Negro and white, and now between men and women. The movement broke in half. The World Anti-Slavery Convention which forbade women's participation saw the conservatives on the floor pleading with the abstaining Garrison in the balcony to come down. He never did. During the Civil War, upper class British anti-slavery fell apart and deserted the North, leaving this field clear for the British workers. It took twenty years to show the class issue involved.

It was Wendell Phillips' wife-to-be who recruited him to the movement. "Don't shilly shally, Wendell," she told him. He never did. He scored in deadly style on every political target. He finished up the flag-waving, spread eagle style of speaking for all time. When he spoke to thousands, it was as if he was sitting at each man's elbow holding a personal conversation. When drowned out by a screaming audience, he spoke to the newspaper reporters below him until he obtained quiet. The most social medium possible was the one for him. He believed that the man who jumped up to speak from the back row created often more interest and excitement than the platform speaker. He believed that the theaters brought out more of men's true feelings than the churches or colleges. He lived the greatest part of his life on his feet in the midst of his audience and they loved him for it. He was not an exceptional man but an American of a new type produced by a new social power. "Let no one despise the Negro any more — he has given us Wendell Phillips," said one listener. Of all the anti-slavery speakers, he was the most popular with workers and trade unionists.

The best selling book of the 19th century, next to the Bible, was a book written about a Negro slave by a white woman. Anti-slavery was the Bible of the 19th century. As a book, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* isn't very much and as a play even less. It was read and played countless times because it was the meeting point of two layers of the population who had never met before. The American people were reading and acting out their own lives with the greatest passion and feeling. A stunned Harriet Beecher Stowe could only proclaim that "God wrote it." With the help of a hundred years we can more rightfully claim that it was produced by the concretely new relations inside the anti-slavery movement.

Abolition was the new dimension in the American character...

Food becomes weapon against poor. . .

Los Angeles, Cal.—I identified with the article written by Shainape Shcapwe in the January-February N&L about the fight of the Indian people on the reservation in North Dakota against the government trying to take away their food stamps, because as a Black mother on welfare (AFDC), I have been struggling with the same thing here.

Every year AFDC recipients have to go for recertification to determine if they're still eligible for welfare. This year I have been going to school, training as an occupational therapist, and I received a \$530 grant from my college. Before I had received the grant, my social worker told me that it wouldn't affect my AFDC payments, but might affect my food stamps "a little." Then when I recently went back for recertification, she took away my food stamps entirely! She told me she was "just doing my job." "That's the way it is," she said.

I say, Why penalize me now, when I am doing everything I can to get off welfare? I've known people who have been cut off welfare for getting just a part-time job. The only way I see it is that the state wants to keep us at the poverty level, because they know there aren't enough jobs out there for qualified people, period. Automation under capitalism has created a shrinking labor market. The capitalists know they need a certain level of unemployment. That's why they make it as hard as possible for you to improve yourself and get off welfare.

And one thing I learned for sure at the welfare office this last time: it's not just Blacks who are on welfare. I've never seen so many white families applying for aid in my life! I was talking to some of the women who have lost jobs and whose husbands can't find jobs—they are really desperate!

This is "the real state of the union, the growing pauperization of America," like the lead article in the January-February N&L said. People have talked about how the U.S. government uses food as a weapon against the peoples of the Third World, sending or denying aid to make sure those countries stay in line with U.S. poli-

cies. I say that food is used as a weapon against the poor here too. The state wants to manipulate us according to its will.

— Angry Black woman

...while farmers robbed

Chicago, Ill.—Farmers who came to Chicago in January to demonstrate against speculators who are price fixing and price gouging at the Chicago Board of Trade and the Chicago Mercantile Exchange learned another lesson about the "free market"—they couldn't get in, and they were arrested for trying. Farmers who grow the grain and raise the cattle were not even permitted to watch as traders bought and sold the farmers' commodities at prices below the cost of production.

In fact, it is not even the commodities themselves that are being traded, but rather contracts or promises to buy and sell—in other words, pieces of paper are being exchanged. As a result, traders are "selling" grain that they do not own and are "buying" grain that they do not intend to ever receive; 97% of all trading is a phantom, in which no grain changes hands. Speculators profit by selling contracts on grain they do not own and later buying back a contract at a lower price.

Yet these people claim that they are in the business of "price discovery," not price fixing. How do they expect reasonable people to believe that these phantom transactions reflect the market forces of supply and demand, when this "market" is isolated within the walls of the Board of Trade and bears no relationship to the actual production and sale of farm commodities? Obviously, the farmers do not believe that this is a real market, nor is it free. On the contrary, it is very expensive to farmers, who are the ones suffering from the artificially low commodity prices that this kind of "market" creates.

Should you doubt where the government stands in this matter, note that the Reagan budget calls for the reduction and virtual elimination of grain price supports to farmers, but it does not reduce the federal subsidy to the Chicago Board of Trade.

—Nick Demeter

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Women's Liberation and Dialectics of Revolution'

(continued from page 2)

else; and don't tell us it comes only from class oppression; look at yourselves.

"Don't tell us that 'full' freedom can come only the 'day after' the revolution; our questions must be faced the day before. Furthermore, words are not sufficient; let's see you practice it."

Each phrase is almost like a blow because all the anger, all the thought, the daring to raise every question—"most of all how very deep the uprooting of the old must be"—is concentrated in each terse sentence. But that is not the only reason those voices have such power. It is because when Dunayevskaya concretizes what is new in today's Women's Liberation Movement, when you are enabled then to see on what high ground the Movement began, it compels you to come to grips with what the next step must be if the Women's Movement is to go beyond that threshold of its new beginning to a total uprooting of this society.

What attracted me most about "The New Voices," of which I have been a part since 1967, is that Dunayevskaya, at one and the same time, praises the uniqueness of today's Women's Liberation Movement for seeing male chauvinism within the Left itself, yet is critical of the Movement. No other age and no individual (Marxist or non-Marxist) ever put that factor in the Left itself. The criticism flows from that high point as she shows that if we are serious in that critique of the Left, we must be for a total uprooting—so total that we criticize ourselves and thus prove that we are not only force but Reason. We may think that if we leave out philosophy it is because it is abstract. But in fact what we are really leaving out is philosophy of revolution, and with it the true uniqueness and reality of our age.

A DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION

Isn't this what we did when Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was published and we did not even take notice of that work? Yet it is that book which takes up what nobody, whether Marxist or non-Marxist, discovered before—that is, the feminist dimension of that great revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg. Even though Luxemburg was so feminist she could say, "I am only I, once more, since I have become free of Leo," she never left Joghiches politically. As revolutionaries they worked together until the day she was murdered. Indeed, Joghiches pursued her murderers until he, himself, was murdered shortly after. Without him, we would not even have all her great works which he saved from destruction.

What I find is crucial is dialectics of revolution. It is new, concretely handled with such a wide range as she carries it through every revolution from 1906 Iranian to 1974 Portuguese, where a woman revolutionary leader, Isobel do Carmo, raised *apartidarismo* (non-partyism), and, finally, to all the aborted revolutions of today.

The other point that is new is how Dunayevskaya takes in all those she can reach in the very process of writing all her works—including this latest. Thus Part IV includes a collection of her letters "written during the process of writing Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*".

When you get to the letters, all of a sudden the human being who has been writing these essays emerges as a most alive woman revolutionary philosopher. There is something so very human, because so passionate, that is different from any other woman theorist I have read. What is beautiful about these letters is they really are not only a sharing of the process of working out the dialectic, but a genuine call to all, but most specifically us, to join her, to become part of this process.

On the last page of the Introduction, Dunayevskaya, in talking of Marx's "multilinear view of all human development," states that it "is why this single subject—Women's Liberation—whether viewed as it relates to philosophy or to forms of organization—is inseparable from the dialectics of revolution." The methodology Dunayevskaya developed in meeting the Women's Liberation Movement that is itself a form of theory with the movement from theory grounded in and reaching for philosophy, enables the careful reader to see how that dialectical process may be recreated for any force for freedom: Black, worker, youth. What flows directly from this book is a new understanding and direction for the Women's Liberation Movement and, unseparated from that, many new insights on the dialectics of revolution.

Raya Dunayevskaya, at the end of the Introduction/Overview quotes Marx's statement: "To have one basis for science and another for life is a priori a lie." She then ends the Introduction/Overview thus: "The truth of this statement has never been more immediate and urgent than in our nuclear world, over which hangs nothing short of the threat to the very survival of civilization as we have known it."

** Rosa Luxemburg *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, Humanities Press, 1982, can be ordered from News & Letters for \$10.95.

EDITORIAL

Reagan's war on Nicaragua

Far from Ronald Reagan's State of the Union pronouncement being any declaration of freedom, or "Second American Revolution," it was in fact a new declaration of Reaganomics, Reaganpolitics and the deepest of retrogressionism. Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the final section of his talk which became almost a new declaration of war against the people of Nicaragua. Reagan issued a call for new support to the "contras" — counter-revolutionary elements of the corrupt Somoza dictatorship who had plundered Nicaragua for decades and who are now attacking borders and sabotaging Nicaragua's economy.

FROM ELECTION TO STATE OF UNION

In truth the entire period since Ronald Reagan's reelection has been one of a renewed preparation for war against Nicaragua:

- On election night came the false accusations of MIG planes being shipped in from Russia.

- In January the Reagan administration unilaterally withdrew from the International Court of Justice suit filed against it by Nicaragua for mining its harbors.

- Simultaneously the U.S. has ceased the bilateral talks it had been having with the Sandinista government.

- The U.S. has worked to scuttle completely the Contadora Peace Process, especially after Nicaragua agreed to a draft treaty.

- Most recently the Administration has issued one of its infamous "White Papers" saying that the Soviet Union and Cuba are promoting Communist revolution in every country of Central America except Costa Rica.

This is no mere propaganda and diplomatic offensive. It is military preparation for war in Central America.

Even the 130-member arms control and foreign policy caucus of Congress was forced to accuse the Administration of supplying insufficient and misleading information on aid to El Salvador. Of the \$1.7 billion in aid that has gone to the right-wing regime in El Salvador since 1980, the Administration claims that three-quarters of it was for economic development. But the caucus traced the budget and has shown that all but 15% of it was for military purposes. The caucus also reported that the government has continually violated the Congressional limit of 55 U.S. servicemen in El Salvador and that U.S. servicemen have become directly or indirectly involved in combat. And now the U.S. government has introduced two new AC-47 gunships into that country's civil war. These gunships are the deadliest weaponry operating in Central America.

Honduras in the meantime has become the permanent home to 2,000 U.S. troops, numerous airbases and military roads and is the point of origin for U.S. reconnaissance flights over El Salvador. Honduras is the base from which the 10,000 U.S.-sponsored Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries,



Members of Nicaragua's militia

ies, the "contras," operate.

The proposed Reagan military budget is expanding in the grossest manner. This will be the sixth consecutive year that the military budget has grown faster than inflation, a postwar record. While Nicaragua and all of Central America is an immediate target, the whole world and outer space too is on the agenda for militarization tomorrow. The biggest individual programs in the military budget are for nuclear weapons and space-based anti-missile programs. ("Star Wars" is budgeted for \$3.7 billion in the 1986 budget.)

NICARAGUA IN REVOLUTION

But it is Nicaragua where Reagan is concentrating his counter-revolutionary propaganda and military muscle. This is not because Nicaragua is a Communist threat to the United States. It is because Nicaragua is still a revolution in the process of happening. After some 30 years under Somoza family dictatorship, the Nicaraguan people finally took power into their own hands, not only to overthrow Somoza, but to begin the process of building a new society. Their fight against the U.S.-backed Somoza regime was an indigenous one, of guerrillas, but most crucially of the masses of Nicaraguan people in motion.

Whether that spirit of a new beginning can be maintained, in a small, poor country, is a very difficult question to answer. But it cannot possibly have any chance of being able to do so until the colossus of the North, the United States, is stopped from intervening.

A movement against intervention has been building in many ways, from giving sanctuary to Salvadoran refugees fleeing persecution, to medical and other aid to the Nicaraguan people, to resistance to draft registration, to marches and demonstrations against any renewal of aid to the "contras." The movement has serious activists within it. What all of us need to be discussing now is how to create a movement which has as its focal point anti-intervention, but does that both by expressing the necessity of a total opposition to Reaganism, at home as well as abroad, and by posing the necessity for full freedom now in the US. as well as Latin America.

Dialectics of Revolution — in Marx's day and ours

Read Raya Dunayevskaya's unique analysis of the importance of Karl Marx to today's Women's Liberation Movement—

Marx was not hurrying to make easy generalizations, such as Engels' characterization of the future being just a "higher stage" of primitive communism. No, Marx envisioned a totally new man, a totally new woman, a totally new life form (and by no means only for marriage)—in a word, a totally new society.

That is why it is so relevant to today's Women's Liberation Movement and why we still have so much to learn from Marx's concept of Man/Woman, not only in the abstract 1844 articulation, but in the empiric 1880 formulation when it was integrated with the need for total uprooting of capitalism and creation of a classless society.

—from Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*
(\$10.95 plus 50¢ postage)



Trace the development of Marxist-Humanism, as philosophy and as organization, in its dialectical relationship to actual revolutionary developments of our age—

At the same time that we were working with the miners in Kentucky, we were also involved in new activities in Mississippi—The Mississippi Freedom Summer Project. Eugene Walker worked as a teacher in the Freedom Schools where American Civilization on Trial was widely used as a textbook of freedom. Not only that. The two-way road between Africa and this second America fighting for freedom continued to intensify. Thus the very same issue of N&L (June-July, 1964) which focused on Mississippi also carried a direct report and page one picture from Nigeria on the victorious two-million strong General Strike there.

—Twenty-Five Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
(\$1.50 plus 50¢ postage)

Order from News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, #707 Chicago, IL 60605

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Recently, George M. Fredrickson, dealing with the period of post Civil War reconstruction in U.S. history -- in one of his several book reviews, which appeared in the *New York Review of Books* -- wrote that the 1960s and 1970s was a period of vigorous debate among historians about the institution of American slavery, focusing on plantation economy, the relationship between master and slave, and the efforts of the slaves to create their own culture and community. What emerged from these debates, Fredrickson said, was that the "Afro-American slaves were recognized as historical actors in their own right and not simply hapless victims of forces beyond their control."

What Fredrickson has left out of this rather cozy picture of intellectuals debating among themselves is that those debates were taking place during a tumultuous time when Black masses were challenging the foundations of American civilization. It was also when many Black intellectuals, along with Black students, were subjecting many of the accepted premises that those debating historians held about American slavery to harsh criticism.

MYTH-MAKING OR REVOLUTION?

There is little evidence that those white historians, to whom Fredrickson was alluding, welcomed this "second debate," but there is a lot of evidence that many considered it a rude intrusion, a threat to "intellectual freedom." C. Vann Woodward saw the intellectual Black revolt as an example of myth-making, exaggerating the past, and the celebration of the obscure, for contemporary political purposes. Arthur Schlesinger thought that it was a threat to "the integrity of historical discipline..." Eugene Genovese, the "Marxist historian," thought that the humanities were being subjected to too much "malicious and barbarous questioning," and he feared that "too many are unwilling or unable to resist the temptation to write politically serviceable ideologi-

South African Women

We Make Freedom: Women in South Africa, by Beata Lipman, Pandora Press, Boston, 1984.

We Make Freedom comes alive with the voices of the Black women of South Africa, in their daily, multiple encounters with the hated apartheid system: the mothers of the children in Soweto (where half the families are single-parent families headed by women), and the young rebellious Soweto students themselves. We see the women organizing against government attempts to destroy their squatter shantytown at Crossroads, where they have come to escape the desolation of the rural bush, and the women living in the bush, struggling to eke out bare subsistence where nothing grows and children starve and husbands can visit only once a year.

There are the older women who fought in the 1950s campaign against the government's imposition of passes on women, and the new generation of women fighters, organizers, thinkers, from the women in the trade unions to the young women students of Soweto.

The lived historical continuity of struggle unfolds as we read the life stories of the 37 women interviewed here. In the 1950s, women were among the most active in the Defiance Campaign of civil disobedience. By the time the government moved, in 1956, to mandate that Black women as well as men carry the hated identity document, the passbook, 20,000 women responded with a mass demonstration in Pretoria on Aug. 9, celebrated ever since as Women's Day in South Africa.

In the years following the 1960 Sharpeville massacre and the 1964 Rivonia trial that railroaded the ANC leaders to prison, it was the women who kept alive the revolutionary spirit in their homes, for themselves and for their children.

That the women are not only endurance and resistance, but also Reason, is clear from the tales of their lives. Listen to Regina Ntongana describe the committee of women who organized themselves in 1975 at the Crossroads squatter camp, to prevent government evictions:

"When we first came we decided to make a meeting of women community members... when the board came during the day the men are at work, only we women are there... first the committee decides what it can do, but it doesn't finish there: we take it and share it with the general residents... if we see something wrong, we discuss it. If we don't understand it, we don't close that meeting, we sit down and discuss -- and we wake up tomorrow morning with better thoughts... But it was not only meetings -- when we decided and had a vote we would take fast action..."

This is but a taste of the richness of the lives and thoughts of the women we meet in the pages of this book. Reading this book, today's daily news headlines become individualized for us: the women of South Africa are determined to make freedom. —Michelle Landau



Afro-American history in the battle of ideas

cal tracts."

Mr. Genovese set a personal example on how to deal with "the moral threat," by vigorously defending William Styron's *The Confessions of Nat Turner* — a novel that was both a literary as well as a historical piece of writing that carried a stamp of authenticity, given to it by the unreserved praise of the academic community — against ten Black writers whose critique of the novel appeared in the Sept. 12, 1968 issue of the *New York Review of Books*. What irked these Black writers, among whom were Charles V. Hamilton, Vincent Harding, and Mike Thelwell, was Styron's trivialization of Nat Turner's motives for leading the greatest slave revolt in North America. Styron reduces Turner's motives to an unbalanced mind, a sexual fixation on lily-white Miss Ann, and having only a minimal idea of freedom!

HUMANIST ROOTS OF BLACK HISTORY

And then there was the Black criticism of a direct piece of historical writing, Stanley Elkins' *Slavery*. Black historians, notably Sterling Stuckey, were appalled at the widespread acceptance by white historians of Elkins' thesis, that the masters' control was so absolute that the masses of slaves identified with that awesome authority to the extent that they did not rebel.

In answer to Elkins, Stuckey produced an original study of plantation folklore, *Through the Prism of*

Folklore: The Black Ethos In Slavery, showing that Blacks preserved their basic humanity by creating their own community, with their own set of Afro-American values, within the ring of the master's authority.

These two examples are only the tip of the iceberg of the intellectual ferment that the Black revolt caused in the intellectual arena. And, since the militancy of Black intellectuals was rooted in that revolt, the conflict with academia was not a conflict over the methods of historiography and what is perceived to be the truth of history, but a demand that there be a passionate search to connect historical Black revolutions with today's opposition to oppression, discrimination and racism. This is the "historical actor" that the Black revolt was seeking in the 1960s-70s, and it helped to find that actor during much of the debate among historians that Professor Fredrickson was referring to.

Historians are not the makers of history, nor the final arbiters. As Marx put it: "History does nothing...it fights no fight. It is rather man — real living man — who acts, possesses and fights everything... History is nothing but the activity of man in pursuit of his ends."

If it were nothing but a question of debate, or the writing of history, then one could easily find Blacks as historical actors in DuBois' *Black Reconstruction*, which appeared in the early 1930s. Why did it take the "historians" of the 1960s and 1970s so long to find him?

BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

In education, Reagan has simply found that rather than dismantling the Dept. of Education as he had originally intended, that reactionary agency is his best forum from which to dismantle American education. One has only to consider the latest studies on public education in the cities of Detroit and Chicago which report that the dropout rate among inner city youth is greater than the attendance rate.

And twenty years after the historical Watts Rebellion opened a new stage in the Black struggle of the 1960s, Congressman Gus Hawkins, who represents the Watts area of Los Angeles, had to admit that both the old Job Corps that Reagan wants to eliminate, and its replacement, hide the actual placement figures of youth in jobs because both programs advise Black and Latino youth to enter the military as the employer of last resort.

Cuts in mass transit have already reached Chicago. The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) has just proposed the elimination of several crucial bus routes through poor Black sections of Chicago's West Side. As Black residents begin to organize against the transit cutbacks they have warned the CTA and Reagan that "they ain't seen nothing yet!"

RETROGRESSIONISM VS. REVOLT

In apparent contrast to Reagan, but as actual divergence from the deeply felt opposition of the masses of Black people, has been the ineffectual critique of and even capitulation to Reaganism on the part of a certain segment of the Black "talented tenth." Thus, even the National Urban League (NUL), which yearly documents the grim facts of American Black life in its "State of Black America" report, found that its former economist, Robert Hill, had joined the neo-conservative Council for a Black Economic Agenda.

The NUL study was released on Jan. 16, the day after the Martin Luther King holiday and President Reagan's "Big House" meeting with the "kitchen" Council, which is led by Robert Woodson. Woodson, who bears no political likeness to Carter G. Woodson, the father of Black History Month, characterized Black America as the "alms race" for its presumed dependence on federal welfare programs. Ironically, if not pathetically, it had been Hill's former NUL studies which exposed the fact that it is the Black community itself which provides the greatest share of social welfare costs for the Black needy and that Reaganomics was the structural undermining of Black America.

Though the Woodson and Hill Council endorsed Reagan's economic policies and released its own recommendations, these Black neo-conservatives could have experienced nothing but shock when the Reagan budget was released. Nearly every recommendation that the Council made at the end of January, including its stress on Black capitalism as the salvation of the Black community, was made totally obsolete by the first week of February when Reagan unveiled his budget cuts.

However, this ideological retrogression is not so far removed from the attitude of the current president of the NUL, John Jacob, who, in his overview to the NUL's 1985 report, argues that the solution to the crisis lies in Reagan taking a "handful of small steps to heal the breach between his administration and Black people" by continuing on his path of further "third worldizing" the Black and Latino inner cities with the creation of so-called "free enterprise zones."

State of Black America

All this exposes is the bankruptcy of thought when facts, even the dismal facts of Black life in America, are separated from the movement of revolt. It becomes all the more necessary, therefore, to recall the warning that Raya Dunayevskaya sounded in the 1983 Introduction to the *News & Letters* publication *American Civilization on Trial*:

"Reagan's retrogressionism makes it more imperative than ever not to leave these stark facts at the factual stage alone... The truth is that what was won through the last two decades was inseparable from the intense new forms of revolt... In a word, to separate a philosophy of liberation from the struggles for freedom is to doom us to yet one more unfinished revolution."

Blackboard jungle

by Eugene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—With the attempt of the NAACP to re-ignite plans for school desegregation in the Los Angeles City School District, five years after the defeat of school busing, there has been very little movement from the Black community to give it direction. The defeat of busing came from white flight further into the suburbs, away from the "threat" of inner city youth.

Another point of crisis within the Los Angeles schools is the dropout rate of 47% citywide, and as high as 63.5% at some Black and Latino urban high schools such as Jefferson, where students say they don't like school and must drop out to get "jobs now" to help support families, with parents out of work or underpaid.

Most inner city Black youth are not being educated under the present poverty conditions, but are just "doing time" within the schools, on the job, or on the unemployment and welfare lines. Los Angeles is not isolated but is a part of a nation-wide move to re-segregate and under-educate minorities within the school system. In Chicago, white enrollment has dropped to 15%, while in Boston, where desegregation efforts a decade ago sparked violence, there are so few whites in the school system today that Blacks are sometimes bused to attend school with other Blacks.

What seems to be missing from the educational system today is the freedom movement that made Black identity internal to the Black community. I experienced the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s in Alabama as an elementary school youth. Segregationists like George Wallace were forced to step aside due to a tremendous Black movement. The form of education in the Civil Rights Movement preserved and created Black identity.

We as Black youth in the rural South were two or three grades in one classroom with one teacher and dirty educational facilities. When we were sent to the white schools, I was shocked to see how far behind the white students we were. Mostly all the Black students were sent to special reading and speech classes.

I question the reality of education under these conditions. This kind of forced education is what sparked the Soweto Revolt of 1976 by the student youth of South Africa. This movement was by no means an end in itself, as we can see today.

The blackboard jungle of education within urban and rural ghettos will persist, until the human spirit of freedom in education is made internal to the struggle of all oppressed people.

YOUTH

On the anniversary of the 1871 Paris Commune

Women, youth and education in revolutionary Paris

by Erica Rae

Because it is impossible to separate education from the society in which it exists, the Paris Commune of 1871 offers an excellent view of a new kind of education arising in the midst of a blossoming new society. As well, because women have been so completely written out of history, I wish to focus upon the role of women in the uprising of Paris, especially the revolutionary woman educator Louise Michel.

On Sept. 19, 1870, Paris was besieged by the Prussian army. A revolutionary ferment was underway even prior to the Prussian takeover. The government cut off Paris from all its surrounding land, which had never been done before.

Women suffered more than men, as usual, because it was they who stood in line for hours, in mud, in snow, in rain, in the cold, all in a failing attempt to feed their families. Yet, the women were also among the most valiant in surviving these conditions. Louise Michel, a school teacher at that time, organized a soup kitchen for her students. Another woman, Mme. Poirier, ran a workshop where clothing was made by women. They did not earn a salary, but instead all shared in the profits equally.

Illiteracy was widespread prior to 1871. Workers believed that machines should be used to allow them greater leisure time, both for educational pursuits and to increase political activity. Instead they found they were suddenly bound to the machine.

Prostitution was another problem plaguing the times. Because of the economic situation prostitution was a normal, many times indispensable, means of supplementing wages, of earning a living.

MILKMAIDS OF PARIS

Thus the historic stage was set for something to happen. It did. The Paris Commune began on March 18, 1871. Paris was on the move. The workers, women, children felt it. So did the Bonapartist government. On the night of the 17th of March, General Vinoy, a Bonapartist, was given charge of an expedition against Paris. They were to move cannons from Paris to Versailles. At first it seemed an easy task. The morning was cold, so few people were out to create opposition. However, the milkmaids had awakened, and people began to realize what was happening.

Louise Michel grabbed a rifle, put it under her coat and ran to the line crying, "Treason." Spontaneously a column of workers, women and youth formed a human barricade against the troops. The women cried, "Would you shoot us, our husbands, our children?" The soldiers hesitated. A sergeant yelled "Put up your arms!" That was it. The soldiers did! The crowd rushed in and then

School feels like jail

Detroit, Mich.—Almost the whole eighth-grade class and some of the sixth and seventh graders at Murphy Middle School were talking about picketing in front of the office during lunch hour in the middle of February. We were angry about the suspension of one eighth-grade girl who was accused of stealing a radio. But now we don't have to picket because some of our parents pressured the principal and he finally readmitted her.

We thought it wasn't fair to accuse her when no evidence was found on her. She said she just wanted to go back to school and learn. She feels like she has been missing something when she is out for even a day.

They are cracking down on us in many ways at my school, which is a mostly Black school. It feels more like a jail there now. Last week 150 people were caught in just one hall sweep when the teachers closed and locked their doors and prevented students from coming in after the tardy bell. Those caught were excluded from school for one day.

It used to be that you had to be caught twice, but without telling us they changed the rule last month and stopped warning us. A lot of people are talking about the hall sweeps and they don't like them. They say, why don't you warn us? We try to get to class on time. But it's hard because we only have five minutes for class change. It's such a big school and the halls are so crowded.

I read the story in News & Letters last month (See "Students reject shakedown", Jan.-Feb. N&L) about the locker searches in schools. They didn't find any weapons in the last search here, but there's supposed to be another one soon. Teachers and administrators won't listen to us. And I hate that new Supreme Court decision that they can search your purse if they have "reasonable doubt."

We're supposed to stay in our places and not rebel. I'd like to get a petition together and show it to the Supreme Court, but they wouldn't look at it—because we're not adults yet. I hate that waiting to be an adult. They tell us don't talk in class, don't whisper to your friends. They call us young adults, but they treat us like little kids.

—Eighth-grade student

the soldiers arrested their own general! Later he stated:

The women and children came and mixed with the troops. We were greatly mistaken in permitting these people to approach our soldiers, for they mingled among them, and the women and children told them: "You will not fire upon the people..." People were shouting, "Long live the line!"

The Commune's first act was to abolish the standing army. The second act on the part of the working parliament was to remove the police as part of the armed military forces. On April 9 the guillotine was burned. To a man, woman and child all were involved in the decisions of the Paris Commune. The Commune's workshops were totally democratic. Workers appointed their



Louise Michel

own directors and foremen, who could be dismissed at any time.

Not only were wages and hours and working conditions set but "above all, a factory committee met every evening to discuss the next day's work." If there was a problem causing danger to a person or a complication in production, workers just stopped, took care of it and continued. Production rates actually increased under this method where the workers governed themselves. As Marx said in one of his most famous works, *The Civil War in France*, "The great social measure of the Commune was its own working existence."

LOUISE MICHEL

Among the great figures of the Paris Commune was the magnificent activist Louise Michel. As with many revolutionary women throughout history, Louise Michel's political life affected her personal life. She refused marriage twice because she wanted a relationship based on love where two people were fighting for the same cause.

Since Louise refused to be supported, she had to work. There were few jobs open to women; in 1850 she became a school teacher. Louise also loved poetry and corresponded with Victor Hugo. No one is sure of the actual nature of their relationship, but perhaps one episode will help illuminate it.

Louise never cared about money or property. She never bought anything for herself and gave away the little money she had. A friend once noticed Louise had nothing more than a thin horseblanket on her bed. The friend told Victor Hugo, who sent Louise money to buy a warm cover, whereupon Louise promptly spent the money on someone else. Hugo offered to send her more money on the condition she spend it on herself. Her reply was, "Then keep your money, because I won't keep the promise."

Louise was not the only woman who took up arms to defend the Commune. The women of the Commune, as a whole, shattered the myth that women's liberation was a side issue of the class struggle. The two must go hand-in-hand, inseparable, or none can be truly free.

NEW CONCEPT OF TIME

The Commune is a great example of how a revolution touches and changes every aspect of life. Consider how the conception of "time" changed under the Commune:

Somehow we were always able to find the time to attend courses several days a week. There were lectures on physics, chemistry, and even law. People tried out new methods of teaching too. In addition to listening to others, we found time to give lectures ourselves. I had never understood how time could be so elastic... We didn't waste a minute, and our days were stretched to fit so that midnight seemed early... A frenzy for knowledge possessed us... The more excited we got about all these things, the more we lapsed into the high spirits of schoolchildren... often we resembled students more than teachers.²

I think this is truly what Marx meant when he said, "Time is the space for human development." The night

¹ *Revolution and Reaction: The Paris Commune of 1871.* Edited by John Hicks and Robert Tuckers. University of Massachusetts Press, 1971.

² *The Red Virgin: Memoirs of Louise Michel.* Edited and translated by Bullitt Lowry and Elizabeth Gunter. University of Alabama Press, 1961.

before the Commune was put down in blood the Commission for Education moved to increase teachers' salaries, and, for the first time, the equality of men's and women's salaries was declared.

After the destruction of the Commune and her exile to New Caledonia in 1873, Louise Michel taught the Kanakas, natives of the region, and supported their revolt in 1878. (For Louise Michel's support of the Kanakas see "Our Life and Times" article, page 12 this issue.) She expressed a true sense of cultural relativism, noting that differences in methods of learning are not necessarily deficiencies, when the environment in which one is surrounded affords a different kind of teaching. She wrote of education on a world scale when she stated:

Throughout the world there are too many minds left uncultivated... Between those who know nothing and those who have a great deal of false knowledge — those warped for thousands of generations by infallible knowledge that is incorrect — the difference is less great than it appears at first glance. The same breath of science will pass over both.

(p. 118, *The Red Virgin*)

Louise Michel did not separate her views on women's rights and education from her life as a revolutionary. She was always looking to expand the limits of humanity's creativity and to throw away the fetters which bind men's minds and women's bodies. She called for the education of women, not to match the educational rags and tatters which men have produced, but instead to transcend that with a new vision that can be created IF men and women work together to unbind the potential of humanity.

POTENTIAL IN REVOLUTION

On May 21, 1871, the end arrived. The Commune revealed the potential inherent in a revolution. The upper classes could not afford the success of such an experiment serving as a signal for the rest of the world. The troops of Versailles were called in to put down the Commune, which the Communards — men, women and children — defended to the last barricade and gun. The repression hit out not only at the armed fighting men and women but:

Every poor woman was suspect, even more so if she carried a market basket or a bottle; she was a petroleuse, and was executed on the spot... Any expression of grief alongside the common graves in which the Federals were heaped up was proof of complicity. Any weeping woman was an "insurgent female."

(p. 34, *Revolution and Reaction*)

However, what the Paris Commune showed historically cannot be erased and must not be forgotten. Rather than ending with the destruction of the Commune, I wish to end with what Karl Marx wrote in *The Civil War in France*:

Wonderful, indeed, was the change the Commune had wrought in Paris! No longer any trace of the meretricious Paris of the Second Empire... No more corpses at the Morgue, no nocturnal burglaries, scarcely any robberies; in fact, for the first time since the days of February 1848, the streets of Paris were safe, and that without any police of any kind... the real women of Paris showed again at the surface — heroic, noble, and devoted, like the women of antiquity. Working, thinking, fighting, bleeding Paris — almost forgetful, in its incubation of a new society, of the cannibals at its gates — radiant in the enthusiasm of its historic initiative!

Youth in Revolt

After much student protest that included a petition signed by 5,000 people saying that the government "had done deep and systematic damage to the whole public-education system in Britain," the academic staff at Oxford University rejected by 2-1 a proposal to award an honorary degree to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

An appeal to independent peace movements of all countries, East and West, signed Nov. 22 by anti-war activists in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, has been circulating around the world. It is a statement opposing not only militarism, nuclear arms, and "power politics," but social inequality, hunger and poverty, and it declares that "Peace is indivisibly linked to all human rights. The road to an open society ... doesn't lead through military barracks, a polluted environment, or missile-launching ramps."

On Feb. 12, 1500 people gathered in Costa Mesa, Cal., to protest WINCON '85, an annual weapons conference. The protest, consisting mainly of young activists from throughout southern California, was the culmination of weekly vigils held since the middle of December.

The Black school children of Azania (South Africa), who have been so active in the past several months, once again erupted in open rebellion on Feb. 11. Three thousand children in and around the township of Seisoville protested the lack of new school supplies. Police attacked them with rubber bullets, tear gas, and whips, and arrested 30 people.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The February elections for the South Korean National Assembly delivered a jolt to the military dictatorship of General Chun Doo Hwan and his Democratic Justice Party. The surprise showing by the New Korean Democratic Party, an opposition party formed for the elections barely over a month before, did not fundamentally alter Chun's iron rule, but the largest voter turnout in 25 years registered the depth of unrest.

The return of Kim Dae Jung, a main figure in the electoral opposition to Chun, was timed for the elections. He was immediately put under house arrest. Most of Chun's opposition had been either under some form of arrest or banned from electioneering, including Kim Young Sam, another leading opposition figure.

STUDENT-WORKER LINKS

The most daring challenge to Chun has come from the students. In February they organized demonstrations calling for a boycott of the elections. They have held continuous protests to regain control of the universities and for wider demands of freedom of speech, assembly and the press. The most significant development has been their unity with workers' struggles.

The South Korean "economic miracle" has been wrung from men and women workers whose average workweek is 50 hours. In most families, husbands and wives both work simply to make enough to get by. Half of all industrial workers are women. They are the majority in textiles, chemicals and electronics, as well as in the Kuro and Kumi industrial districts where many strikes have erupted in recent months. Women earn about half the pay men receive, and in some of the newest high-tech plants young women labor for low pay, eat in company dining halls and live in company dorms in a situation reminiscent of the 19th century textile mills of New England. They are also discriminated against because of their peasant origins.

Yet it should be recalled that women wig makers, who sat-in in 1979 against their exploitative conditions, were a major spark for the mass revolt which ultimately led to the downfall of the Park regime. The Chun regime moved first against the textile and garment work-

South Korean elections and Pacific unrest

ers' unions (mainly women), but his attempts to dismantle them has not stopped strikes and protests.

UNCONDITIONAL U.S. SUPPORT

The U.S. government is becoming more and more concerned over South Korea, but it has nothing to do with encouraging a "return to democracy." U.S. Presidents have lived quite comfortably with dictators there, from Syngman Rhee and Park to the present day General Chun. When U.S. Congressmen accompanying Kim Dae Jung back to South Korea were stiff-armed by Chun's goons at the Seoul airport, Reagan's spokesmen at first blamed the Congressmen for provoking the attack! Chun plans to visit Reagan in the U.S. this April.

Meanwhile, Operation "Team Spirit," joint U.S.-South Korean military maneuvers, began in February also. The U.S. has always considered South Korea a garrison for its troops, and those U.S. troops have likewise reassured a string of dictators. The growing movements to end exploitation within South Korea come at a time of unrest throughout the South Pacific and Asia, from New Caledonia to Australia and the Philippines.

New Zealand and Australia

Cancelling U.S.-New Zealand naval maneuvers shows that U.S. imperialism is afraid that a "dangerous precedent" will be set if tiny New Zealand is allowed to remain a U.S. ally without permitting nuclear-armed U.S. ships to visit. Nominally anti-nuclear allies like Japan allow U.S. ships to dock without asking for assurances that there are no nuclear weapons on board, and since the U.S. arrogantly refuses to divulge which ships carry those weapons for "security reasons," only the U.S. government knows if there are nuclear weapons aboard.

Labour Party Prime Minister of New Zealand David Lange would apparently love to give in to Reagan on this one, once having called Labour's anti-nuclear policy "unrealistic," but the storm of protest from the ranks was so great that Lange had to back track immediately. The U.S. behemoth's threats of economic retaliation against tiny and faraway New Zealand, a nation of 3.2 million, have stiffened resistance to the nuclear ships.

When neighboring Australia's Labour Prime Minister

Robert Hawke visited Washington in February, he not only refused to condemn New Zealand, but also hedged on his own nuclear "commitments" to the U.S. Hawke had seen his electoral margin cut to a razor-thin one in December with the emergence of the new Nuclear Disarmament Party, which received 7% of the vote.

Seeing both U.S. and Russian missiles as a threat, the NDP wants to close all U.S. bases, stop uranium mining and prohibit all nuclear weapons, including those "in transit." Despite their own private friendliness to U.S. imperialism, Lange and even Hawke are forced to distance themselves from Reagan's nuclear madness.

New Caledonia

Unrest continues in the wake of white settler and police violence against indigenous Kanaka independence activists. While continuing to favor a negotiated settlement, independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou remarked, "If the (French) soldiers are there to make peace, they have to disarm the far Right."

In Paris, 2,000 demonstrators called Mitterrand responsible for the murder of Kanaka activist Eloi Machoro. At Machoro's funeral in New Caledonia, it was noted that Machoro favored a multi-racial society, but that racist French settler violence was making that an increasingly remote possibility. U.S. imperialism worries that socialist-oriented independence movements will shake up its "security interest" in the South Pacific.

Louise Michel and Kanaka rebels

As one of the Communards banished to the distant French colony of New Caledonia, Louise Michel witnessed and supported the first Kanaka uprising of 1878:

During the Kanaka insurrection, on a stormy night, I heard a knock on the door of my hut. "Who's there?" I asked. "Taliau," he answered. I recognized the voices of the Kanakas who brought us our provisions... They were coming to say goodbye before going across the water in the storm to join their people "to fight bad white people," they said. I ripped in half my red scarf from the (Paris) Commune which I'd preserved through a thousand difficulties, and gave it to them as a remembrance.

— from Louise Michel, *La Commune*

Rebels in divided Sudan

The vast Sudan has been ruled by Gen. Gaafar el-Nimeiry since 1969, who originally unified the country by granting autonomy to the non-Muslim South, thus ending the Black Anya-Nanya rebellion of the 1960s. As Sudan went deeper and deeper into economic crisis in the 1980s, Nimeiry reversed himself on autonomy for the South, soon plunging the country again into civil war.

Since 1983 he has outraged much Northern opinion as well by his attempt to impose the Islamic law (Sharia) on the entire society. Alcohol is banned, one man's testimony in court now equals two women's, hands of "thieves" are cut off, and "adulterers" (i.e. anyone not married) are executed while those only accused are whipped in public.

The January execution of 76-year-old Mohammed Taha revealed the extent of his opposition. Taha, leader of the Republican Brothers, a reformist Islamic group which favors sexual and religious equality and which accused Nimeiry of having "distorted Islam in the eyes of our people and in the eyes of the world and degraded the reputation of (Sudan)," refused to recant his criticisms, and was publicly executed for "heresy." Several thousand members of the ultra-reactionary Muslim Brotherhood looked on and cheered from inside the prison walls of Khartoum.

Outside, however, it was quite a different story. Thousands massed in the streets to oppose the execution and to support Taha's ideas, braving police on horseback who attacked them with bullwhips.

After a long period of apparent quiescence, the Sudanese masses are in motion once again. They are debating not only how to overthrow the hated Nimeiry, but also how to unite Muslim, Christian and Animist—and Arab and Black—in a new type of society. As John Garang, leader of the Sudanese Peoples' Liberation Army, put it, the goal is to "liberate the whole of the Sudan from the dictatorship of Nimeiry, from exploitation, from under-development."



Black youth in the Crossroads settlement erect barricades against South African police armed with guns and lethal rubber bullets who have killed 16 Black protesters.

Underground Poland

New protest strikes were scheduled for Feb. 28 in the wake of the horrible revelations from the trial of the secret police "death squad" murderers of Fr. Jerzy Popieluszko. Many other police murders remain unsolved, including the murder of 19-year-old Grzegorz Przemysk, whose grave has become a monument to Solidarity. "Unknown assailants" have repeatedly ravaged the grave site. There is now a constant vigil over it.

Three years after martial law, the opposition persists, as seen also in the tremendous variety of its underground press. One example: The paper *Fighting Solidarity*, in both Polish and Russian editions, comes out regularly in Wroclaw, and is considered one of the most militant voices on the "Left" of the underground movement.

Tolerance, Austrian-style

When former SS officer and Nazi war criminal Walter Reder was released from an Italian prison, he returned "home" to a warm welcome from none other than the Austrian Defense Minister, Friedhelm Frischenschlager. Social Democratic Chancellor Fred Sinowatz criticized but did not fire Frischenschlager for what the latter called a

"humanitarian" gesture. The Social Democrats depend on Frischenschlager's right-wing Liberal Party to keep their parliamentary majority afloat.

SS officer Reder's known war crimes include massacring 1800 Italian men, women and children in and around the village of Marzabotto, Italy in 1944, in reprisal for Italian Resistance actions. Apparently elements of fascism are alive and well in liberal capitalist Austria in 1985; it was also revealed that Reder has received an Austrian military pension since 1970, made retroactive to 1964.

Thousands in Italy had already opposed Reder's release. Inside Austria, pressure is building against the Social Democratic government's obscene tolerance of Nazi sympathizers in its ranks.

Yugoslav dissidents

The trial of Yugoslav dissidents and Marxist Humanists has for the moment come to a conclusion after three months. Dragomir Olujic, Milan Nikolic and Miodrag Milic were sentenced to one to two years in prison, all on the charge of "hostile propaganda." Pavlusko Imsirovic, whose case was dropped in January, led a walkout of supporters during the sentencing.

The reduction in the charges from "counter-revolutionary conspiracy" by

the state prosecutors was due to international support and an organized committee inside Yugoslavia.

Milan Nikolic said of the trial in his last statement: "...it's not only our skin but the future of this society that is at stake—whether it would be a progressive motion toward the development of socialism according to human needs and historical possibilities, or it would be a stagnation and even regressive motion (no difference between corporatism and Stalinism)."

In Brief

Bulgaria—In January the ultra-Stalinist Shivkov government murdered over 100 members of the Turkish minority. The reason? Resistance to government decrees changing their names to "Bulgarian" ones. The country's 800,000 ethnic Turks constitute 9% of the population, but as with the gypsies, the other large minority group, the government denies their very existence.

Spain—Premier Gonzalez' social democratic government was shaken recently by the revelations of secret U.S. "contingency plans" to use nuclear weapons in case of war in various U.S. "ally" nations, without having informed these "allies." To save his own neck, he had to state immediately that U.S. nuclear weapons would never be permitted in Spain.

He recently got his party to vote to keep the U.S. bases and to remain in NATO, despite the hundreds of thousands, including many rank-and-file Socialists, who had demonstrated last December against both NATO and the bases.

Cuba—Ariel Hidalgo, a Marxist writer, sits in the Combinado de Este prison outside Havana. In 1980, he was arrested for sheltering from hostile mobs a student trying to leave Cuba. Police also seized his manuscript, "Cuba, the Marxist State and 'New Class': A Dialectical Materialist Study," which criticized Castro's rule as that of a new ruling class. He is serving eight years.