Land and freedom in Lowndes County

by Charles Denby, Editor
Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

For over 100 years—ever since the end of the Civil War—the struggle for land has been near the center of Black America's quest for freedom. In the South today, hard-won Black landholdings are under attack, not alone by night riders, but by the powerful effects of capitalism on agriculture and on rural society as a whole. Last month Lowndes County, Ala., civil rights

Both Ethel Dunbar and I also are from Lowndes County. In a discussion of this question with myself and Ethel Dunbar, former "Way of the World" columnist for N&L, both Ethel Dunbar and I also are from Lowndes County. Here is part of our discussion:

(Continued on page 8)

Palestinians oppose Begin's reactionary crackdown on the West Bank and Gaza

by Peter Wermuth

The “vote of confidence” that Menachem Begin managed to win by one vote on May 19 in the Israeli parliament proved neither “confidence” nor “no confidence,” nor “any genuine alternative in that body to the reactionary Begin government’s imperialist drive. Far from demonstrating any fundamental differences on the crucial question facing Israeli society—it’s 15 years as occupier—the Labor Party is being called "Likud II," at the very moment when Begin is intensifying his thrust for "Kretz Israel."

Thus, no sooner did Begin supposedly fulfill his "peace" pledge than he flew to Egypt to hoist the Israeli flag on the Egyptian Sinai on April 23, than he launched a new bombing raid on Lebanon, intensified his vicious military attacks on unarmed Palestinian demonstrators in the occupied territories, and deepened his effort at bringing the West Bank under complete Israeli military control "for eternity."

FROM THE SINAI TO THE WEST BANK

Far from the Sinai disengagement signaling any new era of "peace," its return was followed the next day by an Israeli Defense Ministry decision to place more than 18 new Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, while on the West Bank Israeli troops opened fire on hundreds of Palestinians demonstrating for land, freedom and self-determination.

It is not so much the ideology of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), as if that stood for full freedom, that is attracting the Palestinian people, as it is that every new atrocity of Begin's occupation literally drives them closer and closer to the PLO. Into that Middle East tinderbox, all—from the superpowers like Russia and the U.S., to the small powers of the area—have entered for their own counter-revolutionary purposes. Because we are reaching a new point of crisis it becomes necessary to look at the events of the last few months in greater detail.

The world was witness in March, April, and May to the most brutal repression the Palestinian people have ever suffered under Israeli rule. So far Israeli troops have killed 15 Palestinians, wounded hundreds and jailing thousands more.

The Sinai return was made all the more dramatic by a confrontation between the Israeli army and several hundred ultra-nationalist Jewish settlers there, who refused to evacuate the town of Yamla. Begin tried to take the wind out of the right-wing outcry over “Jew fighting Jew” by clamping down on the Palestinians.

Thus, in May he announced that “the West Bank is not occupied territory. It is the land of Israel.” He says Israel will now demand full sovereignity over the area when the Camp David accords expire in three years, and plans to settle 80,000 more Jews there by 1985 to ensure it. As if this were not imperialistic enough, Begin then informed the Knesset that “the western portion of Israel is the West Bank”—inferring that the East Bank, the nation of Jordan, is also part of his mythical “Biblical homeland.”

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(Continued on page 4)

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ON THE INSIDE

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Black women protest police court justice

Los Angeles, Cal. — Very early in the morning of April 15, Deputy Sheriff Robert Armstrong went to the house of Delois Young, a young pregnant Black woman, and demanded entry into the house, without identifying himself as the police. (He says he suspected that drugs were being dealt from that house, but in a search no drugs were found.) When she opened the door, he came in and held her down.

She fell down, and he shot her again in the stomach while she was lying on the ground. Her unborn, full-term baby died, and Ms. Young was hospitalized in critical condition from multiple gunshot wounds in the abdomen. At the pre-trial hearing, Judge Narcisse gave the young woman an opportunity to meet that afternoon to discuss what we could do to protest both the shooting and the O. R. release.

April 15 was the first time she had heard from the Black woman and press conference at the Criminal Courts Building. Over 40 women came, some with their children. We read our statement, and it was printed in the Los Angeles Times. We were back a week later for Armstrong's arraignment. This time there were about 80 women; they had all heard about the shooting and the O. R. release.

Before the demonstrations, I had called the community organizations, headed by Black males — SCLC, the Black United Front, and people from the community. In our editorials we'd support you but they didn't do anything. Those organizations express an interest in what's happening in the community, but in terms of actual following through on something, they're nowhere to be found. Now, some of the brothers from the organizations have decided to do something about this.

The women who have been participating so far — they're not attached to any organizations. A lot of them would be considered "apolitical" by these "political" people. The one who wrote the statement and claimed that just Black women, who see that life in general is expendable by this system, and Black life in particular.

The newsletter, TBTN, is a part of the Black United Front. During the eleven months on the waiting list, I have accessed the newsletter, TBTN, for the past ten years. It has been released from four years in exile in Siberia, the first year of which she spent as the single only woman in a barracks with 200 men. She has received 1,700 letters of support from 40 countries while in exile. (Information from Sojourner, Boston)

Mother's Day Blockade

Berkeley, Cal. — Sixty-eight women were arrested on May 10 for successfully blockading the exits into the Lawrence Livernose National Lab. Over 300 supporters turned out for the post-Mother's Day All Women's Blockade, to stop the NANE in SPAWO whom they fear has been transferred to a South African prison. She was arrested in 1980 for addressing a rally in her home town and was sentenced to seven years in prison. Contact: SWSC, 96 Gillespie Rd., London N5, England. (Information from Outwest, London.)

In Turkey, 91 women political prisoners being held at Marmat Military Prison are on trial for assaulting their male jailers while on a hunger strike to protest prison conditions. Since its takeover in 1980, the military government has banned women's organizations, jailing women activists and forcing others to go underground. (Information from Womanews, New York)

Ida Nollet, a Soviet woman who demonstrated against KGB human rights violations by hanging a paper banner from her Moscow apartment balcony, has been released from prison in four years in exile in Siberia, the first year of which she spent as the single only woman in a barracks with 200 men. She has received 1,700 letters of support from 40 countries while in exile. (Information from Sojourner, Boston)

Dear Sisters,

Drugs are a problem in a society where, within this past year, two Chicago policemen joked with two rats and then let them go despite the plea of the woman who had just been raped and badly beaten. Where Dr. Paul Butler, a Columbia University's student newspaper was banned for reporting a rape on campus; where children as young as three are being taught self-defense, as one out of every ten children will experience rape, incest or some form of sexual molestation; where the "Yorkshire Ripper," who murders women because they are black, is seen as a hero by the prisoners and staff where he is jailed.

Whether it is this reality or the fact that all of us know someone who was held or molested or has ever experienced it themselves, women fighting back against this kind of violence has always been an important dimension, women's movement. Well, at us that the "real revolutionary solutions are fighting imperialism" and that trying to end rape and violence against women in Chicago is a diversion.

How Do You Explain?

Note: See p. 10 for a review of Nawal El Saadawi's The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the Arab World.

VOICE OF WOMEN, 529 Baudhalahana Novaba, Coombo—, Sri Lanka. $10.00/year.

Voice of Women, the feminist publication from Sri Lanka, has just been reprinted and broadened to counter the struggles of Third World Women, since in its efforts to seek the liberation of women it does not limit its opposition to imperialism; this is a call for support by the women's movement for oppressed class relations at home, the patriarchal society, and the power of religion.

One of the many issues which the voice of the Marches, which has been published in Sri Lanka and condemned the trade unions for dismissing women's demands as "women's issues unworthy of their attention." The many short articles show the editors' appreciation for women speaking for themselves, as well as international solidarity.

DETROIT WOMEN'S VOICE, P.O. Box 10103, Ferndale, MI 48220, $5.00/year.

Detroit has long been without its own feminist newspaper, and Detroit Women's Voice was conceived to fill this gap. Since its inception in 1980, the city's focus has been on women's issues, as well as the needs of women, political abuse of our community. —Bobbie Joyce

Detroit's first act of revolution was to organize, and that's what we mean by revolution. —Bobbie Joyce

Perhaps one place to begin is looking at the TBTN movement and tries to identify the ideas of what it means to be human is transformed.

NEDO

WOMEN AT WORK, ACTU Working Women's Centre, 99-105 George Street, Melbourne 3000, Australia. $5.00 (Australian)/year.

This is an interesting and very international trade union movement, and it's the role of working women in Australia, especially in the areas of health and safety. The March/April issue carried stories in seven languages including Greek, Italian, Spanish, Turkish and Arabic on clerical workers fighting health problems caused by new video display units; striking nurses; effects of community service cuts on women; and also an article on demonstrations in celebration of International Women's Day in France.

S.C.
0100 percent payment for 52 weeks, GM doesn't put any more in. The amount that was going into the fund GM

THIEVING SYSTEM

In reality, this has caused hardships for laid-off workers. I was one of those. I was laid off last November. I had $1000 on my check, my rent went up $50, my groceries cost more, utilities have gone up and I am mad as hell.

The Trade Readjustment Act (TRA) was supposed to help workers out when laid-off because of foreign imports caused by giant corporations like GM raising prices for American products. Creating a market for foreign imports, which caused the lay-offs and plant closings.

GM GRABBED TRA

Our local union was paid TRA, plus our unemployment benefits and $60 a week. That is only $20 a week over the normal two years. That in itself is a give-back.

What workers can’t understand is what right does the company and union leadership have to this money? Did the government really set up TRA to benefit workers when foreign imports caused them to be laid off? If this is so, what right does our union leadership have to steal it back for General Motors? If the government allows this, why didn’t it just give the money to GM in the first place? Just another example of how the government has figured out to subsidize big business in the name of helping workers.

Job safety only for machines

Detroit, Mich.—At U.S. Auto Radiator where I work we have recently returned from a strike (See April and May N&L) but the working conditions continue to be terrible. It was raining one night while people were working in the area with the automatic face dip. The roof, was leaking badly. Workers began saying, “We can’t work here.”

But the company only protected that new machine. They covered it with plastic while, at the same time,allowing all kinds of water to drip in from the ceiling. The only reason no one was electrocuted from all the lights in the area was because the paint was not in use. Workers are in that area work very hard. Although the machine is called automatic, this particular part of the machine, that means, everything has to be done manually. Workers are complained about by the company. As the machine gets heavy frames, dip them into the acid, turn them around and dip them in again.

Not only do the workers in that area have to worry about the heat and odor coming from that machine— they now have to worry whether they will die from electrocute shock!

If we call in sick or skip too many days away from work, we lose all our unemployment benefits. Why should we get a warning for skipping overtime? Before we had forced overtime, five days meant 40 hours a week. There are people who can be laid off, while others are working overtime. Even the layoffs notices will say “for a week.”

If we get a week's work we simply can't afford. Good chance we will do 10 hours overtime this entire week.

—Woman worker

Demand union rights at NJ PO

The following are brief excerpts from THE ALTERNATIVE, a magazine published by postal workers at the Bulk and Foreign Mail Center in Jersey City, N.J.

On Monday, Feb. 22, Jeff Perry, M.H. steward on T3 Bulk for 8 yrs. was removed from his position by Aaron Preston, Local 300 president. After only two days Perry exposed that a postal worker who had died had not received proper medical attention. Again the unions conventionally covers its blunders.

A petition containing over 200 signatures was de­ivered to local president, Aaron Preston, calling for Jeff Perry to get his job back. Preston refused to remove . . . Preston stated that “200 names don’t impress me.”

It should be known that just prior to his removal as shop steward, Perry had initiated a grievance asking for the removal of General Supervisor William Halsey for acting unfairly in denying mailhandler Vasic basic contin­uation of pay for an on-the-job injury . . . Jeff Perry and 8 other people are involved in a nation-wide strike against GSA and the so-called '98 agreements.

Our demands are: Reinstatement Jeff Perry as shop steward. 2. Election of shop stewards. 3. Hold union meetings. 4. Removal of Aaron Preston as Local Presi­dent. 5. Rid our union of corruption. 6. More job pro­tection in compensation related cases.

—Union won’t be there

A former shop steward told me, "The negotiating committee can only hand up and the there is no local in the first day with all your demands. But the very next day the union tells you’re asking for too much. If you don’t go along, but say me people authorized to fight for these, you’ll find yourself being told, shut up.

"Then sooner or later, you’ll have a problem in the shop, and you’ll come to the union for help and they won’t be there. The union can’t stand no competition. If you’re willing to fight them, the union bureaucrats will manipulate them and try to isolate them. But what they most is mass action, an extension of the strike—once that begins, none of their tricks will halt it.

Hospital workers in Great British 24-hour strike

Oxford, England—Today (May 19) there is a 24-hour strike of workers in the National Health Service, the most militant strike by the health workers. The workers are continuing to deal with emergency cases and provide basic essential care for patients, who are in the hospital. The strike is strong among kitchen staff, cleaners and porters, and is also supported by some technical administrative workers. A minority of nurses belong to unions and are involved in the strike; however the majority belong to the Royal College of Nurses, which has a no-strike rule.

Coal miners at one colliery in South Yorkshire are taking strike action against the health workers. Sympathy strikes of this kind, representing a particularly high level of class consciousness, were frequent in the previous period of the miners’ struggle in the early ’70s. However, they have been rare in the harsher political and economic climate since then. It is really encouraging to see it happening again, especially as miners in other locations are also celebrating and accompanying the action.

—Strike Supporter
Palestinians demonstrate on West Bank narrow nationalism and its fixation on Israel as enemy number one have limited its revolutionary vision.

**Today** it is this narrow nationalism, often wearing the cloak of religious fundamentalism, which the rulers are attempting to exploit to expand the national class divisions, both in Israel and the Arab world.

All through the Middle East the religious right is on the rise, from Iran to Egypt and from Lebanon to Iraq. It is within the Palestinian movement where Muslim fundamentalists have been active at Bir Zeit University in the West Bank, and the word Darwin's theory was attacked for "fighting with God." Women students who refuse to wear a head scarf are constantly harassed.

Religious fundamentalism now pervades all aspects of Israeli society, from the limitations on the right to abortion to religious-inclined education, and from stores closed on the Sabbath to anti-Muslim hysteria whipped up against Palestinians.

"Peace" for Begin means no more than a cloud cover for striking out against all Palestinians and Jews who dare contest his imperial rule. In a word, there is peace neither now nor in any future projected by Begin who seeks to extend the boundaries of an imperial "biblical homeland."

Indeed, just as Labor is constantly losing against Begin because it is now seen as no more than a Likud II, so Begin is constantly "capitalizing" to the small minority of fundamentalist revolutionaries because that is what he needs to retain an electoral base. It is the same ploy he used in his terrorist beginnings when he opposed those Jews who would accept anything less than his concept of a "Greater Israel."

WHERE TO NOW?

For the Israeli masses, and especially the Israeli Left, the time to act has already arrived. The 13 years of military occupation have made the Israeli people see how society can change dramatically. The ideological debate within Israel has switched decisively to the right. Almost a full generation has grown up as occupier. The impact of such an occupation on the Israeli masses is what the Israeli Left has not yet come to terms with. The new demobilization in support of the Palestinians is important. However they are but the barest of beginnings.

For the Palestinians, the last 15 years has meant a dramatic change in their very nature of Israel society. The class composition of Israel, when there is a massive Palestinian laboring force inside, has changed dramatically. The ideological debate within Israel has changed decisively to the right. Almost a full generation has grown up as occupier. The impact of such an occupation on the Israeli masses is what the Israeli Left has not yet come to terms with. The new demobilization in support of the Palestinians is important. However they are but the barest of beginnings.

Palestinians fight Begin's reactional movement

(Continued from page 1)

and that all support Begin's racist West Bank policies. Just as there are deep, crucial, class divisions within Israel that need to be analyzed, so within the Palestinian movement the class divisions are present and bound to come to the fore, for the spectre of a growing independent Palestinian movement is openly opposed by most factions with Begin's Israel. The same day as Israeli Arabs held their general strike in Israel, Palestinians held a solidarity demonstration in the West Bank. King Hussein ordered his troops to open fire on them. By the end of the day, three lay dead, 60 more wounded.

One of the most shocking provocations to the Israeli atrocities was the brutally interrogating of the Arab students at Bethlehem University were beaten up by league members for wearing buttons printed by the Bir Zeit Committee that read "Israel." It is not to deny that Israeli and Palestinian militarism on the part of Israeli Jews.

This is hardly accidental, for the new wave of Revolt has seen a new depth of participation by Palestinian women. Blood has been the currency of the Palestinian protest. A month earlier, some 50,000 demonstrated in Tel Aviv in November to support the struggle in the West Bank and Gaza. But these were those 13 years of military occupation have made the Israeli people see how society can change dramatically. The ideological debate within Israel has switched decisively to the right. Almost a full generation has grown up as occupier. The 13 years of military occupation have made the Israeli people see how society can change dramatically. The ideological debate within Israel has switched decisively to the right. Almost a full generation has grown up as occupier. The impact of such an occupation on the Israeli masses is what the Israeli Left has not yet come to terms with. The new demobilization in support of the Palestinians is important. However they are but the barest of beginnings.

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Thousands in Peru protest poverty conditions

Los Angeles, Cal.—So far over 800 people have been arrested as part of "Operation Jobs," the Immigration and Naturalization Service national campaign to arrest "illegal" immigrant workers.

Most of the workers arrested here have been Hispanic people or Hispanic-looking people in a plant or a factory and demand to see proof of status. They have denied plants and arrested with no charges or warrants. The INS is going after those "Illegal" who make more than the minimum wage so that they can turn around and give these jobs to Mexicans or Filipinos.

I live in Boyle Heights where some of the raids have occurred. The feeling here is fear. People are afraid to go out. Even after the raids stopped, you hardly saw anyone at the supermarket. Business is down 50 percent in the eastern part of the city. Parents are keeping children at home, away from the playground, away from the stores. And the priest at Guadalupe church has told his parishioners not to come to church for the next few weeks.

They act as if the undocumented are criminals. What they are doing is a war of the workers—against workers, and to pay taxes. Only this government turns around and uses their tax money to arrest and deport them. They have broken the law of the United Nations. And they have created all sorts of family conflicts.

If this keeps going on there will be a big revolt. People will revolt. We are a people who have a good cause to go on. It might take the form of a boycott against some government agency. Black people boycotted in the South during the Civil Rights Movement. Once the common people unite you get an incredible power that none of these government agencies, not even the INS, can control.

—Latino

Lakota Indian protest

Fort Totten Indian Reservation, North Dakota—Three Lakota Indian men are refusing kidney dialysis treatment to protest the closing of an Indian Health Service Hospital at Fort Totten. The three are not taking these life-sustaining treatments because the hospital on the reservation has been closed and the only out-patient services due to the cutbacks for health services in the Reagan budget.

They stopped the treatment four times a week and were obtaining it at the hospital on the reservation. Now they are forced to drive as much as 40 miles to Devil's Lake, two towns in the area that has never been closed.

The Lakota men are also taking part in a protest calling for a demo, and succeeded in settling about 100 minutes of work to buy a liter of milk, and 12 hours 13 minutes of work to buy a kilo (2.2 pounds) of meat.

Anti-war feeling in Britain

Oxford, England—Although there has been quite a powerful surge of pro-war feeling which has revived the flagging support of the Thatcher government, British popular opinion is far from being united in support of military confrontation with Argentina. Both among workers and intellectuals there is extensive opposition.

On May 15, I took part in an anti-war march in Oxford. There was no formal organization to speak of. Apparently what happened was that a few young anti- nuke activists and, perhaps, some left-wing college students, decided to have a demonstration against their government's support for the Johnson government in Vietnam. They were the Left groups, except a few paper sellers. The middle aged element of CND (Campaign for Nuclear Disarma- ment) wasn't there either. Only the youth who are not bogged down in the "mass organisation" mentality have been able to respond with the necessary urgency to this sudden crisis.

—Richard Bunning

Chilean resistance grows in the face of severe repression

"It is possible to see in Chile what we saw in Nicaragua. We cannot permit them (the Resistance) to succeed," said James Thompson, the new U.S. amb- assador to Chile, and former ambassador to Nicaragua (1975-77). For while the Reagan Administration would make Nicaragua into another Chile with its Latin American commando force, the Chilean popular resist- ance has been growing.

On April 1, thousands of workers and their famil- ies held a "March of Hunger" in Santiago to protest the lowering of their salaries.

On March 7, pobladores (residents of the shanty- town) in the Conchal city sector of Santiago battled police to resist the 50 percent in the eastern part of the city. Parents have occurred. The feeling here is fear. People are afraid to go out. Even after the raids stopped, you hardly saw anyone at the supermarket. Business is down 50 percent in the eastern part of the city. Parents are keeping children at home, away from the play- ground, away from the stores. And the priest at Guadalupe church has told his parishioners not to come to church for the next few weeks.

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**ANTI-NUKE AND A PHILOSOPHY OF REVOLUTION**

The May lead on the growth of the anti-nuke movement and the new introduction to Philosophy and Revolution both confront the anti-nuke movement with the demand that it not stop short at mere negativity. The breadth and depth of the movement — becoming qualitatively new as rulers began speaking of "winnable" or "usable" war — shows clearly that far from the masses being uninterested in ideas, the idea of destruction is certainly a mass movement. As the DKP said, Reagan himself continues trying to remedy his "slip" by diverting thought away from his actions.

The lead didn't leave it at the level of immediate, but shows integrality of economic crisis in Europe and here, and problems faced by movement reaching Black, labor. Also it was exciting how it expressed the dialectic with the movement crossing continents. The emphasis wasn't on critique but the new opening for the freedom movement.

**Women's liberationist New York City**

With the new introduction that you printed last month, Philosophy and Revolution is a major contribution to the movement. The opening up has been going on right now.

I was really disturbed by the conference of Dunayevskaya in Philosophy and Revolution last month, which condemned all superpowers for the threat of nuclear war were buried. Those who tried to introduce the concept of solidarity with Polish "Solidarity," and for support of the struggling peace movement in East Germany were denounced as "supporters of imperialism."

The DKP has never gotten anywhere with most workers that have money because Germany for one very good reason — anyone can see that they have in East Germany is not a workers state but a police state. With "help" from the DKP the German peace movement will be in big trouble.

Anti-war activist New York City

Your article on the "European anti-nuclear movement crosses the Atlantic" was beautiful. It made me want to get involved in that struggle, and also to help link it to my other concerns — like fighting sexism and racism.

Hunter College student New York City

I very much appreciated the new introduction. At a time when we are witnessing a revival of activism and mass organizing to win basic demands of the rights we thought we had already won in the last two decades, it is important to recognize the crucial point in the relationship of theory and practice that Dunayevskaya raises here: "It takes both the movement from practice to theory and from theory to practice to work out a philosophy of revolution." Otherwise, we won't end up with one more incomprehensible framework of thought for how we did it in the past.

It is not only a critique of activism alone, it is also a critique of those so-called theoreticians who talk about the "quintessential" decade of the 1970s. In the introduction Dunayevskaya shows that theoreticians and all of us have a great deal to learn from the movement of the most recent period — from the WL movement, the Iranian revolution, or the Polish events. She is therefore helping us link the movement from practice to theory with a movement from theory to practice.

**FALKLANDS AND THE LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

The Falklands War was brought up at a meeting a couple of nights ago and some of the Trotskyists Left put forth a motion that the movement in the South Atlantic. The slogan was U.S., Britain Hands Off Malvinas Island. It was a bilingual meeting with the workers, women, youth and intellectuals of Argentina who are struggling to bring down that fascist junta.

Anti-draft activist Detroit

There was a special meeting of CIS-PES with three speakers from Central America — two from El Salvador and one from Nicaragua. It was a bilingual meeting with Chileans, Guatemalans and other Latin Americans in the audience. The El Salvadorans presented the present situation as one leaving no room for negotiations with the Right taking over the government meaning the legalization of fascism. One El Salvadoran woman from the floor brought in the fact that the Falklands War is bringing up the like hospitals and turning over land to the peasants.

The Falklands War was brought up from the floor and what everyone was emphasizing was the great new Latin American solidarity against U.S. imperialism. He said the Falklands War is a puppet government and finance invasion.

This spring most of our work will be concentrated on our signature campaign for a nuclear-weapons-free zone in the North. The campaign was launched last April and will be concluded before summer. It is the basis of this petition addressed to the Norwegian parliament and government.

According to opinion polls a majority of the Norwegian people support the US-NATO and the insistence that the US-NATO block will be a military base.

The purpose of this request, thus, a public opinion survey conducted in mid-August last year indicates: 54 percent of the population of nuclear weapons in the defense of Norway, by Norwegian or allied forces.

Seventeen percent are for the favor. Fifty-three percent are in favor of the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the North. Twenty-eight percent are against.

**TIL ATOMVAPEN**

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**INTELLECTUALS**

No one is as dumb as an intellectual. Did you watch that magnificent movie with Babies and Banners" on public TV? It was probably the most horrible commentary on it after the movie by people who know nothing, beginning with Roseanne. Bazandaz was determined to prove to us that there was "nothing new" about the Women's Movement that arose around the Flint Sit-down strike in 1936-37?

I know she said that women are always rebelling. But never before in history had we seen women in the center of establishing the first great industrial union — taking up everything from cooking to fighting, and from organizing workers to debating the right-wing.

Then there was the woman from CLUW, gibl as hell, and trying to say that the bureaucratic unions of today, were the same organizations that were the same organizations that are the rank-and-file built in the center by those intellectuals showed us was how to forget history, when it is history involving revolutionary women.

Anti-draft activist Detroit

There was a special meeting of CISPES with three speakers from Central America — two from El Salvador and one from Nicaragua. It was a bilingual meeting with Chileans, Guatemalans and others in the audience. The El Salvadorans presented the present situation as one leaving no room for negotiations with the Right taking over the government meaning the legalizing of fascism. One El Salvadoran woman from the floor brought in the fact that the Falklands War is bringing up the like hospitals and turning over land to the peasants.

The Falklands War was brought up from the floor and what everyone was emphasizing was the great new Latin American solidarity against U.S. imperialism. He said the Falklands War is a puppet government and finance invasion.

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In the last two decades, it is important to recognize the crucial point in the relationship of theory and practice that Dunayevskaya raises here: "It takes both the movement from practice to theory and from theory to practice to work out a philosophy of revolution." Otherwise, we won't end up with one more incomprehensible framework of thought for how we did it in the past.

It is not only a critique of activism alone, it is also a critique of those so-called theoreticians who talk about the "quintessential" decade of the 1970s. In the introduction Dunayevskaya shows that theoreticians and all of us have a great deal to learn from the movement of the most recent period — from the WL movement, the Iranian revolution, or the Polish events. She is therefore helping us link the movement from practice to theory with a movement from theory to practice.

**FALKLANDS AND THE LATIN AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

The Falklands War was brought up at a meeting a couple of nights ago and some of the Trotskyists Left put forth a motion that the movement in the South Atlantic. The slogan was U.S., Britain Hands Off Malvinas Island. It was a bilingual meeting with the workers, women, youth and intellectuals of Argentina who are struggling to bring down that fascist junta.

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The SCLC Pilgrimage to Washington for the Voting Rights Jobs and Peace is the first to call in the Black struggle is to convince other workers that there is a real need to work out. All the internal sexual and racial divisions have been eradicated before we start talking about the process of revolution. If not, then one of the processes about which the process will most probably be racist or sexist, previous to everything is a breakdown of stereotypes.

If you want to know why Black America is anti-militarist, all you have to do is look at the condition both inside and outside the army. You have followed Boston? There is such race-hatred there that Black parents have scrapped their hopes of getting anything out of busing. And now there are horrible murdors, like the one in Chicago, where a young Black was beaten to death by a white gang in a Boston train station.

Meanwhile the State employment offices seem more like a recruiting ground for the military than a real job center. It seems as if the way upward is a lie, W.E.B. DuBois showed this in 1917, but it is still true today. When workers are unemployed Blacks in the military. Is it any wonder? Black youth Los Angeles

I believe that prior to any revolution the theory of revolution must be worked out. All the internal sexual and racial divisions have to be eradicated before we start talking about the process of revolution. If not, then one of the processes about which the process will most probably be racist or sexist, previous to everything is a breakdown of stereotypes. If we don't do it, we will continue to face the same problems as we did in the past.

The concept of "Black masses" is a thought-provoking concept. Young activist New York

The organization called "Clergy and Lay Concerned" has one of those little offices that are great in Chicago. They are demanding that we allow them to go to "Career Days" in the school to speak about the need to understand the military recruits for the Armed Forces. They are not seeking to replace the "other side," the side of peace and jobs at home. Impressed Illinois

On the second anniversary of the Khomeini government's closing of all universities in Teheran, 60 Iranians, members of various student organizations, marched from the UN to Square Union. One hundred students were killed on the streets in the last two years, and the demonstrators were not only commemorating those who were murdered by the Khomeini regime, but were also showing their solidarity with all women, students, workers, and national minorities who are fighting for freedom. The struggle to turn the counter-revolution in Iran into a revolution. One chant called for the support of women's liberation and the women were very much in the forefront of the demonstration as they are in the student organizations represented.

Participant from Women's Liberation N.L. Hunter College, N.Y.

APPEAL FOR KURDS

For over three years the continuous struggle of the Kurds for self-determination has been under attack by Khomeini's counter-revolution in Kurdistan. Blockaded by Khomeini's armed forces, urgently needs your help. According to Mohsen Salehi, a Kurd, representative of the council of economic blockade, Kursdians do not have sufficient fuel. Food and injured persons have children who do not have enough milk.

Help keep the movement ongoing at this difficult time. Please send your medical and/or financial support to E.A.A., BOX 07190A, DETROIT, Ml 48207.

NEW INTRODUCTION TO MARXISM AND FREEDOM

Available is so because then, too, my stress was not on the fact that I was the first to publish in English Marx's now-famous Economic-Philosophical Manuscript. However, the emphasis was on the integrity of the "New Humanism" of the young Marx in the mature Marx's greatest economic work, Capital. Here is how the late Herbert Marcuse** expressed it in his Preface to the first edition: "Funnily enough, Marx's book goes to the heart of the problem. It shows not only that Marxian economics and politics are thoroughly philosophical, but that the latter is from the beginning economics and politics."

The book works on the dialectical relationship and integrity of Humanism in Marx's economic and political works. (See Part III, "Marxism: The Unity of Theory and Practice.") It also revealed the unknown American roots of Marxism in the Black dimension. This, too, stopped with the analysis of the Abolitionists movement leading to the Civil War, or the struggle that followed for the shortening of the working day, but encompassed the historic impact it had on the very structure of Capital. Because Marx had the great significance of the Black dimension that early, it made it possible for me to develop those American roots through to today's that last chapter of my work, "Anti-Racist and the New Humanism," sought in the very late developments—the initiation of the Black Revolution in the U.S., with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-56.

TO THIS AUTHOR, what makes the republication of this work urgent are the myriad crises that characterize today's world—especially the drive to war on the part of the two nuclear Titans, U.S. and Russia, and the need, instead, for a struggle for the minds of humanity. What compelled the first edition was the transformation of the first workers' state into the state-capitalist society that we know now. The Hilliard-Falwell style and "black power" are the basis of Marx's analysis of the economic laws of capitalism and a concrete study of Russia's first three five-year Plans. (See Part V, "The Problem of Our Age: State Capitalism vs. Freedom")

Because it is the ideologues not only in "the East" but in "the West," and nowhere more vulgarly than in Reagan's U.S.A., who keep attempting to devise that massive transfer of opacity, from expressing its own self, to communism, and Marxism, a philosophy of liberation—the task of clearing the air and the words of Marx with Marx's Marxism retains its validity.

We did not mean to say that the concept of "military recruiters" was grounded in the movement from practice to theory as well as the movement from theory to practice. I began with the age of revolutions: 1776 in the U.S.; 1789-93 in France; 1848 in Germany; and 1917 in Russia. Later, I showed that Russia was a workers' state, as Trotsky still maintained, but a fundamental analysis of how that transformation into opposite happened. The theory of state-capitalism was initiated in 1918, and the basis of Marx's analysis of the economic laws of capitalism and a concrete study of Russia's first three five-year Plans. (See Part V, "The Problem of Our Age: State Capitalism vs. Freedom")

**See my "In Memoriam" to Herbert Marcuse in the December, 1979 issue of the International Society for the Sociology of Knowledge Newsletter.

COMING IN THE JULY ISSUE OF NEWS & LETTERS

A special in person report of a Nigerian revolutionary

NIGERIA: OIL BOOM, OIL DOOM AND CRISIS

by Ugokwe

I, 1962, Life and Labor in Lagos
II, 1972-74: "The Great Development"
III, 1976: Today: The Trade Union and the Left
Land and freedom in Lowndes County, Alabama

A Black man from White Hall, Ben Davis, is running now for judge against Judge Hammonds. We are trying to get somebody in there who will help our people. Hammonds has been in there 32 years and all he has done is accumulate people's land, taking their land because they didn't pay taxes. He is the real ruler of most things. Quite a few Black politicians go along with whatever he says. It is pitiful to see people act like they have no thinking power of their own. If you put the words Freedom over and over, the action was a spontaneous response to the death of Medgar Evers who had been gunned down four days earlier.

In the Fall of 1961, the author of Jackson, Mississippi: An American Chronicle of Struggle and Sichim, by John R. Salter, Jr., Exposition Press, Hicksville, N.Y., 1979. $10.00.

On June 15, 1963, masses of Black people from all over the state of Mississippi rushed into the downtown area of Jackson, defying club-wielding police and shouting "freedom," "equality," "I have a dream." It was a high point of the struggle that will not go away. Freedom, equality, and a highly successful boycott of downtown white businesses, and lunch counter sit-ins.

When the land was sold, he told nearby Black farmers not to hurry and get their cows off his land. Then, they returned. Then the Judge went to see my brother real angry. He couldn't believe that a Black working man could make a profit on all that cotton. He knew that he would have to get land out of the hands of the Black farmers and the KKK ran things. The truth is that he is just a smart politician. He knew that he would have to get more total a revolution is needed to get to freedom.

The next dealing I had with the Judge was over a year later. He had sold all the land around my brother's farm. My brother had a farm, but it didn't make enough money. When the land was sold, he told nearby Black farmers not to hurry and get their cows off his land. Then, they returned. Then the Judge went to see my brother real angry. He couldn't believe that a Black working man could make a profit on all that cotton. He knew that he would have to get land out of the hands of the Black farmers and the KKK ran things. The truth is that he is just a smart politician. He knew that he would have to get more total a revolution is needed to get to freedom.

My brother called me, and I got in touch with a lawyer. We went to see the bank and get a loan. They had to make do. The bank and get $5,000 or even $10,000 on it. But the younger generation, if they own land, can easily go to the bank and get $5,000 or even $10,000 on it. But the truth is that unless you have a lot of land and money, you are not going to make a profit. It's just not possible.

For example, if I bought a parcel of land for $5,200 back on the loan, but the bank charged eight percent interest, and said there wasn't enough money paid. She let the voting rights marchers stay on her place. Her house was burned down. But I said if she could get us a case against the law, I would say to myself: I don't want to be like Muslameelah, just living and doing something for mankind.
News & Letters
Writings on the South

INDIGENT HEART: A BLACK WORKER'S JOURNAL
by Charles Denby (1976)
The activity and thought of a black work­er born and raised in Lowndes County, Ala.
$7.50

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL (1962)
A history of the Black struggle in the South from the slave revolts and Popu­larism to the Black preschoolers to the Civil Rights Movement.

MARXISM AND FREEDOM (1958) by Rayna Dunayevskaya

MARCUS AND THE AMERICAN BLACK MOVEMENT
by Montgomery Massey
1982 pre-publication price $7.95

THE FREE SPEECH MOVEMENT AND THE NEGRO REVOLUTION (1965)
The 1964 Sunflower Summer Project • Robert Moses of SNCC on Education in the South

MARTYRED UNION FRIEND (1969)
Black women workers thinking and doing. Available on microfilm, Rayna Dunayevskaya Collection

FREEDOM RIDERS SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES (1961)
Black and white freedom riders to Jackson, Miss.
Available on microfilm

A Pilgrimage to Washington for Voting Rights, Jobs and Leadership Conference. Beginning in April, it has now moved through Alabama, Georgia, South and North Carolina, and will continue into Virginia, ending in Washington, D.C. the latter part of June. Students from Paine College in Augusta joined just before march started South Carolina.
The Hidden Face of Eve and Arab Women


The struggle for independence in the Arab World has meant a radical change in women's lives in Arab countries and their tremendous pain and suffering as told by Saadawi, a woman physician, who has talked and listened to thousands of women who, through the meaning of every word she uses. Thus when I was reading her opening section on female circumcision with an inclination of the sociopsychological meaning of the word, I could literally sense her pain and anguish.

Saadawi shows how the idea of "Man the God, Woman the earth" and the child is the property of men that determines the role and status of women in society, which according to her, is the same in all Arab countries. She also points out the end of any hope for change through aborting the child. She talks about the practice of virginity testing and how the lack of legal protection for women results in their sexual exploitation.

One of the other aspects of male chauvinism in Arab countries is the fetishism of the hymen—and the threat of death that a woman is faced with upon losing it before marriage. Saadawi cites many incidents of women who have been murdered by the male members of the family because their elastic hymen had been interpreted as their not being virgins.

After reading Saadawi's moving accounts and her concern for a people for whom the image of a woman is a man's property, I was surprised to see that she had not yet separated herself from religion and "true Islam" as a liberating ideology. This is a position I share with her when she claims that "Islamic precepts . . . are built on (a) humane principle." The truth is that the 1979 Islamic Revolution that she refers to as a liberating philosophy because, even if put in a revolutionary context, religion has its own limitations which make it to be a revolution halfway and impose its own beliefs on it.

Saadawi certifies the importance of Women's Liberation and change in the society, and has tried to turn cause some changes with the writing of this book. However, when she talks about class consciousness in the society, she was in favor of a movement that would change the social relations of men and women, but as I don't think it is really understood by readers who have been in the American scene of the 1970s, I think this book is one of the most important books in our society.

Letter on women in Ireland

Editor's Note: We excerpt here a letter received from the News & Letters Committee, N. Shephard, part of her ongoing dialogue with Marxist-Humanism on the Irish movement.

Referring to Terry Moon's comments (Readers' Views, March N&L), I still maintain that there has been no "regression" in the Women's Movement in Ireland or in the Irish Republican movement, or in the women's movement in the Western country.

In the South contraceptives have only actually been legally saleable for the past few years and even now are supposed to be for married couples only. Although in practice contraception has been used on a large scale, it continues to be easier for urban middle class women than for their working class and/or rural sisters. Contraception tends to be legislation has tended to be timid rather than repressive...

Interestingly in the North where British laws make contraceptive sales possible, many women, especially in the poorer communities, such as Derry have had the highest birthrate in Europe.

Abortion is totally illegal in the South, where according to a recent survey about 85 percent of the population are against any change. Though probably 10,000 women go to England each year for abortions, and many people are working on the abortion in extreme situations such as pregnancy caused by rape, the general popular — and particularly working class — view is that abortion is wrong.

In the recent Elec- tion, Bernadette McAliskey's campaign was damaged by a right-wing pressure group led by the Democratic Unionists and Pauline Hanson's campaign. But for her to make the image of Women's Liberation a reality, she must first recognize the concepts that limit her vision of a future society.

SHEILA

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

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

The newly-expanded 7,000 page Raya Dunyevskaya Collection is now available online in microfilm at the following libraries:

- Univeristy of British Columbia
- Brandeis University
- Brown University
- Cal State—Los Angeles
- U.C.L.A.
- Harvard University
- Hoover Institution, Stanford
- Univeristy of Illinois, Chicago
- Loyola University
- University of Michigan, Labodie Collection
- Northwestern University
- San Diego State
- Schomburg Collection, NY Public Lib.
- Univ. of Utah
- Wayne State Univ., Labar Archives.

The Guide to the Collection is available from News & Letters for $1.00.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of radical Marxists, has been in existence since 1941, and it continues to be the same organization as it was in the beginning. It stands for the following:

- Marxism-Humanism, a political party, which is a political organization in the United States.
- The Democratic Unionists, a political organization in the United States.
- The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the national organization of Third World student organizations.

Communism, in order to express our solidarity with the revolutionary movements throughout the world.

Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its origin, we have decided to continue this line of activity, and to prevent the spread of an individualism "purified of all that interferes with its universality, i.e., with freedom itself." We organize our activities in committees rather than any elitist party "to lead."
Laura Strehlow

ex-sailor and military resister

What really happened in the military? First and foremost, you're a vessel in a boat being with real feelings. Now you're a disposable and replaceable recruit. Witness four paratroopers dying a few weeks ago. What was a "military draft" but a maneuver in which people are killed to be a success?

If you have any amount of intelligence, don't expect to see what it means. Oh, you may need to think about whatever job you're trained to do, but forget being innovative or original. It's just not called for because new ideas ruin tradition, and tradition is the number one rule of the military. Why are the handsails on ships painted white? Why are men forced to shave their heads? The same tradition.

ONE TRADITION was recently broken however. Women are no longer banned from being crewmembers on the warship. Instead they are considered bad luck (and still are as far as the old salts are concerned). But the extreme shortage of manpower coupled with grave unemployment in the civilian world has led to a cold forced effecting.

What's life like at sea for an enlisted, male or female? Again, let me quote one who experienced a storm and something needs to be batten down out on the weatherdecks, it's your job. The deaths that occur out there usually don't make it into the papers. Sailors are killed but it's nothing big. No great cause for concern, because the equipment is safe.

If you think that a job's too dangerous, and refuse to do it, then it's time for the great kangaroo court—Captain's Mast. Technically known as non-judicial punishment. Captain's Mast is an inquisitorial and (as the name states) non-judicial method of maintaining discipline aboard the ship. There is no trial. You stand at attention in the center of it all, which usually means you're brought up before the Captain. I hesitate to use the term evidence, because even hearsay is sufficient for "conviction."

THERE ARE WAYS of getting around non-judicial punishment. The easiest is to keep your mouth shut and your shoes shined. But for those of us who believe in real feelings. Now you're a disposable and replaceable.

The six letters I have sent the Selective Service System, they have only responded with three form letters—one from a secretary saying that they didn't accept CONSCRIPTION OF CITIZENS classifications now, which had little if anything to do with the letters I sent them. And the other two letters were the same—certified mail making me to register or face possible prosecution. I got one last December and the other about a month ago.

THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM is in the business of conscription and compliance, not prosecutions. They will not make great efforts to find non-registrants, but non-registrants should make it their business to be found. With large numbers of public non-registrants we have a better chance of finding something without prosecutions forcing the issue into the public, or if it does come down to prosecutions, there is safety in numbers.

Right now there are only about 150 or so non-registrants on the Selective Service list, but if out of a population of about 60 million, a few hundred or a few thousand made it their business to go public, prosecutions would be unreasonable. I don't think the Selective Service System wants to find non-registrants. They just want to scare those that are scareable into registering.

CONSCRIPTION is really just martial law on a minority of the population put on it by the rest of the population. Isn't martial law the suspension of civil liberties for the sake of the military? Conscription is a product of this suspension, not a demonstration when people are subordinated to the "State" then who rules? Conscription destroys the very freedom that we are supposed to be protected.

By limiting our choice only to draft registration and only recognizing the wholesale military solution as the legal and moral solution, then we have made that first dangerous step toward the unthinkable of preferring military solutions. We must allow for at least one constructive alternative to violent revolution solution.

Dan Rutt
draft registration resister

I was supposed to have registered in the summer of 1960. It is obvious that I didn't, but I did not decide to go public—and I am telling the Selective Service System that I wasn't going to register—until about a year ago.

Sit-in at Medgar Evers

Editor's Note: April 20, more than 600 students from Medgar Evers College in Brooklyn gathered in a fruitless attempt to meet with College Rich ard W. Cooper president. Dem ands ranging from child-care facilities to explanations about his failure to stem the steady deterioration of the school some call "the only Black one in New York." Below is an account of the struggle.

Brooklyn, N.Y.—On April 20, I was sitting in class and students came running in and literally pulled us from our seats, explaining something urgent was happening between the administration and the students. Trent had refused to meet with students to hear us out, claiming that he feared that among the hundreds of students were dangerous, armed, "outside" groups. Of course, this was a lie. Over 100 students marched to his office, occupied it, and have been there ever since.

The school was reduced from a four-year university to a community college and average college president would have fought this. But he didn't go fight. He thought the whole thing was a joke. He claims he didn't have the right to run a school in the unorganized. Seventy-three percent of the students are women, and nine out of ten have kids. Some have to bring them to classes, because there are no day-care facilities.

There has come to the point, when looking for a job, it's a disadvantage to say you went to Medgar Evers. My own experience has been that I have not been able to get the same employment as average college president would have fought this. But he didn't go fight. He thought the whole thing was a joke. He claims he didn't have the right to run a school in the unorganized. Seventy-three percent of the students are women, and nine out of ten have kids. Some have to bring them to classes, because there are no day-care facilities.

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Youth in Revolt

While U.S. Vice President Bush dined with hated South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan April 25, hundreds of students at Ewha Women's University assembled in front of the government and scattered leaflets calling for the release from jail of opposition leader Kim Dae Jung. Bush was in Seoul to reaffirm U.S. support for the dictatorship.

The thousands of striking students at Escohar Agricultural College in Tennessee burned busses, took hostages including the director, and threatened to destroy valuable insects that eat crop pests—in order to force the administration to up with $4.5 million in promised educational funds. The strike, which began May 11 and was suspended a few days later for talks, continued as of press about ownership, they hadn't been paid in a month....

Youths protesting a housing shortage in West Berlin smashed windows in banks; bulldozers and schoolfolding were hit by firebombs May 17. Four youths were arrested in rebellions in at least three districts of the city the next day.
The imperialist conflict that now rages over the Malvinas/Falkland Islands holds no beneficial interest to its role as collaborator with the government, the continent and Argentina was the one Latin American country that agreed to aid the U.S. in its imperialist advance against Nicaragua. The continent is known to contain mineral, oil and gas deposits, which are not now profitable to exploit, but could at a future date become the bone of international contentions.

During from the apparently hugely successful 15-minute general strike called by underground Solidarnosc leaders.

As the great Polish revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg, promised that by July of this year his mission, to destroy the profit level up and to create their own oil shortage.

China

This spring new horrors in China's long history of sexism and violence were added to the list: women in Guangdong who marry face expulsion, from school. Children. There are reports of families having their children, which grants fishing rights to each nation up to 200 miles from the shore, and lays the ground rules for the exploitation of the sea.

The mining of coal from the sea bed largely depends on American technology, which the U.S. refuses to share with other nations.

The new Law of the Sea and the conflicting claims of the Falkland Islands which have no known oil or gas deposits. The movement the world sea bed or the Falkland Islands, which has been established in the area of the world that will cost 2,100 jobs in Canada.

Throughout the world the oil giants are cutting back on drilling, exploration and production of oil to keep the profit level up and to create their own oil shortage.

Iran-Iraq War

A new stage was reached in the 21-month-old Iranian-Iraqi war with Iran's retaking of the oil-producing province of Khuzestan in Southern Iran. The casualties, both political and military, that have resulted from the conflict have not yet cost more than one. Iran has not hesitated to send

Annexation of territory is not the objective of any nation—Antarcticas and the oceans of the world.

The Antarctic Treaty of 1959 cut off that continent into pie-shaped segments, for exploration purposes only.