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'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Mass Unrest at Home and Abroad in the Global Year of the Missile

Introduction: The Supreme Artificer, Ronald Reagan

"... the darkness of thought, mated with the
clearness of expression."
— Hegel, *Phenomenology of Mind*, p. 707

The rulers of the seven richest, most technologically-advanced countries, meeting in colonial Williamsburg, manifested their Grand Illusion that there is no need to face the burning question of the day:

Can "the year of the missile," which Reagan had the gall to christen "the Peacekeeper," really hide the global, continuing, massive unemployment in each of their countries and absolute poverty in the Third World — a poverty so deep that it matches the days of the Great Depression of the 1930s — while the whole world is now faced with massive unrest?

While Reagan achieved success by transforming what was supposed to have been an "economic summit" into a military unanimity for stationing medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the mass attitude to the

President at home was sharply and succinctly expressed by a Native American, Reubin Snake, chairman of the Winnebago Tribal Council in Nebraska who was speaking for the whole National Tribal Chairmen's Association. He described the President as "the great forked-tongue liar and the great deceiver that sits in the White House." So disgusted are the Native Americans with the Reagan retrogression that they demanded all programs relative to Indian affairs be removed from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and placed in the hands of Congress.

None at Williamsburg paid any attention, of course, to those voices. The same deafness was displayed by the rulers to all mass opposition — whether by labor, the Black masses, Women's Liberationists, or youth anti-war activists. They likewise kept mum about the U.S. stranglehold on Latin America; all of them have their own "spheres of influence," even as they collaborate with each other both in the Middle East and in South Africa — and, above all, in lining up with the

U.S. nuclear Titan against the other pole, the Russian nuclear giant, as was clear from the military unanimity Reagan had achieved there.

It is true that bourgeois pundits weren't as fooled as the rulers by all the whistling in the dark about "economic recovery" and talk of a "New Economy." But their ideology hardly differs from the false consciousness of the rulers when their independence of view is limited to calling for the creation of a "brainstorming group" to work out a "conceptual breakthrough." Instead of waiting for that impossible bourgeois breakthrough — impossible because any breakthrough requires a mass base, and the masses of proletarians, Blacks, women and youth are totally opposed to both the rulers and their ideologues — what is necessary is to look, not at what is called "the New Economy," but at the true economic reality which includes the total mass opposition to the ruling classes.

1. See Albert Bressand's "Mastering the 'Worldeconomy'" in *Foreign Affairs*, Spring, 1983.

I. The "New Economy": Its Imperialist Tentacles Abroad; Its Labor Exploitation and Racism at Home

President Reagan, that supreme artificer, who had enough economic and nuclear might to christen the global death weapon, the MX missile, the "Peacekeeper," could say nothing that deceitfully dramatic about the economy. Thereupon, the pundits went on inventing new words for that "New Economy." Consider the extreme narrowness of the "conceptual breakthrough" of the one who called for the creation of a "brainstorming group" and proposed eliminating the space between two words so that "worldeconomy" as a single word would lead us to go beyond "national interests" and see that "our present crisis is one of values, world views, and economic philosophy... we seem to have lost (the capacity) for rediscovering the fundamental values we have in common..."

What exactly was calling "worldeconomy" as one word do when the reality shows the uncontrollable contradiction between capital and labor? The present capitalist onslaught against the unions, both in rolling back the hard-won wages and in worsening the conditions of labor, has not deterred the labor bureaucracy from its class collaborationism in forcing down the workers' throats those unconscionable wage concessions to produce ever-larger profits for the capitalist coffers. Just as the capitalists keep stressing what they call "the new economy" as if that absolves them from unabating unemployment, so the labor bureaucracy is using the question of the new technology to cover up its do-nothingness on the unemployment front.

The truth is that unionization would never have been born if the working class had buckled under to what Marx had called the capitalist "werewolf hunger" for ever higher and higher profits. Instead, they intensified their struggles, never abandoning their vision of a better world. The struggles for higher wages, for unionization, for changing the sweatshop conditions of labor, for shortening the working day, are what Marx called "a century of civil war between capital and labor." Indeed, it was only in that way that a modicum of suc-



20,000 waited in line in Chicago for temporary minimum wage jobs as unemployment went above 12 million nationwide.

cess could be achieved. The fact that the labor leadership has since become nothing more than the body-guard of capital will not stop the struggles. What does the "new economy" with its robotics offer working people that the old capitalist economy didn't? Does it change the mode of production in any way to decrease the unemployed army? Quite the contrary. Of the 32 million unemployed in the industrialized West many will never be reabsorbed in the labor force. The fact that the U.S. has the highest number of unemployed — 11 million that are admitted to — doesn't mean that the situation is relatively different in any of the other countries, be that Tory England or Socialist France, or, for that matter, the state-capitalist pole, Russia, where officially they have "no unemployment."

One thing state-capitalism calling itself Communism knew from the start was that living labor alone is the source of all surplus value (profit). What both Western capitalism and Russia (and Japan which has been labeled the "West") have pursued in common is the intensification of labor — cutting the labor force, having one worker do two jobs. So great by now are the concessions that have been wrung from labor that in

many shops relief time and wash-up time has been given up; even highly skilled craftsmen, as at Good-year for example, have agreed to work 25% of the time outside their crafts; and since women still earn only 59% of what men are paid, there is the continued drive to hire women at lower rates for many jobs. That "nationalization" brings no different conditions is proved by the fact that Thatcher has managed to cut the labor force in Britain's nationalized steel industry by no less than 52%.

When we look at a single basic industry, like steel, the decrepit "New Economy" shows even more starkly what it really is. Steel runs at only 42% capacity. With 199 steel mills closed in the past eight years and the prospect of 53% fewer jobs, the steel industry is at a point where it might face extinction. Not only are U.S. steel mills outmoded — as is clear from the fact that only 26% of the steel produced in the U.S. is produced by continuous casting, compared to 61% in Europe and 86% in Japan — but, instead of spending money on

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2. See "Time Runs Out for Steel," *Business Week*, June 13, 1983.

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research and development (they spend only 0.6% of their revenue there), they prefer a "quick fix" for easier profits through mergers. Thus, U.S. Steel purchased Marathon Oil, incurring a debt of \$14 billion, instead of improving its facilities.

Moreover, where the U.S. was formerly the major supplier of manufactured goods to the Third World, its position has deteriorated with the Third World's production of some of its own goods. That includes steel. South Korea under a dictatorship pays steel workers \$3 an hour compared to \$14 in the U.S. Brazil is about to open a new steel mill, built by the Japanese, which will be the most modern plant in the world and turn out three million tons of steel in its first year.

The fundamental truth, however, is that the greatest contributor to those high and immediate profits of U.S. industry is cheap labor, whether from U.S. or Third World workers.

At the same time, capitalism's exorcism — the State — has so insatiable an appetite and demand for global dominance that the rulers will not tolerate any diminution of the endless billions — and now trillions — needed to finance the military. Which is why its ideologues are now declaiming: "But can the U.S. allow its basic industries to atrophy and still remain a major industrial and military power? McDonald's now employs more workers than U.S. Steel."³ John Nevin, chairman of Firestone Tire & Rubber put it this way: "It's utter nonsense that we are going to become a high-tech and a service economy. The high tech companies have more manufacturing offshore than here. The idea that we can have an economy by selling hamburgers to each other is absurd." And Harvard's Robert B. Reich, author of *The Next Frontier*, says: "The choice is not between a smokestack America on the one hand and high-technology, on the other. That is a false choice." The challenge confronting the U.S., we are told, is "how to use high technology in the smokestack industries." **Therein is the rub.**

The retrogression in all areas of human life, beginning with the attack on the conditions of labor, has also seen Reagan storm-troop his way blatantly into the field of education. In the very beginning of his break with bourgeois society Marx knew that you had to fight bureaucracy not only in the State but also in education. In 1843, in his *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*,

3. "The New Economy," *Time*, May 30, 1983.

Marx wrote:

"State objectives are transformed into objectives of the department, and department objectives into objectives of the state. The bureaucracy is a circle from which no one can escape. Its hierarchy is a **hierarchy of knowledge** . . . The examination . . . is nothing other than the **bureaucratic baptism of knowledge**, the official recognition of the **trans-substantiation** of profane knowledge into sacred (in every examination it goes without saying, the examiner knows all.)" (Marx-Engels, *Collected Works*, 3:46,51)

What Reagan is now calling "merit pay" is one more artifice aimed, at one and the same time, to set parents against teachers and to destroy the teachers' unions, part of the Grand Design to destroy all labor opposition for which he laid the ground with his destruction of the air controllers' union, PATCO.

The attack on public education and the cutbacks in federal financial aid for everything from school lunches to libraries, and on everyone from Head Start to the post-graduate level, has been the most devastating to Black students and Black colleges, whose students are going into Black communities across the country to beg for money to keep their schools open. The Joint Center for Political Studies has published a report by Black scholars voicing alarm that the entire "30-year drive to enforce Black civil rights" is now threatened by the Reagan-inspired rebirth of white racism.

The truth is, however, that although the pundits have no trouble using such dehumanized expressions as "Human workers will go the way of the horse," the rulers know that they not only have a need for human cannon fodder, but that human power has also been known throughout all of history for making revolutions — and they are worried about how to keep short of provoking those. They wonder how long that artificer, Reagan, with his skyrocketing military spending and one hundred billion dollars plus deficits, can confine the restless masses at home.

And what about the Third World? Donald Kimmel, Director of the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, has spelled out what absolute poverty means for the 800 million people there: they face the worst food shortages since the 1970s when no less than 200 to 300 thousand men, women and children starved to death. The 18 African countries threatened with the worst

famine in a decade are Botswana, Cameroon, Cape Verde Islands, Chad, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Ghana, Lesotho, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Togo, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

It is clear that the genocidal nature of imperialism has not changed ever since it first appeared at the end of the 19th century. It was because of the barbarism of German imperialism and because the leadership of the German Social-Democracy showed such opportunism on the question — and such insensitivity to what was happening to the African peoples under the whip of imperialism — that Rosa Luxemburg issued an outcry that can be heard to this day:

"The poor victims on the rubber plantations in Putumayo, the Negroes in Africa with whose bodies the Europeans play a game of catch, are just as near to me (as the suffering of the Jews.) Do you remember the words written on the work of the Great General Staff about Trotha's campaign in the Kalahari desert? 'And the death-rattles, the mad cries of those dying of thirst, faded away into the sublime silence of eternity.' Oh, this 'sublime silence of eternity' in which so many screams have faded away unheard. It rings within me so strongly that I have no special corner of my heart reserved for the ghetto: I am at home wherever in the world there are clouds, birds and human tears . . ."

Today it is U.S. imperialism's tentacles in Latin America that are inciting the Salvador military clique to extend its genocidal war against its own people into "regional" wars by engineering attacks from Honduran soil by Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries, all duly trained and supported by an American military that has acquired its genocidal expertise in the unholy Vietnam War.

Political crises abound everywhere — and never for a moment does Reagan forget that the whole aim is the ultimate confrontation with the other nuclear Titan, Russia, under the fantastic illusion of winning a nuclear war and thus making this the "American century."

4. This letter from Luxemburg to Mathilde Wurm, dated Feb. 16, 1917, was written from prison, where Luxemburg was confined because of her anti-war activities. It can be found on p. 63 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

II. Political-Military Crises Abound: in Latin America, in the Middle East — and the Ultimate Global Nuclear Threat

Ronald Reagan has this year begun an intense campaign to embroil all of Central America in a militaristic counter-revolution. Not content with the attempt at wholesale destruction of the people of El Salvador, where some 35,000 civilians have been murdered in the past three and a half years under U.S.-sponsored terror, the Administration has stepped up its support for counter-revolutionaries across the entire isthmus.⁵

In Nicaragua it is sponsoring those counter-revolutionaries who have invaded from the border area of Honduras and Costa Rica. Some 8,000 are estimated to be in the field now. Their arms and other military equipment — indeed, their very existence as a counter-revolutionary force (labeled the "contras") — is dependent upon U.S. imperialism. Their numbers have escalated sharply in the last few months as the U.S. government has made its decision to ignite all of Central America in an imbroglio, hoping in that way to crush the indigenous revolutionary movement that overthrew the neo-fascist military dictator Somoza.

In Honduras, the U.S. is in the process of transforming the countryside into a military fiefdom. The number of American military advisors in the country is in the process of being tripled to almost 200 — more than three times the number of military advisors in El Salvador. A new military base is being set up for training both Salvadoran and Honduran soldiers. The Honduran military dictatorship, anxious to please, is asking in turn for hundreds of millions more in military aid and requesting the establishment of more military bases. Not only do they provide sanctuary for the Nicaraguan "contras", but they are now providing mortar fire for their invasion of Nicaraguan territory. Only self-discipline on the part of Nicaragua has stopped a full border war between Honduras and Nicaragua.

In Panama, the U.S. is using its Howard Air Base for

5. See especially Robert E. White's "Perilous Latin Policy", *New York Times*, May 2, 1983.

weapons shipments to El Salvador and Honduras as well as for night-time reconnaissance flights with special planes for El Salvador; while in Guatemala, the U.S. special Ambassador Stone used his one-day visit to sing the praises of that iron-heel regime that the Reagan Administration is now preparing to re-arm overtly.

The only thing missing from this cabal is the actual entry of U.S. military troops. What, however, confronts these nuclear-armed madmen, dreaming of an "American century," is not only the sharp hostility of the American people to any invasion of El Salvador by the U.S. military, but the memory of their total failure in Vietnam.

We cannot allow ourselves to be fooled that the centerpoint of the Reagan Administration's designs in El Salvador is limited to that country — and in this Secretary of State Shultz is proving more adept though less noisy than his predecessor, Alexander Haig. It is true that any victory by El Salvador's freedom fighters would both strengthen the Nicaraguan revolution and open a new page of freedom for all of Latin America. It is not true that domination over El Salvador or even Nicaragua satisfies all the ambitions of U.S. imperialism.

The truth is that ever since the Cuban Revolution succeeded — spontaneously and all on its own — to throw out Batista and deliver a sharp blow to U.S. imperialism, it is the Cuban Revolution that has been in the sights of the U.S. military. First, it was the Kennedy Administration which thought a few counter-revolutionaries, armed by the U.S., could overthrow that legitimate regime. The Bay of Pigs put an end to the illusion. Reagan now thinks that if he can start a counter-revolution at a weaker point, like El Salvador, and then blame Nicaragua for sending it arms while he sends armed troops, somehow all will change. What utter nonsense.

The real truth is that the century-old struggle in Latin

America against U.S. imperialism is now revealing itself in such spontaneous, massive forms that it is opening doors to deep social revolution and attracting support from American revolutionaries who want to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism. That is true not only in Central America but extends to South America, as is proved by the ongoing mass rebellion in Chile, where Nixon-Kissinger's counter-revolution was successful in installing that military dictator Pinochet for a full decade.

This year, however, no less than 100,000 came out in mass protest led by Rodolfo Seguel, the head of the copper workers' union who is the spokesman for the Labor Command. He was immediately arrested — which only produced another day of demonstrations, this time including students, housewives and political parties long underground. Two deaths and hundreds arrested brought on a third day of protests. Nor have the protestors been scared off by Pinochet's labeling them "Communists." Indeed, the students at the University of Chile answered by burning an effigy of General Pinochet.

There are new struggles also in Argentina, where the movement from below has forced the military to call for civilian elections this October. The outcry there against the military's attempt to whitewash its role in the disappearance of over 6,000 people through right-wing death squads in the 1970s signals an ever-growing revolutionary opposition. In Brazil, the so-called "controlled return to democracy" has been challenged especially by labor, which wants less control and more democracy. And in the Andes, the Bolivian workers and peasants who forced a military retreat and a reinstatement of civilian rule have not yet had their last say on the direction they wish this social transformation to take. The Bolivian Workers Federation has challenged the popular front government of Hernan Siles Zuazo with strikes and sit-ins. They have been joined by peasant unions and students.

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Nationwide anti-war protests confront nuclear arms build-up

by Jim Mills

"No nukes, no war, shut down Livermore!" supporters chant over and over as they line the roads around California's Lawrence Livermore National Labs. It is early morning on International Day of Disarmament, June 20, and we are watching groups of demonstrators get arrested and taken away. We are resisting Reagan's nuclear war drive and the nuclear weapons research and development which goes on at Lawrence Livermore.

It's 7:30. An affinity group rushes past police lines to sit in the road, trying to block work at the lab, prepared for arrest. One picket sign at the side of the road reads "What do you want to be when you grow up? Alive?" We speak to a housewife here with a few friends. Just two months ago they began holding peace vigils at the Alameda Naval Air Station.

Eighty-three. Fifteen "Elders for Peace" sit in the middle of the road. Police take them to waiting school buses. A young man watching tells us how he recently left the army only 28 days after going in. He was unwilling to kill: "unadaptable to military life."

Nine-thirty. Police complete their arrest of 100 "Minors for Peace." Many are no older than 14. A worker among the supporters tells how he was fired for going on strike for union recognition in a small manufacturing shop. Despite Reagan's militarist and anti-union atmosphere, many school bus drivers who were assigned to drive protesters to jail refused the job.

By the end of the day more than 2,500 had participated, more than 800 had been arrested.

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF DISARMAMENT

While the Lawrence Livermore demonstration was the largest, there were numerous other demonstrations that day and in days before the International Day of Disarmament. Among them:

- In Groton, Conn., protesters demonstrated against the

latest Trident nuclear submarine being constructed.

- At Vandenberg Air Force Base in Cal., activists were arrested trying to stop the first test flight of the MX missile — a 4,000-mile journey of death into the Pacific.

- At the Williams International Corp. plant in Walled Lake, Mich., some 400 people linked arms in a human chain across the front of the weapons factory where cruise missile engines are built. "Refuse the Cruise" was the call.

The many demonstrations which have occurred this June come one year after the massive three-quarters of a million march and rally in New York June 12, 1982. It was that demonstration which revealed the broad anti-war opposition within the United States, and showed that the massive anti-war movement which had been taking place throughout Europe, and has meant several decades of antiwar activity in Japan, had indeed crossed the oceans and come to America.

The question we need to ask is what has happened in the year since June 12, 1982? What has been the response of the Reagan Administration? the Congress? And most importantly has the tremendous anti-war feeling demonstrated a year ago moved to become an anti-war movement that can transform this society?

REAGAN'S NUCLEAR LUNGE

The Reagan Administration, far from backing down on its mad drive for war preparation, has, if anything, intensified the lunge toward nuclear holocaust. At the Williamsburg economic summit at the end of May, the first item on the agenda was a "Text on Arms Policy" engineered by Washington and agreed to by all the participants, declaring full support for the deployment by NATO of 572 Cruise and Pershing II missiles in Western Europe beginning this December. A subsequent NATO foreign ministers meeting reaffirmed this policy.

Earlier we had Reagan's famous "Star Wars" speech to Congress calling for laser beams aimed at nuclear missiles and anti-satellite weapons as space becomes the newest theater for nuclear weapons and nuclear warfare. The Air Force has recommended that its Space Command in Colorado (itself only a year old) become a unified,

four-service command to control the nation's rapidly expanding military activities in space.

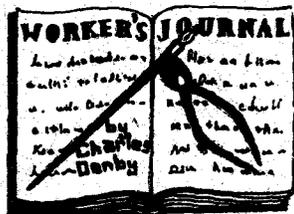
And what about Congress? Despite the May passage of a House resolution endorsing a freeze on deployment and production of nuclear weapons, Congress showed its hypocrisy by voting \$625 million needed to fuel MX missile production a few days later. And when it comes to the very real wars in progress in Central America, Congress has as yet failed to stop Reagan's war chest for El Salvador, Honduras, counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua and new arms for Guatemala. (See lead article in June, 1983 N&L)

We who are in the anti-nuke movement, from minors and elders for peace to freeze proponents, and from church activists, to women's liberationists and to those who came out of the Civil Rights Movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement, cannot allow our opposition to be dictated by whatever ground Reagan and his so-called opponents in Congress take. Nor for that matter by any of the maneuvers of that other nuclear power, Russia, which has played the disarmament game many long years together with the United States.

Rather, the test for us becomes how to transform the breadth of the anti-nuke movement so dramatically expressed in that mass demonstration in New York a year ago, into the depth of force for uprooting the class-divided, racist and sexist society and thereby put an end to the threat of nuclear Armageddon.

In the year since the great mass anti-war demonstration, new organizations, new publications, and new actions have been born or have grown under the impact of Reagan's war drive. More and more groups — women's, community, religious — have exercised civil disobedience or direct action as a strategy. Vandenberg Air Force Base was the subject of mass actions in February; the "death train" carrying nuclear weapons from Texas to Washington attracted nationwide attention and opposition this past Spring. The Catholic Bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear war reflected still more of the anti-war sentiment within the country. And from right within the military

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

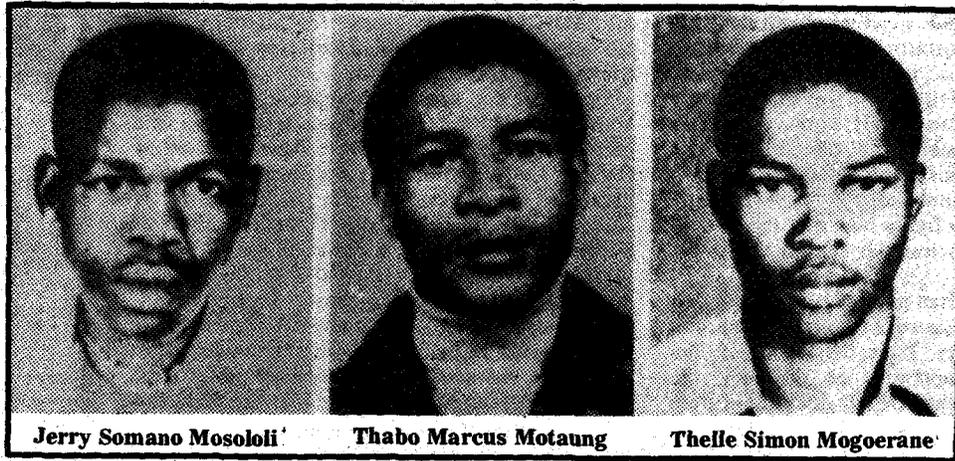
I am turning over my column to Lou Turner for a special report on South Africa, the Black Consciousness Movement and Marxist-Humanism — C.D.

No doubt P.W. Botha's neo-fascist South African regime thought it was sending another law and order message to the Azanian people's struggle when it decided to execute three young revolutionaries — Simon Mogoerane, 23 years old; Jerry Mosololi, 25, and Marcus Motaung, 27 — on the eve of the seventh anniversary of the June 16 Soweto Rebellion in arrogant contempt of international pleas for clemency. The massive memorial demonstrations for the three young ANC (African National Congress) freedom fighters and the many Soweto Day commemorations which swept the country also left no doubt in anyone's mind that the Azanian freedom answer to that racist apartheid order continues to be: "Amandla ngawethu!" (Power belongs to us!)

When the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, BCM(A), asked a representative of Marxist-Humanism to speak at its Soweto Day conference, June 16-18, I immediately accepted. I wanted not only to express News and Letters Committees' solidarity with the liberation movement, but because we were in the process of publishing the 20th anniversary fourth edition of *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard*. I wanted also to present our 40-year history of activity and thought on South Africa as a continuity with Marx's view of the Black world.

The conference, held at Howard University, was attended by BCM exiles and African-American activists, as well as representatives from other African liberation movements, such as the Eritrean struggle, and Left organizations. As stated in the conference program, the organizers wanted to set Azanian liberation in the global context of today's freedom movements "from Azania to Eritrea . . . from El Salvador to the southside of Miami."

Soweto Day: Black Consciousness and Marxist-Humanism



Jerry Somano Mosololi

Thabo Marcus Motaung

Thelle Simon Mogoerane

MARXIST-HUMANISM AND GENERATIONS OF RESISTANCE

The conference focused on the "generations of resistance" to racist capitalism in South Africa that culminated in the 1976-78 Black Consciousness Rebellions, and the deepening of those revolutionary impulses today as manifested in the most massive Black trade union movement ever to challenge apartheid. For not only has Black labor been the Achilles heel of South African capitalism, it has, since the days when Black workers in South Africa read and disseminated the ideas of Garveyism, practiced the dialectical two-way road to liberation between the U.S. and Africa as revolutionary internationalism.

On the second evening of the conference I summarized the Marxist-Humanist experience of that two-way dialectic. Thus, it was the 1950s when we linked the Montgomery Bus Boycott which marked the beginning of the Civil Rights Movement to the boycott of the buses in Johannesburg and the women's anti-pass campaign of 1957. We recognized again in the 1960s from newly independent West Africa that a new stage had been reached when the late Robert Sobukwe formed the Pan-African Congress and continued the anti-passbook campaign that brought on the Sharpeville massacre. However, it was in the "Soweto period" of the 1970s that we caught the integrality of philosophy and revolution as BCM activist-thinkers like Steve Biko began to re-articulate the theoretical ground of the South African revolution, drawing on the thought of Frantz Fanon.

This Marxist-Humanist tracing of Black consciousness in South Africa has led to a most extensive dialogue with Black South African revolutionaries. The many forums

where we sponsored such speakers as I.B. Tabata, Phyllis Ntantala and student activists from the BCM, as well as publishing the voices of the Azanian struggle in News & Letters, intensified following the Soweto rebellion. (See especially "Steve Biko Speaks for Himself," November, 1977 N&L)

INSIDE THE AZANIAN STRUGGLE

Along with this history of our international relations with the Azanian struggle, another point of departure came the first evening of the conference when a BCM(A) speaker seriously posed the following questions facing the movement. What is the relationship of organization to spontaneity? What does historic continuity mean for each generation? What is the relationship of consciousness to forms of organization among workers, women and students? And what characterizes the present moment of the struggle? However, it was his conclusion that "victory is not the question, time is the question," which permitted me to develop both historically and theoretically Marx's concept of revolution in permanence and its relationship to the self-determination of Third World revolutions.

The serious exchange of ideas that immediately followed and continued the next day revealed the theoretic depth the BCM activists are striving to attain. Thus, when African-American supporters and activists wanted to know what can be done in the U.S. the BCM organizers acknowledged the continued need for aid and support activities such as divestiture and boycotts. At the same time, they made it clear that the Black Consciousness philosophy wasn't only the articulation of a new stage of national consciousness, but a new conception of Black liberation — "self-generating, self-developing" — a conception which recognizes that the direction of the movement must come from the Black masses inside South Africa itself.

That is why it was very exciting to see at the conference one of the latest publications now being passed from hand to hand inside South Africa — *Tokoloho*, Vol. 1, No. 1 of the Newsletter of the Soweto Branch of Azapo (Azanian People's Organization). Listen to the conclusion of the lead article in *Tokoloho* entitled "Heroes Day — Its significance and relevance to Black Consciousness": "For close on to a decade (since Sharpeville) there was no form of organized resistance by the people against inroads into their lives by the powers that be and their myriad of draconian legislation . . . It was during this interregnum that one of the most viable unifying ideas with a cognitive message emerged. This philosophical outlook transformed our people's way of life; gave them a sense of worth and belonging and spurred them on to

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The hidden dimension: Indian women

The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women, by Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine. University Press of America, 1983.

Ever since the late 1960s both the Women's Liberation Movement worldwide and the movement of Native peoples in North and South America have shaken long-ingrained ideas and stereotypes. A small, but growing, openly feminist voice has appeared directly within the Native American struggle, as exemplified by Shainape Shcapwe's articles in the pages of N&L. Nevertheless, for most Americans, and even for many social scientists writing on Indian society and history, men are still presented as the only actors in the drama, with Indian women remaining the "hidden half," relegated to the twin images of "Princess" or "her darker, negatively viewed sister, the Squaw."*

This collection of essays, edited by Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine, is an important step toward replacing that stunted view with one of the Indian women as makers of history. Concentrating on the nations of the North Plains, the study poses such a fundamental critique of much of the anthropological literature that it "deals with problems that are applicable to the study of all native women." Albers' introductory essay hits out at the depiction of Plains Indian women as "chattel, enslaved as beasts of burden," victims whose work was ignored as "menial and monotonous." "These views," she charges, "tell us more about the attitudes of the Euro-Americans who studied Plains Indians than about the actual conditions under which these people lived."

INDIAN WOMEN YESTERDAY AND TODAY

A re-examination of such reports, under the impact of the feminist and American Indian movements not only reveals much about both Indian history and Indian women today, but underlines in a new way the need to seriously study Marx's writings on pre-capitalist societies, especially his *Ethnological Notebooks*. Thus, when Alan Klein's essay examines the "impact of colonialism (in the guise of trade) upon women," his focus on the Plains mode of production contrasts women's position in the late 18th century, before the introduction of the horse and the hide trade, with that of the 19th century. Far from endorsing what was supposedly Marx's view (as expressed in Engels' *Origin of the Family*) that treated the loss of women's position in egalitarian society as a single issue, Klein ties it tightly to all the changes brought by the new mode of production.

In tracing the buffalo hunt from its collective nature involving both men and women, to the methods used after the introduction of the horse, he emphasizes that the horse "came into nomadic society as the private property of men." And along with the ever-greater demand for hides by white traders, came establishment of individual ownership of the kill, the absence of women from the hunt, the rise of male soldier societies, and, above all, vastly increased disparities of wealth and power. By then, among the Teton Sioux, the use of a carved "challenge stick" arose, thrown into the tent of a rich man by the poor, reminding him that it was his duty to share with others. The very presence of such a practice reveals the widening gulf between chiefs and ranks.

Yet even in this period, when polygyny, too, became common, "warrior women" made their appearance, "not as a form of deviant behavior," Medicine insists, "but as a healthy and self-actualized role." Among the Piegan, "manly-hearted women" took the names of great warriors, seized the economic roles of men, and determined their own sexuality. So ignored was this countervailing tradition by nearly all writers that we have only a few tales — like that of the Crow woman warrior who sat on the council and ranked as the third leading warrior in a band of 160 lodges — to hint at the history.

'SIOUX WOMEN IN TRANSITION'

The studies in this volume include three important contributions on the nature of "women's work," from ceremonial objects to agriculture and gathering; as well as efforts to deepen a critique of bias in anthropology — "the

*Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Paradox: the Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16: 698-714 (1975). See also her review essay in *Signs* 6: 248-267 (1980) on "Native American Women".

shackles of tradition." Most significant for current activity by Native American women is Patricia Albers' essay "Sioux Women in Transition," which takes up one North Dakota reservation from its establishment in 1867 to today, looking at "the changing status of women under colonial domination." In the process of asking why, in a period of tremendous economic hardship, women are increasingly active in tribal politics and movements, Albers exposes not only the government's infamous policy of leasing Indian land to whites at bargain rates, but raises questions about the future of a people confined to the "margins" of society. The *Hidden Half* makes clear that the creativity and struggle of Indian women, in history and today, is central to that future.

— Michael Connolly

British peace camps



Protesters at Greenham Common air base at Easter

Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts from a report we received from peace camps in Britain.

Faslane Peace Camp, Scotland — Most of the women, men and children at the Faslane peace camp in Scotland are young, the majority under 20. These people feel that given the unemployment and the economic situation in Britain, they are giving up and losing nothing, but have everything to gain by living and becoming part of the peace movement.

Apart from the one major all-women's demonstration and a few festival days, Faslane's support comes mainly from the campers themselves. There has been quite a lot of media about the children of those arrested and jailed, putting a lot of pressure on the camp that the children might be taken away by the authorities.

The police seem to be a lot heavier in Scotland; whether that's to do with the smaller numbers of supporters I'm not sure. Also quite a bit of hassle from the local community; a definite attitude of them and us exists. The camp is situated on the main road opposite the base, so there is the feeling of vulnerability and it is quite a hardship to live there, although the wonderful friendly atmosphere far outweighs this.

At Greenham Common, it was wonderful to be around all-women energy, seeing women growing and learning through their actions, taking a little more control over their lives and feeling their own strength and courage. When we were inside the base and the police dragged us all onto the buses, one woman was flabbergasted — she couldn't believe she was in Britain and this was happening to her. Women were making incredible leaps in their consciousness, and even if the peace movement fails, an incredible amount will have been learnt by the women.

What is really great about the movement and those who fight back, with everything to gain and nothing else to lose, is that new human relations exist in it. People's values and attitudes change, they seem to move beyond the constraints and conditioning that society imposes on us. I think that inspires me above anything, to see the transformations in people.

But I found it difficult to get past the emotional impact of Greenham to have a discussion around the ideas of the peace movement. Women were too busy organizing support for those in prison and the next forthcoming activities, but I also feel there is a certain amount of reluctance (fear) of actually sitting down and looking at the revolutionary potential of the peace movement and projecting into the future.

I think lessons have to be learnt from the women's movement that can be directly applied to the peace movement. One working class woman at a conference in London recently summed it up that "the women's movement has only liberated middle class women and has done nothing to help or ease my oppression." In looking at the peace movement, I'm worried that the same ghettoization might occur, with the failure of the movement being the outcome.

— Carol



women-worldwide

The U.S. Supreme Court has reaffirmed the right of a woman to have an abortion, upholding what it first wrote in 1973 in *Roe vs. Wade*. In three abortion cases the court struck down restrictions on the right to abortion including the requirement for a 24-hour waiting period after signing a consent form, and the requirement for doctors to tell a woman that the fetus is "a human life from the moment of conception." However the justices ruled that minors may be required to have consent of a judge or parent.

Sandra Day O'Connor, the first woman justice on the court, joined the reactionary minority by voting to uphold the state restrictions. The right to abortion still is shackled by Congressional and state restrictions on funding of abortions for poor women.

The new demonstrations and protests in Chile may help with the demand for the release of Maria Cecilia Rodriguez Araya, a Chilean woman active in an organization of relatives of Chileans who disappeared after the 1973 coup against Allende. She was arrested earlier this year as she was boarding a plane for an international meeting. Some 20,000 Chileans have "disappeared" in the ten years since the coup.

Women restaurant workers, members of the Capitol Employees Association, have a case for the right to organize for collective bargaining coming up before the International Labor Organization (ILO) in Geneva. The employees, who work for the U.S. Senate, are specifically excluded from collective bargaining under the Wagner Act, but the workers feel their working conditions are such that they need to organize.

'Women's Rand Action'

Los Angeles, Cal. — Two hundred demonstrators formed a picket line outside the Rand Corporation in Santa Monica on June 20, International Day of Nuclear Disarmament. Rand is a military "think tank," begun in 1946 as an Air Force project designed to retain civilian scientists for military research.

During fiscal year 1982, Rand received \$25.2 million from the U.S. government for military research; its projects included devising mathematical models for war game strategies and research on the use of communication satellites during a nuclear war.

Organized by Women Strike for Peace and designated as "Women's Rand Action," the protest focused on the bloated military budget which resulted in 13,000 L.A. residents losing food stamp benefits during 1982, and 35,000 losing AFDC benefits. An estimated 30,000 people in Los Angeles are homeless; about half are women.

The rally speakers included a Salvadoran woman from the Committee of Salvadoran Unionists in exile, who spoke of her experience working for Texas Instruments in El Salvador. Only 18 to 24-year-old women were hired, and all had to undergo medical examinations to ensure they were not pregnant. When the women attempted to organize a union, they were attacked.

Many of the people I spoke with likewise had their minds on the relationship between the threat of nuclear war, the actual war in El Salvador, and the war at home against the unemployed and the hungry. Not all agreed, however, with the organizers' decision to "climax" the demonstration with a "dialogue" with Rand scientists.

The time ahead calls for dialogue not with militarist scientists and Rand management, but with the women at the welfare and unemployment offices, who have much to say on the direction a movement for peace needs to take.

— Participant, Women's Liberation - News and Letters Cte.

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

— Karl Marx

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Women's Peace Encampment

at Seneca Army Depot, New York

July 4-Sept. 5

Lost meatpacker wages erase Agar jobs

Chicago, Ill. — "They are using our money to buy those machines. We gave them a dollar, and we gave them our jobs," said an Agar worker. She was referring to automation in the artery pump department and to give-backs the union agreed to last year.

Five machines displaced 40 pumpers in artery pump. This is not the first instance! Two years ago a new system in canning reduced the size of the department by one-third. New machines eliminate jobs and reduce formerly skilled workers to labor-rate. New cuts are introduced in converting without corresponding reductions in standards. In fact, standards were raised for scalers in canning and for boners in converting.

As if automation and speed-up aren't enough, workers in meat-packing plants scab on each other. What else can you call it? The company could lay us off during negotiations last year because workers at Patrick Cudahy canned Agar's hams. Agar workers performed the same role when the company wanted concessions or to break the union at other plants in the chain. Recently, when workers at Wilson Foods slowed down to protest a 40% cut in pay and later went on strike, we produced Wilson's bacon and boiled ham. The companies are organized. Why aren't we?

Workers hot over fan ban

Detroit, Mich. — We've had our first heat wave at U.S. Auto Radiator this year, and the conditions were really terrible. Last year the company said they were going to make the temperature livable with a ventilation system. It wasn't put in voluntarily, only after government health and safety came and forced them to do something about all the smoke. But it hasn't worked from day one.

Last year because of the terrible heat workers actually brought in their own fans from home everyday and plugged them in, and we got a slight amount of air in the place. So what does the company do this year? They've removed all the electrical outlets so that we can't bring any fans into the plant! They claim that with the ventilation system fans aren't needed. But it isn't true. Meanwhile the office is air conditioned.

— Hot and mad woman worker

What has the union done? The Agar grievance committee finally did issue a leaflet. They accused the company of forcing higher productivity by changing standards, disciplining workers, attacking the seniority system, and discriminating. They said nothing about automation paid for out of our lost wages, nothing about scabbing. And their solution? More meetings with the company and transferring bad supervisors from one department to another.

The union "leadership" persists in negotiating plant by plant behind closed doors. They have no faith in the ideas and actions of the membership. Have they ever asked us what we want to do? If the union can't deal with us and the totality of our situation, then we have to push it aside and create our own way.

— Outraged Agar worker

Jobless pay loss for \$5

Los Angeles, Cal. — I have been unemployed since November, but since April I haven't received any unemployment compensation. Do you know why? Because I had to serve jury duty! When I was on jury duty — and it was compulsory — the unemployment office "disclaimed" me.

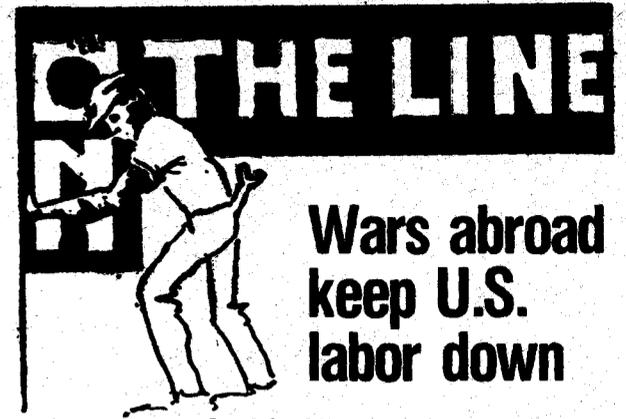
I was being paid \$5 a day, and 15¢ a mile. I served a total of eight days, but they were staggered — two days one week, one day the next. Now it's the middle of June, and I'm still trying to get back on unemployment! I was going to come down here to the unemployment office with posters that said, "Don't serve jury duty — Unemployment will disclaim you."

I had worked at my job, as a shipping-receiving clerk, at the same company for almost twenty years before I was laid off. I didn't vote for Reagan, but I know that even those who voted for him but are now out of work are angry. He's supposedly concentrating on the economy, but he's sending money to El Salvador.

I have a friend who is from El Salvador, and she has told me how the military abuses the people there.

And to think of all the money that's going for nuclear weapons, when one bomb would blow us all up. I'm still waiting for one little unemployment check.

— Unemployed and angry woman



by John Marcotte

"The U.S. is fighting in El Salvador and Nicaragua because it has always wanted governments in Latin America it could totally dominate. My country suffered under the U.S.-supported dictator Trujillo for years. When we went into the streets to better our conditions the U.S. sent in 42,000 Marines and imposed Balaguer on us. I may not talk about it, but my heart still feels the infamy. But now it's different. Latin America will no longer accept this. That's what Central America means."

What my Dominican friend was saying, I have heard from countless Latin American fellow workers. For them there is no artificial separation between Reagan's stepped-up war against Central America and other labor issues like unemployment, benefit cuts and low wages. It is all seen as part of the fight of the rich against the poor, the capitalist against the worker. Nor do I know of any Black workers who don't remember who did most of the dying in the Vietnam War — Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and working class whites.

The State Department is now denying all visas to Central American unionists, peasants, and others who would come to speak the truth here about the massacres and the dreams. The government fears that dreams can be catching. The Pentagon itself has said they don't want to send troops to Central America because they don't have the support of the American people — including their so-called volunteer army!

The ILGWU (International Ladies Garment Workers Union) says imports and foreign workers are the enemy and the cause of unemployment. How can the ILGWU separate the issue of runaway shops and low-wage imports from the U.S. export of repressive dictatorships to keep those wages low and profits high for U.S. investments, whether in South Korea, the Philippines, South Africa or Latin America?

Isn't it ridiculous for the ILGWU to beg for tariff protections from the same U.S. government whose policy it is to create these conditions for super-exploitation in those countries? If that competition is used as an excuse to lower wages and close plants here, the only real solution is to help the working people of those countries to free themselves and in the process gain our freedom too.

I consider the July 2 march in Washington against the U.S. war in Central America as much a "labor issue" as any other. I see a continuity in it from the Solidarity Day half million in Washington, to the coming August 27 March on Washington for Peace, Jobs and Freedom, which I hope will be so massive, militant and multi-dimensional as to scare the wits out of our rulers — and out of some of the official sponsors like the unions too! See you there.

Teamster hacks buckle under to scab lines

Detroit, Mich. — Nearly 100 truck drivers and dockmen gathered at Patton Park June 26 to rally against the sky-rocketing expansion of non-union trucking in this solidly union town. Teamster jobs and conditions are under attack from established companies like Consolidated Freightways (CF) setting up a non-union subsidiary, Con-Way, as well as from non-union lines entering Michigan.

Organizers of the meeting and speakers included many past and present Teamster bureaucrats, each faction pointing a finger at another for a failed strike or organizing drive. Drivers reacted angrily, and their suspicion was that none of the proposals were serious. Nobody disagreed with the idea of dockmen using safety defects in non-union trailers to refuse to unload them, but who seriously believes that would run non-union truckers out?

Part of the problem is what conditions under a Teamster contract are now. One driver said Yellow Freight is using more and more casuals who are never called back after their 29th day, and the union has done nothing. Another grocery driver said his company guarantees the seniority drivers 40 hours a week, but hires new workers in at \$5 an hour less than scale. He figured drivers will be written up and fired for anything.

But a CF driver said he had talked to some workers at Con-Way and was sure that with a little push they would want to join the union. Unless the loose talk of solidarity and unity we heard at the rally turns into organizing at Con-Way and other non-union terminals, as one driver said, at the rate things are going will we even have six months more?

— Dockman, Detroit

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

GM/Toyota Fremont

Fremont, Cal. — Toyota/GM is talking about reopening with a stamping plant added but with one third the workers we used to have. They're building new additions to the plant to house heavy duty machinery on land donated by the city of Fremont. What it means is that a lot of people are being permanently displaced. There's been 11 suicides of plant workers and the divorce rate is up. People had the impression that GM was so big they'd have a job forever, and now many just don't see a way to fight back.

After the UAW convention the union leadership was trying to play everything down, but people in the union expected some firm commitment to fight over seniority rehiring and more guaranteed training so that people can keep their jobs. The workers are now saying they will use any means necessary to avoid that plant opening without us getting our jobs.

The union has basically given up any adversary role. When the agreement with Toyota was signed they didn't even invite the UAW. They invited government people and when we wanted to have a demonstration outside, the union leadership stopped it, in order not to alienate the new management.

I don't think there is any way in the world they can open that plant without the UAW being recognized, with Ford Milpitas, also permanently shut down, ten miles down the road and the union hall across the street. Two towns in that area were built on the backs of auto workers.

— Fremont worker

GM Oklahoma City

Oklahoma City, Okla. — I showed up for work in the GM Oklahoma City Assembly plant one day in May at 6 a.m. — four and a half hours after driving straight through from southern California. GM forced me to go to Oklahoma when they said as a laid-off Los Angeles auto-worker I'd lose my benefits if I didn't.

About 400 workers have moved here from Los Angeles, and there are still a few trickling in from day to day. Most had 20 or more years seniority at GM South Gate — but none here.

You can already see the effects this is having on the workers from Los Angeles. The other day a guy on the line got a letter from his wife five days after getting here. She wrote him that she was leaving him. How many other families will be broken up because of General Motors?

One thing is sure — those here from South Gate are not taking things lying down. They've been out of work a long

time, and they've had to pick up their lives and move, many of them when they're past 50 years old.

A lot of them are saying that we may become a mobile labor force, shipped from one plant to another. Already there is talk that if this plant doesn't produce a profit, they'll ship us off next to some other state — maybe Missouri, maybe some other one.

What I see happening is that this system is creating a new kind of worker, one who will have to go from state to state to find work. My friend's brother had to leave New Mexico; where he was there was 30% unemployment. He is now in Utah. He doesn't really know where he'll end up.

There is resistance, but there is also still friction between the Los Angeles and Oklahoma workers. When this place goes, where are they going to send the Oklahoma workers? I hope we can work out some solidarity with the Oklahoma workers here, because they will soon be in for the same that we've seen.

— GM mobile worker

Rouge Steel

Dearborn, Mich. — A few days ago at work someone posted an article from a New York paper about Ford calling for new concessions from workers to keep the Rouge mill open and that the vote on such a proposal would involve workers for the whole plant, not just the mill and coke oven units.

I would like to know who is the source for the information in such an article? The union is reported to be in the midst of negotiations but won't tell us anything. There is no contact with the workers concerning their jobs. Their only input seems to be when they have to vote yes or no.

At least that's how it was when we had to take a pay cut in 1981. The company never said directly you have to take a payout. It's the union reps who came around and suggested it.

The idea behind the whole plant voting on an agreement for the steel unit is the hope to divide the workers. Some steel workers have high seniority and if the mill closed they wouldn't lose their jobs, but be able to "bump" workers in other parts of the plant. Evidently they hope that workers outside of steel would vote yes to a concession contract so they wouldn't have to face getting bumped out of a job if the mill would close.

Why is Rouge after more concessions? They have been negotiating with a Japanese corporation to take over the steel unit, and evidently more concessions are wanted before any sale. But we don't know the full story. If there is communication, it might be between Ford and certain UAW officials. But why is there no communication with the workers on the job?

— Rouge Steel Worker

CENTRAL AMERICA'S REVOLUTIONS AND U.S. SOLIDARITY

Young people really are in the front ranks, aren't they? I liked the article on "U.S. and Central American youth resist Reagan's new war plans" (June N&L) a lot. I see myself in it. I'm not going to die for Reagan and kill other youth from another country, speaking another language, in the process. And I don't think many of my friends and acquaintances would either; at least they say they would never go. That is why Reagan doesn't dare speak of U.S. combat troops yet. There would be hell to pay. Instead he thinks he can sneak this war up on us. Don't bet on it. We learned a lot from what happened 20 years ago in Vietnam.

The other point I liked about "youth" was how much youth are the ones changing things in Central America. It must be great to have a purpose to your life like that. We need one here.

High school student
New York City

Students at Stanford University's June 12 graduation punctuated the ceremonies with protests aimed at the main speaker, Sec. of State George Shultz, and the Reagan Administration's policies in Central America. A memorial service protesting U.S. military intervention in El Salvador was held before commencement, and students presented a 2,000-signature petition to Shultz's entourage. During commencement, about 700 students wore orange sashes which said "Respect Human Rights". A banner congratulating the class of 1983, followed by the statement, "Stop U.S. Intervention in Central America," was floated aloft with balloons.

When Shultz (who avoided any reference to Latin America) said, "A nuclear war can never be won, and must never be fought," the audience of over 15,000 applauded. But when he then said that was a quote from Reagan, the crowd boomed loudly.

Protester
Oakland, Calif.

I understand that the daily news is discouraging, but we in Nicaragua have to be strong to make sure the border is not invaded. We have a ring of fighters on the frontier, but it is hard to control, and we also have a good-sized group in the mountains of Matagalpa and elsewhere.

The counter-revolutionaries are not so much trying to overthrow the Sandinist government, as to destroy the feelings, sympathy and solidarity of the people in other countries who have felt this revolution as their own, because this revolution is everyone's hope.

In the schools, we are working a lot with children who are in the A.N.S. (Association of Sandinist Children). They are aided by the J.S. 19 de Julio (Sandinist Youth, July 19) and their representatives who visit the schools. They are inspiring the children to poetry, painting, drawing, dance, song and theater. We are preparing a festival to be held in the Center of Study. We have a newspaper, mural, so the children can participate and exhibit their work, but we don't have the materials to publish much. The children are the future of the revolution.

Teacher
Nicaragua

I never considered how coffee is grown, how bananas are grown, before I read the article about health and safety in Costa Rica and Nicaragua. It was very revealing to me. Is this what happens all over the poorer parts of the world, that U.S. corporations murder the workers with the chemicals that we don't allow here any more? No wonder there is revolution in so many places.

New reader
Minnesota

A friend of mine who belongs to a vanguard party told me, "I didn't like your printing of the report on health and safety in Nicaragua in N&L last month. Why should the problems of the Nicaraguan Revolution be aired in public?" It stunned me, because I really liked the article, along with the other one on the

resistance to Reagan's war plans, because they made me understand concretely what that revolution is all about.

After you get rid of a Somoza, then the really difficult questions come right up front. You have to ask how we can bring out all those human powers and talents to re-organize society. And you have to be able to do it even while Reagan is trying to overthrow your revolution. It's a lot to think about . . .

Still thinking
Detroit, Mich.

In discussing the Central American revolutions, sometimes people voice the idea that if these countries had had a democratic revolution like Mexico, there would not be a problem today. But I am from Mexico, and know what a "half-way house" that revolution was. The Mexican people still need freedom, as do the people of Central America. I understand very well what N&L has been saying about the need for "revolution in permanence."

Student
Los Angeles

When I took the June issue of N&L back to Latino Youth H.S., where I had gotten the quotes from students on their view of Reagan's war policy in Central America, the students were very excited. They couldn't believe what they had done, that someone had actually listened to them and printed it. They wanted to participate in the picket line we are having against Mexicana Airlines here (because they are shipping Salvadorans back to that hell-hole for the INS), and they wanted to find out more about what kind of paper and group we are.

David Park
Chicago



FARMERS,
WORKERS
AND
FARMWORKERS

On July 7, members and supporters of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) will march from the FLOC office in Toledo, Ohio to the headquarters of Campbell's soup in Camden, N.J. Since 1979 FLOC has called for a boycott of Campbell products until the company accepts three-way negotiations with farmers and farmworkers. The purpose of this 530 mile march is to gain national publicity for the boycott and let the American public know about the oppression of farmworkers. Farmworkers need your support in the march and boycott. If you can help, please contact:

FLOC
714 1/2 S. St. Clair St.
Toledo, Ohio 43609

I think that there are more new developments in the labor movement than anyone is reporting. I saw that workers in the Midwest were giving farmers support at a farm auction where they were trying to block a sale. It's like the spirit of the old Populist movement is coming back now — farmers and workers have to get together just to stay alive. Even workers in computers can't be sure of a job. Now they are trying to make computers that program themselves.

Black worker
New York City

Hard as it is to believe that slavery still exists in the 1980s in the USA, the truth is that it is very much alive as far as migrant workers in North Carolina are concerned. Since 1981, 10 of the 11 federal slavery convictions nationally have involved farm laborers in that state. Yet over the last year the FBI has again and again refused to move against plantation owners whose workers have filed complaints, and now the North Carolina Farm Bureau has come out in opposition to a proposed new, stricter law banning involuntary servitude. There are no penalties in N.C. today for holding work-

Readers' View

ers as slaves!

Farmworkers, church groups, and union members have organized demonstrations in front of the Farm Bureau headquarters in Raleigh, demanding that they stop opposing the anti-slavery bill. N&L readers can get a full report from the Workers Defense League, 15 Union Square, NY, NY 10003.

Farmworkers supporter
Michigan

SOUTH AFRICA, SOUTH USA

Your little item about Oxford, Miss. High School (June N&L) was most enlightening, and most heartening too. There is so much talk today by politicians and even community activists in the Black community about "self-interest." It seems that they are saying that no one will move and nothing can be done unless a person is directly being affected and injured.

But here you have this little high school in Mississippi, and a white South African exchange student shows some racist film, and Black students and parents demand the removal of the principal. That is the kind of consciousness about South Africa that is appearing all over Black America — far more than we are led to think.

Human rights worker
North Carolina

The marches are continuing here. The most important was the one from Eufala to Montgomery, halfway across Alabama, to demand justice be done after two brothers, Hamp and Anthony Charles Russaw, were murdered by two white Eufala police. No action has been taken against the officers, and the boycott of Eufala business is still going on.

When the march entered Montgomery there were about 3,000 people from all over Alabama, and some from neighboring states. It was a very impressive sight as they approached the Capitol; I know it had an impact on me.

Subscriber
Lowndes County, Ala.

WOMEN AGAINST PORNOGRAPHY

Scores of women and men of all ages, races and classes demonstrated against Hugh Hefner and Playboy magazine on June 20 in New York. The protest, sponsored by New York Women Against Pornography (WAP) and endorsed by several groups advocating women's, minority, and worker rights, was specifically targeted against the so-called "Fourth

Annual Hugh M. Hefner First Amendment Awards" ceremony.

The demonstrators, holding placards depicting examples of Playboy's demeaning images of women, crowded the block as they marched chanting "Hefner is a pimp" and "Open your eyes/Playboy lies." Then the protesters, to show the hypocrisy of Playboy giving awards for freedom, presented Hefner "awards" of their own. Seven "Hugh M. Hefner Woman-Hating Awards" were given to Playboy.

This anti-pornography ceremony dramatically emphasized the demonstrators' determination to fight Playboy oppression by having WAP members present each "awardee," who were pornography survivors in each category, with a chain. The awardees then broke the chains and threw them into a trash can marked "Playboy".

Demonstrator
New York City

THIRD WORLD FEMINISM

A man who had read Terry Moon's column on "Zimbabwe: women and land" (June N&L) said to me, "But how can N&L defend the women wanting their own land vs. cooperatives? Do you think that anything women do is progressive?"

His thinking was so blinded by the narrowness of his own categories that he didn't see the point that Moon made very plainly: that women know that cooperative land ownership is no guarantee of their freedom. They are searching for new forms of social relations. I want to repeat the Marx quote Terry mentioned, against abstract collectivity: "The individual is the social entity."

Marxist and feminist
Los Angeles

The articles that you printed in the last two issues by Shainape Shcapwe, the Native American feminist, are very important for us. I saw that the Denver paper, Big Mama Rag, reprinted her article on "Wounded Knee: 10 Years Later". Perhaps other feminist papers will also. It's not just that I think we could learn facts from our Indian sisters, but it's also the way Shainape Shcapwe has of speaking to the movement as a whole, as a part of the American Indian movement, yet not backing down about women's part in its history or today. I like that.

Feminist
Ann Arbor, Mich.

APPEALS FROM THE RUSSELL TRIBUNAL

We have received the following two appeals from Prof. Vladimir Dedijer in Yugoslavia, on behalf of the Russell Tribunal — Ed.

I have received from many members and branches of the Russell Tribunal (particularly from Mexico and other Latin American countries) an appeal for appropriate international action to be taken regarding the drastic international economic situation . . . In the past nine years, the gap between the developed and developing countries has widened and come to represent the paramount injustice of the present day, caused by the prevailing world economic and political system and directly posing a threat to world peace . . .

This grave and unjust situation is deteriorating as a result of growing protectionism in world trade. On the other hand, the high interest rates charged on loans to the world's poor of 18, 20, 22% and more are unprecedented . . . and can be compared only with the rates charged by the insatiable money-lenders of the Middle Ages. This contemporary usury and systematic plunder is bringing many countries and peoples to the brink of economic catastrophe, starvation and social upheaval, obstructing their economic development and driving them into servi-

tude to the multinational companies and finance corporations.

In these appeals, members of the Russell Tribunal propose various actions . . . calling for achievement by the developing countries of unity of action and a readiness to take determined steps, meaning all defensive measures, including the right to the joint proclamation of a moratorium and the resolute rejection of possible economic and other sanctions by powerful magnates of the banking world

The Russell Tribunal has received requests that a commission composed of scholars should be formed to investigate primary historical sources on the massacres of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire, especially the genocide of 1915. This commission will explore particularly the development of militarism in the late Ottoman Empire, the influence of European militarism within Turkey, and the Ottoman government's policies toward its non-Turkish national, ethnic, and religious minorities . . .

All persons who possess historical sources, both written and oral, should send them to:

Professor Vladimir Dedijer
Sipar 3, 52395 Savudrija
Istra, Yugoslavia

PROJECTING MARX'S MARXISM IN TODAY'S MOVEMENT

When I was in Europe this past May (Portugal, Spain and Italy) and spoke to Marxists and non-Marxists about the Marx Centenary and the fact that Raya Dunayevskaya had chosen this year to make a comprehensive national tour, many of them spoke about what they termed the "crisis in Marxism," and their feeling that there was a general disinterest in Marxism. It was thus most refreshing to return back to the United States in June and read Dunayevskaya's report of her national tour in her "Theory/Practice" column (June N&L).

America has a reputation of being even less interested in Marxism than Europe. But the dialogue with audiences on the national tour seemed very much alive, especially those of Blacks and women who were both asking what is the relationship of their movements to Marx's Marxism. I am not saying there isn't a great deal of retrogression in both America and Europe, but it is exciting to find that when one does actively seek out an audience with a comprehensive view of Marx and his relationship to our world, there is a response which one can begin to build upon.

Eugene Walker Detroit

I loved the way Dunayevskaya related Individual and Universal, as concrete, in her "Theory/Practice" column (June N&L). She spoke of how the women revolutionaries at the Third World Women's Conference felt themselves to be "a land of boundless possibilities," and then comments, "It was this feeling that kept us all on the concrete level." I do hope that as women revolutionaries we will concretely work to make our passion for a new world become a motivation for the most serious labor of working out the relationship between feminism and revolution.

Feminist California

Recently I had a discussion with a founder of the German "Greens" Party who was travelling through here. He has been sympathetic to Marxism, but is now typical of the Greens' mentality. He felt that while "Marxist-Humanism sounds good" such ideas are "not concrete" for Germany, since now they have to pull off a great "historic compromise" and deal with issues the supposedly content German proletariat might listen to, such as the environment.

He said that all the Left work as a

common front within the Greens, and "put aside the left-overs of our former ideologies". Rather than trying to overcome the conditions that led post-Marx Marxism into a dead end, the Greens would rather side-step the whole issue of the relation of philosophy to action and instead join the bandwagon of whatever is au courant. They think they are doing great by getting 10% of the vote in some elections, instead of understanding that by avoiding genuine Marxism's relation to mass activity, they are laying the ground for one more defeat.

Peter Wermuth Los Angeles

I appreciate how News and Letters Committees are working out organization grounded in a total philosophy of freedom, rather than organization "for organization's sake." I remember when I was a member of the All African People's Socialist Party; we used to march down the streets handing out mass leaflets and chanting "We gotta get organized." But moving to freedom needs more serious thought than just chanting slogans.

Black activist Los Angeles



Centenary 1983

Having followed N&L for a long time, and also having read C.L.R. James' Black Jacobins, I puzzled over what had made Raya Dunayevskaya and James split apart. I never heard it expressed so succinctly as in Raya's article on her national tour, when she says: "Where, to me, the theory of state-capitalism was but a step to the development of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, C.L.R. James failed to move from seeing what we were against, the transformation of Russia as a workers' state into a state-capitalist society, to concretizing what we are for: Marx's Humanism."

That makes a great deal of sense to me, seeing where James has gone in the last 30 years — all over the political map, from one adventure to another, searching, I would hope, for something to be for. But I suppose I'll have to study further to find out why they took such different directions.

Long-time reader Massachusetts

THE BRITISH ELECTION — AND OTHER FARCES

There is likely to be trouble here in Scotland. All the parties in the election, with the exception of the Tory party, demanded the formation of a Scottish Assembly. The Tories only won a handful of seats in Scotland. The Scottish National Party is quite hopeless and are afraid the other parties will steal their thunder. They only held onto two seats. I am arguing that it is an issue for the whole labour movement — while I oppose separating the English workers from the Scottish workers. The Thatcherites are the enemy.

Harry McShane Glasgow, Scotland

The election result here was hardly unexpected. The Labour performance was the most pathetic, the most criminal imaginable. For example, Dennis Healy "off the cuff" says that Thatcher gloried in the Falklands slaughter. As would be expected, all the hacks of every party expressed their "horror" at Healy's "outburst" — and the following day we saw the revolting spectacle of Healy retracting his remarks and saying he really meant "conflict" and not "slaughter".

If ever a party deserved to do poorly it was this one. Of course, those most upset are the ones who think the socialist revolution will come by parliamentary means.

Long-time reader Sussex, England

The snobbishness and obsequiousness of some people toward royalty is absurd. Take Rhodes House in Oxford. They lately spent L 10,000 demolishing a wall for a garden party for the Queen, and rebuilding it afterwards. And Oxford's Ashmolean Museum installed new toilets at a cost of L 3,000 just in case Prince Charles was caught short during a recent visit. Furthermore, they didn't want to risk him being alarmed by a fire alarm (isn't that what they're for?), so they turned off the sound and made two museum workers sit all afternoon watching the warning lights instead.

Nauseated Oxford, England

WHAT KIND OF HEALTH CARE?

I am so mad about an incident that just happened at the nursing home where I work, that I just have to write about it.

Observer New York

An 80-year-old woman with Parkinson's disease was having difficulty speaking. Her doctor ordered speech and swallowing therapy, but for two months only, because Medi-Cal would only pay for that length of time.

She made great progress in those two months, but now her therapy has ended. What happens now? Without continuing therapy she will regress. When I asked her if she wanted to continue with the therapy, she said "Medi-Cal has the last word."

When I asked the therapist who worked with her if he thought she had progressed, he said, "Yes, but I don't usually work with Medi-Cal patients, and my supervisor is pressuring me to give up this case." What good is Medi-Cal if it isn't used to pay for these very real human needs? Where are all the Medi-Cal funds going?

Eve Strong Pico Rivera, Calif.

YANNICK NOAH: FRANCE AND CAMEROON — 1947, 1983

When Yannick Noah won the French Open tennis championship they first announced him as "the first Frenchman to win the title in 37 years". But when he got to speak for himself, he spoke of growing up in Africa, as a Cameroonian. It was wonderful to see him win the tournament, and to contrast the adulation in Paris for a Cameroonian now with their attitudes in the colonialist past — and with today's persistent racism.

It all reminded me of how much Paris — the "city of light" — has to learn from Cameroon's little capital of Yaounde, as Dunayevskaya had described the 1947 meeting she had with a Cameroonian revolutionary in Philosophy and Revolution. The story of how the entire population had turned out for a meeting on what to do, now that World War II was over and France's imperial navy had not yet returned, was tremendously revealing of how advanced was the political thinking in a "backward" land, and yet how backward were the narrow mental confines of "advanced" French intellectuals, whether Trotskyists or Existentialists. Their big contribution was to advise the Cameroonian that he should first organize unions, then nationalist parties, and finally build cadres for a vanguard party to lead! Thanks to Yannick Noah for bringing this all to mind again.

Observer New York

PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "Black Caucuses in the Unions," by Charles Denby. 75c per copy
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
By Raya Dunayevskaya. \$2 per copy
Working Women for Freedom
By Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes. \$1 per copy
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- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
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First national Black women's health conference

Atlanta, Ga. — The First National Conference on Black Women's Health Issues was held at Spelman College in Atlanta, the first Black women's college in the nation, on June 24-26, with over 1,500 Afro-American women, (including some men, white and Asian women).

Black Americans, especially women, in the last few years have suffered under the Reagan Administration in great depth. His cuts in social programs, such as equal education, affirmative action job training, abortion for poor women and Medicaid have affected Black women the most.

To address these and other Black women's health issues, the conference was to focus on increasing "awareness of participants around political and economic issues that inadvertently decrease the availability of adequate health care to the poor, Blacks and other minorities." While we strongly question how "inadvertently" adequate health care is denied Blacks and others, it was still exciting to be part of a coming together of Black women — students, house women, professional women, working women in health care in other areas, community organizers — from various parts of the U.S. — the South, New York, California, Michigan, the Virgin Islands — discussing ideas concerning our lives.

Though it was clear that the planners of the conference had expected mostly "professional women," the largest number of participants were grassroots community women. These women were concerned about the concrete problems that Black women face day to day. Many women explained how difficult it is to keep their own health centers alive under Reagan budget cuts.

The theme of the conference, "I'm Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired," came from Fannie Lou Hamer, the Civil Rights activist who struggled for more than a decade to effect change in rural Mississippi. It expresses the historical experiences of Black women's struggles against suffering. At one workshop called "Black and Female: What is Reality?", attended by close to 70 women, the speaker quoted Fannie Lou Hamer, but only the first part — "I am sick and tired." In the discussion some women began talking only of how sick and tired they have been. This was the complete opposite of Fannie Lou Hamer's quote, which was telling people to get up and act.

Many women at this conference did have Fannie Lou Hamer's full spirit. After the plenary sessions and workshops, that hunger for new ideas and new directions began to surface in the dialogue we were able to have with women at our News and Letters literature table. What was exciting was the interest in Marxist-Humanist ideas on women and the Black dimension, but as well on Marx, labor and youth. We want very much to be able to continue this dialogue with the many women we had a chance to meet at this important First National Conference on Black Women's Health Issues.

For the conference we prepared a selection of articles from News & Letters on "The Revolutionary Dimension of Black Women." To obtain a copy send 50¢ to News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211.

— Tommie Hope and Diane Lee

Marchers demand "Free Azania!"

New York, N.Y. — On June 16, more than 2000 people assembled in front of the South African Mission on 43rd Street and Second Avenue to rally against apartheid. Behind police barricades, protesters armed with banners and posters, buttons and clenched fists, chanted loud and clear: "Liberation yes! Apartheid no! Kill apartheid blow by blow!"

Twenty organizations and coalition groups, under the name Soweto Coordinating Coalition, endorsed the demonstration, which moved along 42nd Street and down Fifth Avenue during rush hour traffic. As well as commemorating the Soweto uprisings, the demonstrators called for the freeing of all South African political prisoners, particularly those awaiting execution for their struggles as freedom fighters.

The demonstration moved to Madison Square Garden,

WORKER'S JOURNAL

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strive for self-determination. The people began to have pride in themselves defining themselves in their own terms and not as seen by others... The clamour for liberation grew stronger as the quest for a true humanity intensified with the spread of this new way of life... as a result of the vibrant and viable philosophy Black people never forgot their origins... They redefined the strategies to be employed in their prosecution of the struggle towards its logical revolutionary end."

The theoretic preparation for revolution that has opened with this most serious dialogue this Soweto Day makes it more than a commemoration, but rather a new beginning that is sure to continue. Perhaps Aug. 9, South African Women's Day will mark yet another point of departure of that dialogue.

— Lou Turner

where that night a boxing match was to take place which was promoted by Bob Arum, a collaborator with the racist regime in South Africa. The protesters called for solidarity against all economic, military, cultural and sports collaboration with the neo-Nazi regime in South Africa. Needless to say, the next day major New York City newspapers gave full attention to the boxing match, and failed to give as much as one line to the 2,000-strong who voiced their protest the same night.

— New York Supporter

Los Angeles, Cal. — Timed to correspond with the execution of the three courageous young Black South African revolutionaries, on the evening of June 8, 500 people from the Third World community in Los Angeles rallied in front of the office of the South African consulate.

It was also the most exciting demonstration that I have been to in a long time because though people felt very deeply about the taking of the three young brothers' lives, they were also talking about a whole range of issues that needed revolutionary answers. Also people from the 1960s movement were there who hadn't been around for years.

Following the 10 minutes of silence at the very moment the executions were taking place, it was clear that no one wanted to leave it at being just a quiet vigil. Three Black South African women began by singing the African National Anthem. From then on the whole crowd began to chant in the cool night air: "The people say freedom now!" And before anyone knew it, the call to "Free South Africa" spontaneously became a call to "Free Azania!"

So many saw the racist, imperialist connection between Reaganomics and its propping up of South African apartheid. It wasn't surprising then that at one point when one of the organizers of the rally held up a map of South Africa for the media to see, one brother passing by at that moment made the comment that "you might as well be holding up a map of the United States of America!"

— Black woman for Freedom

Vincent Chin protest

Los Angeles, Cal. — Over 300 residents and activists of the Los Angeles Asian Community marched on City Hall June 18 demanding that justice be served to two racist men who brutally murdered Vincent Chin, a young Asian-American student living in Detroit. (See June, 1983 N&L).

Most at the march felt that protesting the fact that two white men who murdered an Asian in cold blood were let free after paying a \$3000 fine entailed more than correcting a single injustice. Rather, as one Chinese immigrant said, "it is getting worse and worse here. Every day you hear of a new incident, new talk about how us Asians are causing the unemployment. People are getting violent. We have got to show we will not stand by and be quiet when they attack us."

In the past two months alone a slew of racist attacks against Asians have been reported in California. In Davis an Asian high school student was stabbed in a racial melee; the school principal refused to take any action. And near Los Angeles, several whites shot their way into a Vietnamese household, shouting "we are tired of you g--ks taking our jobs away."

The sense of many in the crowd was a need to mobilize continual protests against such actions whenever they are reported. On the other hand, nothing stood sharper than the opportunism of the politicians, a score of whom — including Mayor Bradley — addressed the rally. None of the politicians seemed bothered by the fact that, while they could all come together to claim "support for the Asian community in this tragedy," they couldn't use their influence to so much as get a mention of the Vincent Chin case reported in the press. Thus far, hardly a single mention has graced the English language press here concerning the affair.

No less disturbing was the virtual absence of the Left at the rally. However, the desire of all at the rally to continue the struggle from their community and schools until justice is served in the Chin case testifies to the kind of response that is sorely needed.

— Participant

One people one Azania
TOKOLOHO

Vol. 1, No. 1 AZAPO NEWSLETTER (Soweto branch)
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EDITORIAL
Lest we forget
It is often said that time helps the mind to forget... (text continues)

HEROES DAY
Its significance and relevance to Black Consciousness
The struggle is never ended... (text continues)

TOKOLOHO is the Sotho word for "Freedom". It is one of the various Black Consciousness newsletters, journals and newspapers of workers, students and women now being circulated in the ghettos, factories, schools and rural areas of South Africa. For a copy, send 50¢ to BCM(A), P.O. Box 13938, Washington, D.C. 20029.

BLACK-RED VIEW Richmond protects killer-cops

by John Alan

Last month a Federal jury in San Francisco awarded \$3 million to the families of two young Black men killed by the Richmond, California, police. This is the largest civil rights violation judgement ever awarded by a Federal court. It is a million dollars more than the judgement received by the heirs of Black Panthers, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, killed by Chicago police in 1969.

This civil rights suit was initiated by the families of Johnny Roman and Michael Guillory, with legal support from the NAACP. Roman, 25, was shot and killed in his bed by police on October 9, 1980. Guillory, 21, also shot by police in his bedroom, died January 8, 1982.

The police claimed that Roman pulled a shotgun from under the blanket while they had two revolvers pointed at his head. No shotgun was ever produced and the family refuted the existence of a shotgun. Guillory was alleged to have brandished an object the officers claimed was a gun, but in fact he was unarmed.

During the trial attorneys for the families called at least 20 Black residents of Richmond, who testified that they had been beaten and harassed by police, usually after being stopped for a minor traffic violation. In addition, a number of Black police officers testified that they had witnessed racial attacks, as well as being victims of verbal assaults themselves.

At this moment, Richmond's police are under investigation by the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Dept. for criminal violations of civil rights in the killing of six other Black men in the last four years. In each of these killings the Contra Costa County (where Richmond is located) District Attorney's office has cleared the police, including the cases of Roman and Guillory. Richmond police are faced with another case of wrongful-death, that of Willie Drumgoole, a Black man who died from "strangulation"

after being "subdued" by a policeman in the city jail.

Civil rights suits in the past have not caused the city of Richmond to restrain its police. Over the last 15 years the city has had hundreds of suits brought against it and has paid some \$2 million to the victims of police brutality.

Richmond's attitude toward civil rights probably is best summed up by Police sergeant Tony Zanotelli, who said: "Settled lawsuits means nothing. It's B.S. It's just a game." Zanotelli is president of the Richmond Police Association. In a post-verdict interview he referred to those officers who testified against the police brutality as "puppets of the NAACP."

THE ECONOMICS OF REPRESSION

Today's racial tension between the Richmond police department and its Black population originated during World War II, when the Kaiser ship-building interests brought thousands of Black and white workers from the South to build ships in the area. Richmond, then a small town, was transformed overnight into an industrial city of a hundred thousand. Kaiser is now long gone and the town's major industry and tax base is the highly automated chemical plant of Chevron U.S.A.

For a long time Richmond has been a depressed city, with the constant presence of covert and overt racial incidents. The city vigorously resisted open housing, school desegregation and affirmative action. Neither the city nor the county governments has shown interest in stopping or preventing Klan harassment of Blacks until they were forced to do so by Black and white protests.

Richmond is now 50% Black with an official unemployment rate of 14%. Because of pressure from the Black community, Richmond is moving toward making changes, which are barely cosmetic. However, the police both fear and dislike this Black population that has developed a consciousness of its own power.

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

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FLINT: PO Box 3384
Flint, Mich. 48502

LONDON: British Marxist-Humanists
c/o 265 Seven Sisters Rd.
London, N4, England

Thousands protest racist immigration bill



Thousands march in Los Angeles against the Simpson-Mazzoli immigration bill.

Los Angeles, Cal. — Over 5,000 people, most of them Latinos, marched through downtown Los Angeles on June 11 demanding a stop to the racist hysteria and legal attacks being mounted against undocumented immigrants. The march was called to protest the so-called "immigration reform legislation" passed by the Senate and now pending in the House of Representatives — the notorious Simpson-Mazzoli Bill.

If passed, this bill would sharply curtail the number of non-white immigrants allowed to enter U.S. borders at a time when economic collapse and political persecution is forcing tens of thousands to flee Mexico and Central America each month. The Bill would establish a national identification system to keep track of immigrants as well as create a "temporary workers program" where hundreds of thousands of "illegal aliens" could be recruited for slave-labor programs without being protected by U.S. labor laws.

Anti-war protests confront arms race

(continued from page 3)

one sees a move to the peace movement. Recently during a protest at the Concord, Cal. Weapons Depot where military supplies are shipped to El Salvador, two women in the service declared themselves conscientious objectors. In the coming period there will surely be still newer forms of anti-nuke, anti-militarist activities.

DIRECTION FOR ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT

But the direction for the movement is not alone these new forms of protest that are sure to arise. The question of the depth of the anti-nuke movement raises questions of what human forces for social change become involved, what ideas or philosophy becomes a guide. Once we take into consideration human forces, human ideas of freedom, then a whole new dimension is added to our movement.

Take the seemingly simple question of where a women's peace camp, modeled after the women's peace camp of Greenham Common in Britain, will be established this July 4 — at Seneca Falls, N.Y. It is the site of the Seneca Army Depot. But think of the magnificent revolutionary history of Seneca Falls. In 1590 women of the Iroquois Confederacy met to demand an end to war among the Indian tribes. In 1848 Seneca Falls was the site of the first Women's Convention in the United States, held the same year as the 1848 revolutions in Europe. That first women's rights convention was chaired by the Abolitionist leader, Frederick Douglass, and the 1851 Convention was inspired by Sojourner Truth. The birth of the women's movement in the USA, rooted in the Abolitionist movement, took place on this ground. (For a discussion of Iroquois women as Marx viewed them, and of Seneca Falls as a women's rights center, see Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.)

The history of such a place as Seneca Falls, which brings together Native Americans, the Black Dimension, the women's movement and anti-war, leaps out at us in the struggle against Reagan's nuclear madness today. It underlines the fact that such forces and ideas, which are the real American history, come alive today in the type of movement we are building. One organization committed to abolishing the arms race is even calling itself the New Abolitionists.

The participation of Blacks and other national minorities, of even more of the women's movement, of other revolutionary social forces in America, especially labor, becomes possible when the type of movement we build invites the development of all the opponents to capitalism's madness, be it in its Russian or American form, into a movement for a new society on human foundations. This remains the challenge for today's anti-nuclear war movement.

CENTRAL AMERICANS AT RALLY

The legislation, as well as the mounting racist hysteria against "illegals" that fans it, has come under attack from all sectors of the southern California Latino community. Their voice was most present at the rally June 11, where East L.A. community groups as well as Central American revolutionary groups-in-exile turned out their membership en masse.

The most striking aspect of the rally was the considerable number of Central Americans present, who made up over half the crowd. (There are over 250,000 Salvadoreano exiles in Los Angeles.) One Salvadoreano explained, "The reason so many of us are here is that we will be the first ones affected by this. They will force us back to our countries where many of us will be put in prison or killed."

None at the rally were taken in by the effort of the legislation to appear "humanitarian" by promising to grant all "illegal aliens" who have resided here since 1977 permanent residency status. It is estimated that fewer than a quarter of the undocumented workers currently living in southern California would be eligible for permanent residency under these provisions, and even for those who are, they would have to wait three years before receiving any kind of public benefits or assistance. In exchange, an immigration ceiling of 425,000 would be imposed and the rights to political asylum sharply curtailed.

LATINO DIMENSION IN U.S.

The rally included participants from an array of different struggles and movements, from anti-nuclear to gay liberation and from Central American solidarity to labor. In fact, so prominent were the banners and chants against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador that, as one Latino youth said, "This has become a rally not only about immigration but on Central America. As soon as all these people showed up I knew it wouldn't remain a one-issue demonstration." Another activist said, "It's been a long time since we had a march as large or as lively on Central America. The Central American solidarity movement should learn from this that when an issue affecting the lives of Latinos inside the U.S. is raised, that is when you'll get the best Central American rally."

Clearly, neither the Democrats nor the liberals are going to be the ones to make sure the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill isn't passed in the House of Representatives. Only the further development of actions such as this one, where the forces for freedom come together with the Latino presence inside the U.S. will ensure the defeat of this Bill as well as other such ones to come.

— Marxist-Humanist participants

Kurds under attack

Once again, the 20 million strong Kurdish people are suffering massacres and attacks from all sides as none of their neighbors — Turkey, Iraq, Iran or Russia — grant them autonomy, let alone self-determination. Late in May Turkish troops crossed into Iraq, with the full cooperation of the Iraqi government, in order to attack Kurdish rear guerrilla bases for the fight inside Turkey. Some 1500 to 2000 Kurds were reportedly taken prisoner by Turkish and Iraqi troops. To this day, the Turkish army keeps two-thirds of its forces in Turkish-controlled Kurdistan, a land whose very existence it denies.

Since 1924, the Kurdish language has been forbidden in dealings with the government. In some Kurdish villages, infant mortality is over one-third of all live births, while 70% of the Kurds in Turkey are illiterate. In addition local Kurdish notables oppress the peasantry, in league with the Turkish government. On the other hand, Kurdish resistance seems more hardened and firmer than ever — whether in Iran, Iraq or in Turkey. Everywhere the Kurds are the most vital force combating oppressive regimes.

Disarm Northrop Corp.!

Rolling Meadows, Ill. — About 200 people came to this distant Chicago suburb on June 20, International Day of Disarmament, to confront Northrop Corp. for its part in the arms race and in U.S. imperialism. It was infuriating to watch the cops rough up some of the 37 blockaders they dragged away and arrested.

The management was so afraid of our ideas that they ordered workers not to roll down car windows to talk to us or accept our leaflets as they came in to work. They even put notices in the previous Friday's paychecks telling workers to assemble at the racetrack and ride charter buses to work.

Speakers denounced nuclear weapons, nuclear power, and U.S. intervention abroad. A statement from the Women's Affinity Group was read after they were busted. After one speaker advocated writing Congress members, another replied that what the government really listens to is people on the streets.

But the real question on several protesters' minds was not petitions vs. blockades; it was how to make our activities stepping stones on a path to a new society. A leaflet intended for the workers reduced itself to asking workers to spill secrets and go on slowdowns.

The inability to build a relationship with the workers stems from the refusal to face the totality of "the vision of not just getting rid of nuclear arms but creating a whole new society," which is what one young person said "was implied in the actions." We'll really be able to get somewhere, when the vision of what we're for is not left implicit and we stop hiding from workers' own ideas.

Legal support funds may be sent to: *Disarm Northrop Action Coalition, 407 S. Dearborn No. 370, Chicago, IL 60605. Make checks to: Walk for Peace.*

— Franklin Dmitryev

Immigration politics conference in Germany

Frankfurt, Germany — On June 4, I was privileged to attend a West German national "protest event" on the theme "Immigration Politics and Human Rights Violations" held in Frankfurt and attended by 1500 people: mainly German, but also Turk, Kurd, Iranian, Greek, Hispanic and Italian.

Several recent events have caused a resurgence of the anti-racist movement: (1) The statement of ultra-right Christian Democrat Interior Minister Zimmerman that he hopes to "halve" by 1990 the number of foreigners (today 2 million) in West Germany. (2) The new policy of encouraging foreign workers to leave "willingly" by offering them in a lump sum 50% of their unemployment benefits. (3) The new policy of making foreign workers wait six years to bring in their families. (4) Attacks on minorities and foreigners such as one near Stuttgart where a Black received this anonymous letter in March: "Black friend murdered. A shameful race. Get out. We warn only once."

I was impressed with the determination and organization of this mostly young group of 1500 in Frankfurt. They rejected totally the notion that foreign workers take away German workers' jobs. Most of them were from groups to the Left of the Communist Party and the Social-Democratic Party. I had some very interesting conversations at my News & Letters literature table: with Stuttgart anti-racist activists who were sure that neo-Nazis were behind the threatening letter quoted above, and with Iranian feminists who were carrying out a three-sided struggle: against racism in West Germany, against Khomeini, and against the virulent sexism still rampant in all sectors of the Iranian Left.

It was disturbing to see the way *Die Tageszeitung*, the alternative Left daily paper, covered the conference. While giving it its first spot, the coverage centered mainly on a description of the Turkish neighborhoods in Frankfurt. Still worse was their headline, an attempt at humor which ended instead in racism. It read: "For Spaghetti, Paella and Kebob".

On the same day as the conference, 83,000 workers demonstrated in Stuttgart against unemployment and for the 35-hour week. This was said to be the biggest international unemployment rally ever held in Europe: large groups came not only from all over Germany, but also from France, Italy and Belgium. Unemployment in West Europe now stands at 12 million, or 10.7%. While the German union leadership has so far refused to call for a general strike against the Cruise and Pershing missiles, German marchers' slogans such as "Jobs, Not Bombs" made them stand out from the more narrowly trade unionist slogans of most of the other unions. In the fall, the German labor unions will officially participate in the massive anti-missile demonstrations.

Two weeks later, in West Berlin, 800 rightists dared to hold a march into the Turkish part of the city, "asking" the Turks to leave Germany "in friendship". The "friendship" was to be expressed by giving Turks a flower! This time the racists were met by 7,000 counter-demonstrators organized mainly by the Berlin Alternative Liste, who fought with the police. The Berlin Green Party, saying they anticipated violence, had not endorsed the anti-racist protest in Berlin.

— Kevin A. Barry

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

A new stage of mass movement in Chile

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

"Don't send your children to school. Buy nothing in stores. Don't use public transportation. Walk slowly in the streets. Make meetings in workplaces and the universities. At 8:00 p.m., blow your car horns and bang on your pots. From 8:00 to 9:00 p.m. extinguish all lights to show the semi-darkness that surrounds us." Such were the calls for action on June 14 issued by the "underground command" comprising all Chilean unions, and political parties — from Christian Democrats to Communist and MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left). By the time the day was over, the blood-soaked U.S.-supported Pinochet regime was shaken to its core.

The Chilean Women's Group could not wait until June 14. The day before they picketed supermarkets — appearing suddenly with banners and then melting into crowds of applauding women shoppers before the dreaded "pacos" (riot police) could arrive. The banners read: "Our children are hungry for bread, freedom, and demo-

cracy!" These women have been supported for years by Chilean women's groups in exile, especially in Germany.

Also on June 13, parents of the disappeared demonstrated for the first time right outside the Moneda, the Presidential Palace, demanding a full accounting of the disappeared. The ever-increasing mass struggles indicate that a new stage has been reached.

June 14 was the biggest day yet of protest, far larger and more overtly political than May 11. While the bourgeois press played up the middle class and conservative elements such as "women in fur coats banging pots" (Le Monde), the truth is that it was in the working class slums of Santiago — la Victoria, Joao Goulart and la Cisterna — where barricades went up and street fighting took place with the riot police until midnight.

At the Santiago university campus of Macul, 1500 students held off police from behind barricades for several hours, armed only with stones. Early on the morning of June 14, railroad tracks are dynamited in Rancagua, electric cables sabotaged in Concepcion and a bomb went off in the offices of the riot police in Vina del Mar. At least two youthful demonstrators — 14 and 20 years old —

were added to the thousands of Chileans murdered by the fascist regime since 1973. Hundreds of others were arrested.

But most crucial of all was the element of Chilean labor, which spearheaded the protests. The outspoken 29-year-old leader of the copper workers' union, Rodolfo Sequel, was seized by police the next day, whereupon the copper workers went on strike. Larger strikes are planned immediately.

The difficulties facing the movement should not, however, be underestimated. Pinochet's torture machine, set up with the aid of Nixon, Kissinger and some of today's "peace doves" of the nuclear freeze such as William Colby, remains in place. In 1982 alone, 9000 people were arrested, and many of them tortured. In fact, some of the most unspeakable tortures, especially against women, have recently been revived. In addition, part of the opposition, linked to the Christian Democrats, wants to remove only Pinochet and his immediate circle, and stop short of challenging the entire military/police apparatus. They hope for a "moderate" military coup. The masses in the streets have a totally different concept of democracy.

Poland



Millions of Poles used the Pope's visit to demonstrate that the spirit of Solidarity is very much alive. Despite the tight security — 100,000 church marshals were mobilized to cooperate with the police in insuring the "strictly religious" character of the visit — Solidarity banners were more prevalent than any other symbol and all hands were raised in the "V" for victory sign. In Czestochowa the Pope's reference to Solidarity was greeted so enthusiastically that he had to calm the masses down in order to continue his speech.

Disregarding his appeal for calm the youth in every city held their own demonstrations after the official celebrations of mass. Chanting "there will be no freedom without Solidarity" and "Join us," up to 200,000 marched through the streets seizing this opportunity to show their feelings.

The church is trying to usurp Solidarity's gains, while betraying it and entering into a partnership with the state. One stated purpose of this unholy alliance is to oppose mass uprisings. For a part in running the state — reportedly setting up a central development bank and new unions — the church is taking on a responsibility of preventing any future uprisings like the one that created Solidarity.

Yet did anyone need to wait until the Vatican leaks to see the sharp contrast between church and Solidarity? Just look at how the two dealt with the regime: The Pope meeting with Jaruzelski in secret, not revealing the content of the discussion. The workers in Gdansk in August, 1980, broadcasting their negotiations over loudspeakers so everyone could participate.

That tendency of radical openness still exists. As opposed to the "peace" both Jaruzelski and the Pope agreed on, Zbyszek Bujak, Solidarity leader still underground, while saying one cannot expect any immediate effects from the Pope's visit, had this vision of the Poland he wishes to see:

"I know there is nothing that would disarm us more than the slogan of social peace. It serves only the dictatorship and nothing more. I don't want any such thing. I want to see sharp, decisive battles on the political scene. I want to see all possible ideas confronting each other ... when it comes to social organizations: intellectual ferment, rallies, meetings, conflicts."

As the only way out the Pope offered "a dialogue between the authorities and society." But the authorities have rejected any dialogue with society, continuing it only with the church, which is now helping the murderous Jaruzelski gain legitimacy. Neither the totalitarian regime nor the authoritarian undemocratic church, will destroy the identity between Solidarity and freedom in the mind of the masses.

Mexico

On June 13, 10,000 striking Mexican university workers marched in Mexico City to demand a 40% wage increase. Close to 40,000 administrative workers from 11 state universities went out on strike at the beginning of June.

The second week in June, a mass strike of tens of thousands of Mexican workers in heavy industry and service jobs "convinced" the government Commission on Minimum Wage to raise the minimum pay for urban workers to around \$3.50 a day, a 25% increase.

Mexican workers are rejecting President De la Madrid's answer — economic "austerity" — to a \$100 billion foreign debt, which has meant millions unemployed and millions more underemployed, altogether around half the workforce. The raise in the minimum wage hardly cuts into the 80% inflation rate, and the raise is lower for rural workers, the vast majority of whom are not even covered by the wage laws.

Philippines

On June 25, during his visit to the Philippines, Secretary of State George Shultz exchanged a toast with Ferdinand Marcos to reaffirm a "very special" relationship between the U.S. and the Philippines. Every Friday afternoon a group of 200 Filipino students demonstrates against the U.S. and Pres. Marcos in front of the U.S. embassy in Manila, demanding that U.S. military bases in the Philippines be dismantled. They are part of the growing movement of opposition politicians, labor leaders, intellectuals and clergy for immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops and facilities.

The Marcos dictatorship on June 1 renegotiated U.S. leases for the bases, getting \$900 million from the Reagan Administration for the next five years. The opposition to U.S. bases is now also taking on an anti-nuke character, especially for Filipino youth. When U.S. Secretary of Defense Weinberger went to the Philippines in April, students circulated an open letter saying, "We have become

clear magnets of attack from your superpower counterparts. You don't get to be bombed. It is us who will be fighting your war."

The opposition is not limited to anti-U.S. bases. On May Day, over 50,000 workers demonstrated in Bacolod, capital of the island of Negros. Negros is a sugar-growing island controlled by six families, while sugar workers get \$1 per day. Some 75,000 of them have in the last ten years joined a union at the risk of their lives. At any moment they can be accused by the army of sympathy with the guerrillas of the New Peoples Army. As in El Salvador, the army kidnaps, tortures and kills peasants and workers it considers "suspects" — and leaves their mutilated bodies on display with a written "warning".

Iran

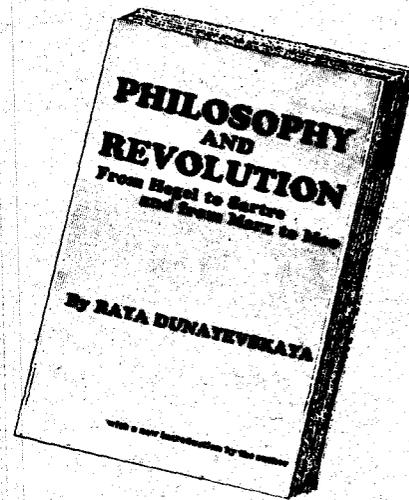
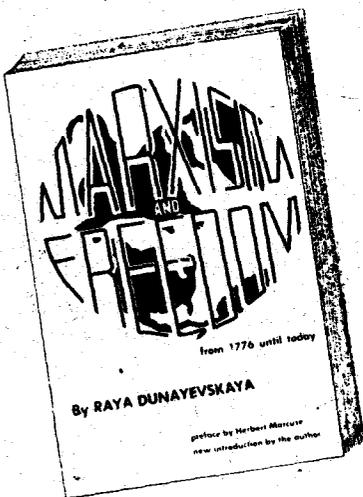
Resistance to Khomeini's permanent state of war with Iraq is beginning to appear within the military. Desertions from the army have risen markedly, and so have applications to resign from the Islamic Republic's Guards Corps. On April 2, Khomeini's representative in the Guards issued a statement barring resignations except under extreme conditions, for the authorities to decide.

The length of military service is also being extended, from 18 to 30 months. It is now longer than under the Shah (two years). The National Service Bureau has ordered high school and university graduates, who have not yet registered for military service to do so. The Bureau has indicated that "draft dodgers will be deprived of many social benefits."

Last year the government had to institute a 69-article law of conscription, under which men who evade military service are denied many civil rights. As well, household utilities like water and electricity can be cut off and ration coupons denied.

The moves by the Islamic Republic to stem draft resistance give some indication that Iranian youth do not share Khomeini's war ambitions in Iraq.

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News and Letters Committees

(Continued from Page 2)

There are two histories alive in Latin America, that of the oppression and that of the revolt. The oppression is double-edged. There is the oppression of the native rulers, as in Peru where martial law has just been declared all over again; and there is the oppression that is intimately tied to the U.S. Even so solid a bourgeois ideologue as the former Undersecretary of State in the Kennedy Administration, George W. Ball, who surely should know the details of that unholy, savage Vietnam War, calls the Reagan-type of "Latin regionalism" the same as the doctrine Brezhnev used for his counter-revolutionary march into Czechoslovakia to put down that revolution.⁶

But it is the history of revolt that we, as American revolutionaries, need to watch, learn from, and assist. This is what we in News and Letters Committees have been doing very concretely, in a multitude of conferences and support rallies, in our newspaper and in our pamphlets — especially those we have issued bilingually, like *Latin America's Revolutions, in Reality, in Thought*, and our most recent *Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak*.

6. See "Brezhnev by the U.S." by George W. Ball, *New York Times*, June 14, 1983, which traces U.S. intervention in Latin America from 1927 when Calvin Coolidge sent the Marines into Nicaragua and then imposed the Somoza dictatorship on it, through 1954 when Dwight D. Eisenhower did the same in Guatemala, 1961 when John F. Kennedy launched the Bay of Pigs, and 1973 when Nixon-Kissinger engineered the coup in Chile, to the Reagan-Haig-Shultz counter-revolutionary maneuvers today.

III. Marx's Final Writings Let Us Hear Marx Thinking

In this year, 1983, the Marx centenary has given our generation the opportunity to hear Marx thinking. Now that we finally have Marx's writings, including the heretofore unpublished *Ethnological Notebooks*, we can discern therein a trail to the 1980s. The writings of Marx's last decade open new paths to revolution by letting us hear Marx thinking as he studied pre-capitalist human cultures — whether that be the Iroquois women or the Australian aborigine; whether it be the peasant communes in "the Asiatic mode of production", or discovering possible new relations between the "East" and the "West." We see, to use an expression of Marx's, how philosophy becomes a "material force." **In a word, Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" has such relevance for our age that, in hearing Marx think dialectically, we learn the methodology needed to work out his philosophy for our age.**

Take Marx's new attitude in that last decade to the highpoint of his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, "The Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" — which post-Marx Marxists have interpreted as meaning that revolution will come first in the most technologically-advanced West and that "therefore" Russia needed first to develop into full capitalism. Yet when Mikhailovsky, a Russian Populist, claimed, while Marx was still alive, that these determinist views were what was expounded in *Capital*, Marx hit back with the accusation that Mikhailovsky was transforming into a supra-historical Universal what, to Marx, had been a description of the path of development of the West alone. We can literally hear Marx thinking, as he not only objects to Mikhailovsky's misinterpretation, but embarks on disclosing other paths to revolution.

In the year before his death, Marx had not left his new vision of other paths of development only in an unmailed "letter to the editor"⁷ but articulated it as a prediction of revolution in Russia ahead of the West, in nothing less than the preface to a Russian edition of the historic and popular *Communist Manifesto*. That this prediction was as undigested by post-Marx Marxists as his *Ethnological Notebooks* (his marginal notes to the thousands of pages of then-newly published bourgeois empiric anthropological studies), reveals exactly the state of ossification Marxism had undergone in their hands. They had no belief in revolutionary, human, historic leaps, and were therefore unable to discern, in Marx's Promethean vision of human development, a trail to their own age. Having failed to grapple with Marx's dialectical methodology as the dialectics of "revolution in permanence" which led him to experience new moments of human development, post-Marx Marxists treated those historic leaps by Marx as if they were rhetoric, or only some utopian views of the young Marx reappearing in Marx's

7. Marx's letter to the Russian journal, *Fatherland Notes*, which had published Mikhailovsky's critique, was written Nov. 1877 but not published in Russia until after Marx's death, in 1886.

The emphasis on Latin America in our Perspectives this year is because that is where U.S. imperialism, at this moment, has concentrated its military might — and it is the task of American revolutionaries to do all we can to fight against that drive. Moreover, the U.S. concentration there is not only because it considers Latin America its "sphere of influence," but because it is afraid that that is where Russia is looking for an opening.

The exact opposite attitude to what the rulers consider their "spheres of influence" is the attitude of the workers. Moreover, the mass opposition to "spheres of influence" is concrete — and that holds true whether we talk of Latin America, or the Middle East, or East Europe. Take the great outpourings in Poland at this very moment. **That massive outpouring is not only to hear the Pope, much less to accept the Pope's interpretation of the origin of Solidarnosc — which, far from having been started by the Catholic Church, had its true origins in the genuinely new organization of workers and intellectuals known as KOR. Those demonstrations are to reaffirm their continuous struggle for freedom.**

There is no ground for the euphoria of the Catholic Church, which is calling these outpourings "spiritual"; nor is there any reason for the Communist totalitarians to think that by allowing the Pope to visit Poland they would accomplish any significant lifting of the sanctions that have been imposed on Poland by the West. Above all, what all of them — the Pope, the Communist Party, and the Western rulers — agree on

old age. Ryazanov, when he discovered the *Notebooks*, even dared to call them "inexcusable pedantry."⁸

Works on pre-capitalist society, like Morgan's *Ancient Society*, excited Marx (though not as uncritically as Morgan's work later enamored Engels) to further develop what he had earlier called "the Asiatic mode of production" and had first developed in the *Grundrisse* as one of the four forms of human development. In the *Ethnological Notebooks* he, at the same time, singled out a new feminist dimension when he drew attention to the fact that the Iroquois women, and the Irish women before English conquest, both had greater freedom than women under capitalism. Clearly, what he was developing was a multilinear, dialectical view of human development beginning with the gens.

Now that we have the complete Marx oeuvre — complete, that is, in that we now have both the previously published and the heretofore unpublished works — it is the maturity of our age which can aid us in the hard labor of working out Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" and which demands a different attitude to Marx's unpublished documents as contrasted to post-Marx Marxists of another period.

Thus with eyes of 1983 we can see that, when Marx's *Humanist Essays* first became known in the 1920s — or even as they reappeared in the 1950s on the actual historic stage of East European revolt — the attitude seemed to be a matter of contrasting the young to the mature Marx, as if there were two different Marxes, instead of one Marx who was constantly developing his Promethean vision as measured against the objective and subjective situation of his age. And when we take a second look at the discussions around the *Grundrisse* when that became available in the late 1950s, we see that the question of the "Asiatic mode of production" was then reduced to a question of feudalism, or at best a recording of past history, rather than grasping it as an expression of Marx's new appreciation for all pre-capitalist societies. Inherent in them were the new paths to revolution, which Marx made crystal clear in his *Ethnological Notebooks* and the correspondence with revolutionaries and scholars around that question in his last years.

If we take a second look at another new moment of Marx's last decade, this time one in which Engels had participated — the 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Programme* — we not only see that it took Engels 15 years before he could get the German Social-Democracy to publish it, but must ask ourselves why, even then, did the very point in question, the relationship of philo-

8. See Chapter 12 of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, "The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980s", especially Section 2, "The Unknown *Ethnological Notebooks*; the Unread Drafts of the Letter to Zasulich, as Well as the Undigested 1882 Preface to the Russian Edition of the *Communist Manifesto*."

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at this moment is that nothing will be said or done about the trials the Communist rulers are planning against the revolutionary dissidents, Kuron, Modzelewski, and other KOR founders.

Because what both Russia and the U.S. are continuously preparing for is the ultimate confrontation between the two super-powers, they must both worry about the revolts at home and jockey for positions throughout the world. Thus U.S. imperialism is all over again whitewashing Israel's genocidal role in Lebanon and sending it new arms. Far from that war against Lebanon ever having ended, the so-called peace which U.S. imperialism engineered merely transformed open warfare into a war of attrition, which by now has produced new warlike stances both in Syria and among the Palestinians, directly in the PLO itself.

There is sure to be another Arab-Israeli War in the offing.

Above all we cannot exclude the possibility of the ultimate — a nuclear holocaust between the two Behemoths, Russia and the U.S. — which the Reagan Administration is doing all it can to so exacerbate as to put a question mark over the very survival of civilization as we have known it. Faced with such imperialisms — whether of the private capitalist or the state-capitalist nations — it becomes imperative to measure our activities and tasks for the coming year — and, indeed, of our whole 30-year existence — against the objective movement from practice and against the methodology Marx disclosed as he constantly discovered new paths to revolution.

sophy to revolution and to organization still remain in limbo. The German Social-Democracy paid no more attention to it after it was published than before. The reason is that the focus of all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels, even when they took up the philosophic question, always focused on the relationship of dialectics to economics, not to revolution and organization.

Lenin, after the collapse of the Second International, did return to Hegel and reorganized his philosophic past. Turning to the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, Lenin then wrote one of his greatest works, *State and Revolution*, developing the dialectics of revolution not as a question just of economics but of the destruction of the state. He developed the dialectics of revolution so concretely that in that work he never once raised the question of "the Party to lead." The organization that emerged from the spontaneous actions of the masses was the Soviets — and Lenin's first slogan in the 1917 Revolution was "All Power to the Soviets." But by not repudiating the concept of vanguard party, Lenin's philosophic ambivalence allowed for contradictory interpretations of what, precisely, was the relationship of party to mass.

When Leon Trotsky joined the Bolsheviks and accepted Lenin's concept of the Party which he had previously attacked, what he accepted was the 1903 concept without any of the qualifications Lenin had introduced in both the 1905 and the 1917 Revolutions.

We alone have related the dialectic not only to actual revolution and to a philosophy of revolution but as ground for the revolutionary organization itself. That, after all, was exactly what was at the center of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which had opposed the projected unity of the Marxists and Lassalleans on the basis of a program that was devoid of a philosophy of revolution. That, to Marx, was the theoretic preparation needed for both revolution and the transition, after the conquest of power, to the ultimate goal of ending the division between mental and manual labor and creating totally new human relations.

What permeated our Marx centenary National Tour around the publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, was its challenge to all post-Marx Marxists. The National Tour was the most extensive we have had, not only geographically beyond where we have actual locals, but in its focus on the four forces of revolution as Reason we have singled out — Labor, Black and all minorities, Women's Liberationists, and Youth. Just as there was not a single one of the Black and national liberation audiences we addressed that did not include the question of Women's Liberation in their lecture requests on the tour this year, so there was not a single historic period that failed to have a very great urgency for today, as witness the impact of the 1905 Russian Re-

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volution not only on the 1906-11 Iranian Revolution, but on the Iranian Revolution of 1979.

Marx's works as a totality have so illuminated the relationship of philosophy as action for future generations of revolutionaries that no Marxist will ever again be able to limit Marx's Humanism to "economics."

Thus, lectures on Marxist-Humanism were sponsored by four different Afro-American Studies departments, a Third World Women's Conference and an Iranian Conference — which revealed how very relevant to the activities of the Third World is the Marx centenary because of their own great passion for a philosophy of revolution and their intense interest in the Second America. Indeed, it is impossible to separate theory from our activities in the Black world, whether here or in South Africa, as is clear from the invitation to Lou Turner, co-author of *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*, to represent Marxist-Humanism at the Black Consciousness Movement's commemoration of Soweto here in June. (See *Worker's Journal*, p. 3, this issue.)

It is in that same context that the editor of *News & Letters*, Charles Denby, sees the new paragraph on Marx and the Black world, written on the tour, as the focus of our new Introduction to *American Civilization on Trial* we are preparing this year on its 20th anniversary (see Denby's *Worker's Journal*, N&L, June, 1983). We plan to have the new edition of this history of the two-way road — from Africa to the U.S. via the West Indies and back again — off the press for the August 27 March on Washington.

The second pamphlet we plan for this Marx centenary year is one written by anti-nuclear activist Peter Wermuth directly on the relationship of Marx's writings in his last decade to the Third World today. It is both original and has so seriously grappled with the *Ethnological Notebooks* that no way is left to think that Marx's philosophy of "revolution in permanence" is abstract. It is sure to have as much organizational impact as our actual activities in the support committees for the many national liberation movements in which we are active.

The third pamphlet we are undertaking comes out of

IV. The Constitutional Convention and our Tasks for 1983-84

Just as the relationship between the objective situation and the subjective response of revolutionaries is the measure set by Marx's entire life and thought, so it is that measure which demands that we answer not only what this year or this new book has achieved in relationship to the objective situation, but that we test ourselves throughout the entire period of our 30-year existence.

The reference we had made in our Constitution to that 1949-50 strike — "Since the 1949-50 miners' strike and the advent of automation, the problem of guiding their own destiny has moved to the point of production itself and posed the basic question: 'What kind of labor should man do? Why should there be a division between mental and manual labor?' " — does not reveal our participation in that historic event.

What 1983 has made clear is not only the significance of our participation but above all the objective relevance of this to today. Whether the question now is that of the "new technology" of robotics (which was then called automation); or whether the question is Reaganomics, Reaganpolitics and Reaganism's warlike stance (which was then spelled out as the Korean War and McCarthyism), it becomes necessary to look at the Constitution in the light of what we have since produced, on the one hand, and, on the other, the enveloping threat of nuclear war. The challenge to post-Marx Marxists that we issued with the publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was not just a philosophic one. By no accident whatever it was issued to revolutionary Marxists.

Upon the publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, we came up with the "slogan": Three Books, not One — by which we meant that the new book, along with *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*, made a trilogy of revolution which in each case related itself to the whole movement from practice to theory which is itself a form of theory. It was for this reason that, far from being deterred by the pervasive McCarthyism of the 1950s and the bourgeois ideologues who had declared the period to be "the end of ideology", we launched *News & Letters*. Those who did not see

the very first public meeting on the National Tour — which took us back to our very beginnings in West Virginia and our participation in the momentous 1949-50 Miners' General Strike. What we had not expected was that this prologue to our birth as Marxist-Humanists would come alive in 1983 not only in thought but through the living participants in that strike, who were present and still identified with Marxist-Humanism, both as we were in 1950 and as we are now developing Marx's Marxism as a totality and a trail to the 1980s.

This remembrance of things past, not only as history, but as methodology to work out for today, carried through in New York, when the Tamiment Library, which already has the microfilm of our Archives — "Marxist-Humanism, from 1941 to Today" — asked for an interview for their Oral History of the Left, precisely on that 1950 event and our participation in it, because it was a missing page from American labor history. By the time the tour was completed on the West Coast; other Marxist-Humanists who had been active in West Virginia discussed their remembrance with the eyes of 1983.

In a word, by no accident whatever, the Marx centenary year has led to the decision to publish a pamphlet by Andy Phillips and other participants on the 1950 Miners' General Strike both as 1950 activity and as 1983 view of it. This is a special need today when rank-and-file labor confronts its so-called labor leadership as the actual bodyguard of capital, forcing down the workers' throats all those unconscionable concessions. Contrast that to the thought and actions of rank-and-file labor when confronted with a labor leader like John L. Lewis, who was a militant — but nevertheless, when confronted by the might of both the state and the judiciary, ordered the miners to return to work. The workers not only answered "No", but revealed the why underlying their "No." What was spelled out was that it was not just a question of wages but the kind of labor demanded by the new technology — Automation, which they called "a man-killer."

As the "New Technology" has moved from Automation to Unimation to robotics, what is demanded now

9. These archives are on deposit at Wayne State University's Walter Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs under their title: "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection." Microfilm copies of the 7000-page collection are available from WSU.

that period as a new revolutionary beginning (and that included much of the Left) hardly considered that the time for raising the banner of Marxist-Humanism.

As we put it in the Prologue to our pamphlet on 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., our beginnings focused on: 1) a new stage of production — Automation and the workers battling against it; 2) a new stage of cognition — Marx's Humanist Essays as they were brought onto the historic stage in East Europe (and Poland, in rebellion today, never lets you forget that fight for freedom); and 3) new forms of organization — a committee form of organization rooted in a philosophy of revolution, replacing "party to lead."

Today we continue to work out for our own age the new moments Marx discovered in his last decade: First, as he prepared a new and expanded French edition of *Capital*, Marx projected the concentration and centralization of capital as leading both to monopoly and further colonialism, as well as creation of a world market. Second, as he denied that the "Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation" was a Universal, Marx disclosed new paths to revolution. Third, at the very time that he forwarded to Bracke the French edition of *Capital*, he sent the "Marginal Notes" we know as *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, which reveal his philosophy of revolution as the ground of organization.

No doubt, the philosophy of "revolution in permanence" — i.e. continuous revolution — has been accepted "in general" as the theory of revolution by the greatest of revolutionaries, no matter how different their theories of the Party. Unfortunately, these post-Marx Marxist theoreticians tied it to the concept of the vanguard party. It is not true that Lenin alone did that. He merely elaborated and concretized the concept of Party which the orthodox Marxists, the whole Second International, held to. Rosa Luxemburg — who criticized Lenin on some points and certainly had a greater appreciation of the spontaneity of the masses and the need for the Party to be deeply immersed in that spontaneity — held on to the concept of the unity of the Party because of its vanguard nature, even after the Party betrayed and she called the Second International "a stinking corpse." As for Trotsky who had fought

is not only political as well as economic answers but philosophic answers reaching deep down to the division between mental and manual work characteristic of all class societies, which must be abolished.

It was, after all, that question which transformed the book that was in process during that momentous Miners' General Strike, then called "Marxism and State-Capitalism", into the book that was published in 1958 as *Marxism and Freedom*. It laid the philosophic ground for listening to all those new movements from practice where we heard the new voices and recorded them, in pamphlets ranging from *Workers Battle Automation to Maryland Freedom Union*, from *Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves to The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution*. The turbulent 1960s showed, at the same time, that too many in the new generation of revolutionaries thought that activity, activity, activity was enough and that theory could be picked up "en route", so that when the pre-revolutionary situation did not mature into a full-blown revolution in 1968, we felt the need to return to the Hegelian dialectic "in and for itself" as ground for the dialectics of liberation for our age.

The task of writing *Philosophy and Revolution* was made easier by the emergence of a whole new Third World whose greatest theorist, Frantz Fanon, arrived at the same philosophic conclusion as we — the need for a new Humanism. Our pamphlet on *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* can be seen as an extension of *Philosophy and Revolution*. Nor was it any accident that both the chapter on the East European revolts, which took off from the theory and the actuality of state-capitalism, and the chapter on the "new passions and new forces", which included the Sheng Wu-lien, were in part written by the actual revolutionary forces involved.

The publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* completed what we have called the trilogy of revolution which began with *Marxism and Freedom* and continued with *Philosophy and Revolution*. It was with its completion that the expanded Resident Editorial Board-National Editorial Board meeting on January 1, 1983 decided to transform our national gathering this year into a Constitutional Convention.

Lenin so sharply as to be with the Mensheviks rather than the Bolsheviks until 1917, he ended by out-vanguarding Lenin's concept of the Party.

It is the lethal contradiction between vanguardist conceptions of the Party and the failure to grapple with Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence" which has led to so many soured revolutions, and which has made us dig deeper into Marx's philosophy of organization as revealed in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme* though it remained unprobed. What *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* has achieved is the disclosing of the integrity of Marx's philosophy of organization in his philosophy of revolution.

This is the ground for the continuation and intensification of all our activities this year. It goes without saying that to carry out all these tasks — publication of the three new pamphlets outlined here; continuation of *News & Letters*; and the expansion of our activities with all the forces of revolution — in the anti-nuke, anti-draft, anti-war movement; the Women's Liberation Movement; support movements for Latin American, East European and African freedom fighters; with the student youth; the Black revolutionaries; and rank-and-file labor fighting Reaganism and their own bureaucracy — we will need a substantial Sustaining Fund, to which we will ask all our friends and supporters to contribute.

As the National Tour this year has shown, it is precisely these writings and activities which have created an interest in News and Letters Committees — that is, an organization rooted in a philosophy of revolution — whether those interested were Women's Liberationists, Black intellectuals and activists, Youth or rank-and-file workers.

It is the philosophy of "revolution in permanence" that is the determinant for theoretic preparation for revolution. What is now needed is Marxist-Humanist organizational growth to help the American revolution be.

— The Resident Editorial Board
June 23, 1983