GM's Saturn
to wring more
from workers

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

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

In this new Saturn division, GM's contract with the
UAW will be negotiated separately from the UAW con
tricts of other GM plants. This bill is a piece of
buckshot that was written into law to try and
work and workers' rights in any whole.

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

Just one more chapter of production. It's part of
the same system workers have been fighting for 200
years. The joint GM-Toyota plant in Fremont, in
northern California, has already practiced these "new
Japanese-style" worker-management relations. There
have been news stories here in Los Angeles quoting
GM Chairman Roger Smith about how "friendly" and
"concerned" management there is.

ROBOTS REPLACE WORKERS

The very latest came Feb. 4, with the sweeping cuts
in social programs that Reuther wanted enacted in his
1986-88 platform. Declaring that his budget would
"change the course of our nation's history" if enacted,
Reuther listed neither history nor human need when he
went on to justify his ominous escalation in military
spending in the face of the deepest cutbacks in social
programs carried out by technologically advanced West
ern society in the post-World War II era. Rather, like
the semi-feudal slave-owners of the south who
claimed divine inspiration for the earthly misery of
their "peculiar institution," Reuther has sought to in
stitutionalize misery with the peculiar inspiration that
"the Scriptures are on our side."”

FACTS OF BLACK LIFE

The reason there are so many fewer workers there
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Black World

State of Black
America

by Lou Turner

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

by Peter Wermuth

The Middle East in full disarray

The sudden United States-Russia talks on the
Middle East, the content of which is kept secret
by both, puts the first such dialogue between the
countries in over 30 years in the headlines.
However, and especially as far as the
Arabian countries are concerned—particularly that
Sadat undertook his
tour of Europe which resulted in the
Cambridge peace accords of the Carter Adminis-
tration. Even the presence of Russia, Reagan's
"evil empire," doesn't disturb this President as
much as his preoccupation with trying to erase
every single action of the Carter Administration.

Those with a knowledge of the Middle East know
that once the superpowers enter, their nuclear prowess
reduces to nought any and all militarization of the re-
gional powers. It is the fear of such superpower entry which moves Egypt, Iran, and even the
Palestinian Liberation Organization, to the various maneuvers they
have recently undertaken. They know that it is only
when they can exercise their own power that they have to re-exam-
ine both the Israel-Lebanon stalemate and the Israeli
troop withdrawal that has captured the headlines of the
most recent period.

That Israel's "unilateral withdrawal" from Lebanon
will hardly heal the wounds of that war-torn nation was
shown Feb. 6, when hundreds of Israeli troops raided
villages in southern Lebanon in a crackdown against
Hizbullah' s resisters to Israeli occupation. Though the Israeli
cabinet voted to pull its troops out of Sidon by Feb. 18,
its Defense Ministry made sure to remind the Lebanese
remaining under its control that "we have to re-exam-
ine the whole Israeli-Lebanon stalemate and the Israeli
troop withdrawal that has captured the headlines of the
most recent period.

The Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon will take
almost as much as six months, and the fighting will no doubt
be more severe. The conditions for turning the tide to
favor the Lebanese will be more severe. It is the
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Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs

A LECTURE-

Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

AN EXHIBITION-

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

• selection of documents from the 7000
page Raya Dunayevskaya Collection
• historic photographs of freedom move-
ments worldwide

• page-proofs of Ms. Dunayevskaya's new
work: Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future
• at Reuther Library, W.S.U. The opening reception is March 21 after lecture.


What makes it imperative to begin discussing this work is the book not only includes essays about Raya Dunayevskaya's Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future, a 35-Year Collection of Essays—Historic, Philosophical, Global.

The book was written by Raya Dunayevskaya, a Marxist-Humanist in 1969. It is titled: "Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future, a 35-Year Collection of Essays—Historic, Philosophical, Global.

Comité de Madres fights El Salvadoran terror

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

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**Factories time opposed to human time**

by John Marcotte

If you work in production you really see how crazy capitalism is — and how inhuman to the working class. At work you are in a constant battle to cut out our own jobs. At the wages we make, that’s a real hardship. But it’s always when things are slow that the bosses start to cut out our own jobs.

One of the bosses got so upset when he saw a worker standing by the time clock one minute before quitting time that he fired him in 15 minutes. Then he called a big meeting of all the supervisors who in turn called meetings in all the departments to “lay down the law” to the workers: “Don’t go around your machines, or else.” Workers say, if you come in one minute late they take out 15 minutes from your check, and if you don’t pay them, so why the hell should the boss care?

On the other hand they say they have no work. A worker who wants to take two weeks of his two-week childilrern leave. It took them one week to “find” work for her, which costs a week’s wages.

A friend in a frozen food plant says they were all laid off for two weeks. Now, since they are making labors, they are working 58 hours a week! No work, then overtime, working 50 hours a week! No work, then overtime.

At my plant, they say they’re slow, but they’re still spending lots of money on new automatic machines.

There’s a new automated line in the plating department and there are new machines in several areas, with one worker, the work it took four people to do in one week. They laid off one plate and sent two to work one of the machines. There is now a lot more production than before. In wire forming, they have been getting the bugs out of a machine they say they finally bought for $12,000. They bought a machine and roller already on, eliminating those two jobs from assembly.

Another side of this speed-up. In one assembly department, a worker used to work piece-work under a previous owner. He says, “I was told one gross (144 parts) was $18, and when I couldn’t make it, I got paid $3 and change. Then the new owners started pressuring me, so I said OK, fifty gross a day, and they said, ‘If you can’t make it, you’re gonna have to change your method’ — trying to push me to make 88 gross, but I stuck to 50.”

Now instead of piece-work there is a bonus. A worker was put on a new machine last week (the old machine chopped off part of a worker’s finger and the bosses got scared when the insurance companies started to get curious). The bonus was set at $35 gross. This worker is very fast. The bosses wanted him to work this machine to see how much faster he could do it.

The worker called him over and told him, “Take me off this machine, raise me 25 cents an hour or make the job easier. I spend $30 in transportation to come here and not make it, and once a week is not enough, but I always put me on it when it’s a rush job.” The boss told him the bonus was “for the benefit of the worker.” Everyone else got a bonus-faced lie, whole gross of $125, the bonus pays only 5 cents per gross. That is 10 or 15 dollars in two months to be rushing all day.

All I can say is, we are trying to find out what this crazy and unjust system we experience every day. I was surprised by a worker who is in one of those religions where they are supposed to do no work or dance or curse— he told me he had to take a forest ore and beat the hell out of him for the way he spoke to workers like dogs. I guess that what Marx meant about the religion of the oppressor being different from the oppressed, which is really different from the oppressor.

**Lessons in Reagonomics**

Los Angeles, Calif. — I am a 46-year-old man with four children and I’ve been with AD-Aign Co., the last nine years. Just before Christmas AD-Aid laid off 500 workers (and didn’t have to pay their Christmas bonuses). They were told they didn’t have to pay holiday pay (they laid off 120 more workers the following week) and they didn’t have to pay the hell out of him for the way he spoke to workers like dogs.

There was no thing at all. They just gave us our checks and the word to go home and not come back. We worked in the lab at AD-Aign Co. I was making my union dues of $16 a month, and some of us pay as much as $90 a month. Where in the hell is the union? At AD-Aign one worker said: “I made $3 a day and I used to use my union dues of $16 a month, and some of us pay as much as $90 a month. Where in the hell is the union? At AD-Aign one worker said: “I made $3 a day and I used to use $16 a month, and some of us pay as much as $90 a month. Where in the hell is the union?”

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Another side of this speed-up. In one assembly department, a worker used to work piece-work under a previous owner. He says, “I was told one gross (144 parts) was $18, and when I couldn’t make it, I got paid $3 and change. Then the new owners started pressuring me, so I said OK, fifty gross a day, and they said, ‘If you can’t make it, you’re gonna have to change your method’ — trying to push me to make 88 gross, but I stuck to 50.”

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crushed the rebellion, all on the grounds that Syria's "Israel is Enemy Number One" stand made it some kind of victory for the PLO. This forward movement to social transformation is possible in Lebanon or any where else in the Middle East so long as the Left fails to move forward and break from the narrow nationalism that led it into the Syrian trap. *The per mission of the contradictions that led to the aborted ci vil war are now clearly on immediate agenda in the Middle East today, and it is from that angle that we must view the myriad contradictions and shifts in alliances.

No sooner were the first troops withdrawn from south Lebanon that a new battle began for tougher guidelines against Palestinian dissent on the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Defense Minister Yitzhak Rabin has ordered "an extra police presence" to be used...including expulsion: administrative arrest and de tection, and sealing [read: destruction] of homes. *To show the depth of the feelings of hundreds of Israeli troops to "patrol" the Palestinian refugee camp of Dehaishe on the West Bank the same week. The drive to tighten the Israeli grip over the Pales tinian West Bank and Gaza strip was accompanied by an announcement from Rabin that free municipal elec tions will not be held in the Palestinian territories until 1988. Meanwhile, the Israeli government has virtually nothing to discourage rabbi anti-Palestinian settlers like Rubbi Moshe Levinger, who has set up an armed camp across from Dehaishe for three months now.

Though Prime Minister Peres and Rabin are now trying to claim credit for removing their troops from Lebanon, they are completely ignoring the fact that the Lebanese Civil War has been in full swing since the June 1982 invasion of Lebanon. The "left-wing" of Lebanon's ruling class, which has assumed the leadership of the Lebanon war, appears to be succeeding in ending the unholy Labor-Likud alliance has done virtually nothing to discourage rabbi anti-Palestinian settlers like Rubbi Moshe Levinger, who has set up an armed camp across from Dehaishe for three months now.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capital ism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new hu man society, in the principles of Marx's Hu manism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of workers, and of the non-markets, would not be per mitted to die out. It is a union shop. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of Humanism in the U.S., became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and of the News and Letters Committees, is the author of Marxism and Freedom, Philoso phy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, a collection of her speeches. The News and Letters Committees is an of ficial organ of the League for Human Rights (also on the Left), Jan. 24, 1976, and Political-Philo sophical Letters on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

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In opposing the capitalist, racist, sexist, exploi tative society, we participate in all class and free dom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Committees have explained, the capital is mists will not be satisfied to contain the Palestinian people within the framework of Israeli rule and will continue to have played a most ambivalent role in the conflicts over the Palestinian people, and in the situation that Israel faces in the Lebanese Civil War (1982).

Whatever Arafat decides, Israel's rulers have no in tention of granting the Palestinians a homeland. Two days prior to announcing the withdrawal of troops from Lebanon, the Israeli cabinet unanimously voted to set up a special committee to bring back the pending issue of the Lebanon...History will not forget such bar barism. Opposition, and even putting an end, to Israel's Genocidal Invasion of Lebanon (1982) is the sole means to bring about a peaceful solution to the Palestine question.

In Britain there is much anger at the Labour Party and union bureaucrats who have failed to deliver soli darity and who in some cases have stabbed openly. Since MacGregor, the Coal Board boss, also represents AMAX and is connected with General Dynamics and the "defense-industrial" complex, and previously had closed down most of the British steel industry, it was obvious from the beginning what was in store for the miners. Nye Bevan, the Labor MP, knew it and is cynical enough to see a defeat for the miners as a defeat for the left wing of his own party.

The Trades Union Congress has called a Day of Ac tion on March 6 against the policies of the Prime Mi nister. That March 6 is six months after the begin ning of the miners' strike is a coincidence as far as the unions' concern is concerned. These decisions show how it had resulted from a transforma tion into opposite of what Israel was at birth in 1948-49, and what it is today...

Lebanon: The Test Not Only of PLO But the Whole Left (1976) Not only is it a civil war between masses and all powers, world or regional. But it can achieve by reducing Palestinian struggle to the whirl of the local..."A new party of the Left." The limitation in this, how­ ever, is its refusal to distinguish between the vision of Palestine's development today, and the vision of the Middle East to which the "left-wing" of Lebanon's ruling class, which has assumed the leadership of the Lebanon war, appears to be succeeding in making a political comeback. Whether or not such a right-wing vision of the Middle East will prevail in the end, however, has moved so far to the right as to be indistinguishable from Likud.

For an analysis of the Lebanese civil war and Syria's role, see Political-Philosophic Letter #1: "The UN Resolution on Lebanon: The Test Not Only of the PLO, but the Whole Left," August 1976, both by Raya Dunayevskaya.

American Civilization on Trial concretizes it on the line between the Left and the Right. It makes clear for the first time that the ideological war is about the survival of the contradictions that led to the aborted civil war and in last year's fighting in Tripoli. Assad must be forced out, not so obvious shrouded acts of the whole Left — from the Communists, Trotskyists and independents..."£1.00 plus 75£ postage order from News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605

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A solidarity of revolutionary ideas...

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

In trying to see what we can do now, naturally first on the agenda is to oppose Reagan’s counter-revolution. But having witnessed the last 25 years of unfinished revolutions, we cannot leave it at the fact of solidarity...What El Salvador has made so absolutely urgent is that if we are really going to have total revolution, then we must transcend the revolutionary movements and new forces—a whole new human dimension...This is the task history has “assigned” to our epoch. It is a task that remains to be done.

—Raya Dunayevskaya, Latin America’s Revolutions...
PAUPERISM IN AMERICA'S STREETS—AND SHOPS

Pauperism was a new term to me, as a description of conditions in the USA. While reading through my articles, I found a compelling need to go back and read Chapter 25 of Capital—Marx's "General Theory of Capital." One quotation really hit me: "The overwork of the employed part of the laboring class is a tendency to the reduction of the mass, while conversely, the greater pressure that the reserve by its competition exerted upon every employer compels them to submit to the dictates of capital." Marx calls this the "condemnation to enforced idleness" of some by the overwork of others. Isn't this what we are living through today? A third of the people I have worked with have great difficulty making ends meet. I thought—look out! Don't let Reagan hear about this. He'll say that they are getting plenty of nutrition from eating fast food. But they will eventually be caught in more and more mechanisms that go on in union shops too.

Women type-setter Chicago

The article on the "growing pauperization of America" (Jan.-Feb. N&L) was very good, but very depressing. When I read about those six-year-old children allowed to work in the pickle harvest by a Federal Court ruling excluding them from labor law protection, I thought—look out! Don't let Reagan hear about this. He'll say that they are getting plenty of nutrition from eating fast food. But they will eventually be caught in more and more mechanisms that go on in union shops too.

The news last week that Stroh's will close its 135-year-old brewery in downtown Los Angeles is a sign of the times. Even the bottles were unbreakable. The only trouble round here is that we are proud of the fact that they are scabs. They are very strong, but Maggie's crooks in my eyes; they are no better than her. If that woman thinks she can bar us from our work she is a very silly woman, because the support for the strike is still solid for all the workers who tried to defend our jobs.

Myself and one of the other women from the kitchen did a debate on Yorkshire TV. There were retired miners and eight scabs and two women of each side. We won the debate, but we lost the strike because a day before the strike ended we paid the scabs $100 each and all our strikers.

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

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

I have been thinking a lot about the protests the Black Consciousness Movement staged against Kennedy when he was in South Africa, and what Nelson Nell Nell Nell would say about that. Louis Stain and I's last issue helped straighten out my thinking. The whole world were of course our focus should be, on "the revolutionary struggle of the Black South Africa ... from the powerful Black trade unions and student movement...." We are united to defend the ghettoes and rural areas." I think we should defend the BCM against those who try to brand them as "racists," but the point is never to lose sight of what the masses of people are actually doing.

The Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) in Los Angeles has brought together many surprising dimensions coal-
ing where they have had before. It's clear that the movement has been fronted by the "old guard," the SACL and the NAACP, both men and women, and the highly active TransAfrica group, and magnified numerous churches, labor, a student group, and a number of what I think are people like the woman who said simply, "I just can't stand the way they do things."

Chicanos Against Apartheid and the Asian American Defense of the Chicanos of Los Angeles are also present, voicing not only endorsement of the FSAM, but welcoming the opportunity to work in this predominantly Black or­ganization. A Chicano auto worker from GM who has been in the practice of wearing an anti-apartheid ribbon at work testified that this had started Blacks and Latinos working together for the first time. There is a great sense of how the elemental idea of freedom expressed by Black South Africa, a solidarity that goes beyond the fraternity of skin color.

In my last year in Los Angeles, I fell out with the African National Congress (ANC) American backers because of the determination to place the ANC up as the sole force in the struggle. It is true, though, that even within South Africa, USA (United Democratic Front) takes an ANC line and Mandela is the people's choice. Yet, it is not for us outsid­ers to try to understand the dialectics and dynam­ic of the struggle there. AZAPO (Azn­ian People's Organization) has an end­less amount of energy, but what they lack is a majo­rity of truth about consciousness there. Now there is another step to travel; I doubt if I am equipped is sufficient in and of itself.

You have read an analysis of the "Black Consciousness Movement" headed by Robert Woodroon of Washing­ton, D.C., that met with Reagan on March 9th. King's birthday? Ed: *see "Black World," page 1* They reminded Booker T. Washington and his Negro Business League. Like Booker T., they hope to accommodate the conserva­tive wing as well as the Civil Rights movement era, even as Booker T. came after the era of Recon­struction.

Black Woman Professor

... Things are a little better in South Africa. Just like all over, there is conservatism, but in the South things have never been quite the same today as they have ever been.

There's a Black newspaper that was recently republished, the Arkansas State Press. Also, here in Mariana, there is a federal suit about ward redistri­bution. We have a school board elec­tion coming up, but the choices are not any better. We are more concerned with getting along with whites than improving the quality of educating black kids. Yet, all we know is that when our neighborhoods "50s, 60s or early 70s. Also, we have a new Black radio station, KCLT, in West Helena, Arkansas. It was the only Black-owned radio station in Ar­ka­nsas.

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

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

Black activist Mariana, Ark.

FROM ITALY AND INDIA

This has been a dreadful Christmas in India. On Dec. 29 a train going from Naples to Milan, with 15 dead. It was a fascist attempt. Since the first bomb was planted in 1969, the protest movements, so strong at that time, have by now almost ceased. Now the balance of power is limited into one national union, and the working class was in the strongest position. The order of labor movement and the unions are completely divided, while most youth refuse to join the unions because it is a question of the ability of the leaders inability to cope with robotics and unemployment.

Professor Univ. of Illinois - Chicago

NEWS & LETTERS

MARCH, 1985

READERS' VIEW
MARCH, 1985 NEWS & LETTERS

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**TWO VIEWS OF TECHNOLOGY**

I just wanted to say something about the "Readers' View" by Angela Terrano (Jan-Feb. N&L). She spoke about Bhopal, and the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, and she said that workers' control of technology wasn't enough. You think the people destroyed the machines, but they didn't win. After the revolution I imagine we will still have computers, but we will have to work out how we deal with them. To me the issue is control. We aren't going to smash the computers.

Community activist

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**GUATEMALAN WORKERS NEED YOUR SUPPORT**

Guatemalan Coca-Cola workers are struggling for their economic and union rights, and perhaps their lives. On Feb. 17, 1984 some 460 workers occupied the Guatemalan Coca-Cola plant and began strike actions and wildcat tactics on TV, as I'm sure she did. And my first thought was that Union Carbide's thinnest for profits had murdered all those Indian people. But I really never had seen clearly what the opposite of that would be.

Workers' control sounds like the opposite of what Union Carbide did, and I'm in favor of workers' control. But I think that what Terrano is saying is that we need to control not only the capitalists' technology, but put it to our use. We have to question the technology itself of everything. If we have a "total uprooting" as our aim, won't that make science totally different also?

Black woman

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Two essays on women from Marxist-Humanist Archives

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

During the war, women by the millions left the kitchen for the factory. The physiology of the labor force changed very considerably, and with it, the relationships in the family. This is expressed in a complete change of gratuity. The revolt of the women, which began during the war, did not end with the end of the war. Quite the contrary, it has intensified. It is a daily, an hourly struggle in which the woman wants to establish new relations with her husband, with the children, with other women, and other men.

From all this, the radical parties were as isolated as they are from the mass movement in general. But the new imprint that the women were making in society as a whole could not leave the parties unaffected, and the struggle in which the women were engaged to withdraw them from the war and resume their old posts, even as it did in bourgeois society. But it was so wrapped up in Marx-ist ideas that it was seen as a struggle not only between the party and bourgeois society there was no basic distinction on this very basic question.

The concept of decentralization in the party, it is best to see it in society as a whole first. The mass movement into the factories was looked upon with suspicion, and with the same manner as the first move-ment of the Negroes into industry, before the CIO: would they bring their political conditions and ideas with them? The Negroes proved to be loyal fellow workers, so did the women. Only the women looked at these conditions in the factories as their own; in the very factory as in the factories, husbands, fathers, brothers do in the home? They were determined that no such thing should happen...

THEY WERE OUT SEARCHING for a total re-organization of society. In that search, some women also came to the radical parties. These radical parties were not yet in the struggle for force in society, but that force recognized them, for it had set up new standards by which to judge this so-ciety.

In that same period, at the end of the war, a fight broke out in the Workers Party, over their failure to give women their due. That was a turning point which had put out which was governed by their view that the American women were "backward." No, they looked only at the people who had carried out the line and, therefore, at the people who had carried out their part. Women also carried the line and, therefore, the results were placed in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed, it was against this background that they had placed the men in all posts where needed.

For our first time our tendency, which had never paid any attention to struggles between members for posts, had to change. We learned that to struggle for posts against the post was based on the idea that capitalism has created a shrinking labor market, and that it has to be fought.

Abolitionists and their Relation to the Black Dimension

We break our story to go back over 100 years and show the roots of true Bolshevism in the Abolition Movement. This, the most amazing development of our city to humanism and one more speculation who ample of what Marxist history knows as Bolshevism, was born in America 83 years before its birth in Russia. Being American, it was no accident that it centered around white and Negro relations. When we have finished telling this story, the question of white and Negro relations will now be put to us not just as an objec­tive, and thoroughly American, point of reference.

One hundred and twenty years ago the Negro slave war, which lasted not from 1820 to 1840, that meant was simply that the Negro's existence was not so firmly dependent on Southern cotton. Southern cotton, once a source of wealth and the means of securing a living wage, was obtained in this in this southern country, slavery was the most extreme.

Anti-slavery was an ever-growing war. New layers of the popula­tion were entering into the struggle. The first thing the abolitionists began to insist that anti-slavery was the movement of the new generation. It was the movement of a special group of people: the churchmen, the chari-teers, the ordinary workers. William Lloyd Garrison drew together the different fragments of the abolition movement on the central principle that the whole nation was involved in anti-slavery, however una-ware of it. This was in an 1831 propaganda piece which became famous all over the United States. For the ex-slaves, the Liberator was the main source by which they got to other and to the whole country.

OTHERS DEBATED ISSUES in the anti-slavery movement. The ex-slaves did not have to debate anything. They voted with their hands but as an im-movable body. "They have risen in their hopes and feel­ing to the perfect stature of men; in this city [Boston], every one of them is as tall as a giant." Again Garrison's close personal knowledge of the black people. His close contact with colored friends... but they find them true as steel, and therefore angrily tells them that he believes that if Gar­rison should go to hell, they would go with him.

This constantly moving relationship between the ex­slaves, who were the base always, and the other layers of the problem of slavery, is what we call anti-slavery movement. This process—unusual—and typically American — movement had no trade union posts, no police gatherings, no meetings to organize. But there was, of course, movement but when growth was the greatest hun­ger of the country as a whole. Inside this movement, the political parties were also being formed close to each other, making for the sharpest clashes and the sharpest clashes of will.

Since Garrison's specialty was fighting slavery close to home, the climax came when white women took up the anti-slavery movement. It began simply on the masthead of the Liberator. A woodcut showed a kneeling slave woman. It was entitled, "Am I Not a Woman and a Sister?" It was that he was protecting Southern womanhood. The Abolitionist claimed that slavery had turned the South into one huge brothel. The most intimate human function of childbirth had become planned public breeding of slave laborers. The Liberator opened the question up for the ex-slaves for the first time, how could be they able to take their own children. Here, too, industry had made sexu­ral relations and childbirth the mere reproduction of fac­tory patterns. Abolition had revolutionized relations between the church and the world, and made it different between men and women. The movement broke in half.

The World Anti-Slavery Convention which forbade women's participation in the movement had just closed, the floor pleasing with the abstaining Garrison in the balco­ny to tell them, "Let the slave women come to the top, under you British anti-slavery fell apart and deserted the North, leaving this field clear for the British work­ers. Garrison took over twenty years to show the class issue in­volved.

It was Wendell Phillips' wife-to-be who recruited him to the movement. She had heard him say that he would not tell him. He never did. He scored in deadly style on every political target. He finished up the flag-waving, spread rage style of politics, and then his audience, he spoke to the percentage of white people who were here to hear him explain what is was as given us Wendell Phillips," said one listener. Of all the anti-slavery speakers, he was the most popular with white and trade unionists alike.

The best selling book of the 19th century, next to the Bible, was a book written about a Negro slave by a white woman. Anti-slavery was the base layer. But the most significant development was that the slave and enslavement completely behind Garrison.

ONE MORE THIS NEW relationship broke up old patterns. Abolition had revolutionized relations between the slave and his master, and now and between men and women. The movement broke in half. The World Anti-Slavery Convention which forbade women's participation in the movement had just closed, the floor pleasing with the abstaining Garrison in the balcony to tell them, "Let the slave women come to the top, under you British anti-slavery fell apart and deserted the North, leaving this field clear for the British work­ers. Garrison took over twenty years to show the class issue involved.

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The best selling book of the 19th century, next to the Bible, was a book written about a Negro slave by a white woman. Anti-slavery was the base layer. But the most significant development was that the slave and enslavement completely behind Garrison.

FOOD BECOMES WEAPON against poor... The Angeles, Cal.—I identified with the article written by Louisa Hole on the women's movement and the fight about the fift of the Indian people on the reservation in North Dakota against the government trying to take away of America's,—like the lead article in the January—February NL—(AFDC), I have been struggling with the same thing for years.

Every year AFDC recipients have to go for recerti-fi-cation to determine if they're still eligible for welfare. This year I have been going to school, training as an occupational therapist, and I received a 850 grant from my employer. Before I had received the grant, my social worker told me that it wouldn't affect my AFDC pay­ments. I went to the welfare office, she said she had no such thing should happen...

I say, Why penalize me now, when I am doing everything that I can to get off welfare, a known grid against the welfare office for being a part-time job. The only way that is they see that I am trying to get off welfare, is that they see that I am working. They don't care that I am working. They see that I am working. They don't care that I am working. They see that I am working. They don't care that I am working. They see that I am working. They don't care that I am working. They see that I am working. They don't care that I am working. They see that I am working. They don't care that I am working. They see that I am working. They don't care that I am working. They see that I am working. They don't care that I am working. They see that I am working. They don't care that I am working.

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(continued from page 3)

place; and don’t tell us it comes only from class oppres-
sion; look at yourselves.

A society that lets freedom can only come after the ‘day after’ the revolution; our questions must be
dead at the day before. Furthermore, words are the

Each phrase is almost like a blow because all the an-
ders, all the thought, the daring to raise every ques-
tion; is concentrated in each terse sentence. But that is not the only reason those voices have such
power. This concentration is the point after what is new in today’s Women’s Liberation Movement, when
you are enabled then to see what high ground revolutionaries have come to, and what is the character
with what the next step must be if the Women’s Move-
movement is to become part of this process.

What attracted me most about “The New Voices,” of
a woman theorist I have read. What is beautiful

Rosa Luxemburg

Women’s

 Revolution

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process.

What attracted me most about “The New Voices,” of a

woman theorist I have read. What is beautiful

Women’s Liberation and Marx’s Philosophy of Revolution was widely used as a basis for science and another for

life is a contradiction. Marx always used this distinction

to argue that capitalism’s contradictions would lead
to a new society.

That is why it is so relevant today to today’s Women’s Liberation Movement, and why we still have so much to learn from Marx’s concept of Man/Wo-

man, not only in the abstract 1844 articulation, but in the empiric 1880 formu-

lar. There is something so very human, be-

cause so passionate, that is different from any oth-
er human theorist I have read. What is beautiful

about these letters is they are really not only a sharing of the process of working out the dialectic,
but a genuine call to all, but most specifically us,
to join her, to become part of this process.

On the last page of the Introduction, Dunayevskaya,
in talking of Marx’s “multilinear view of all human de-
velopment,” says this at one single subject—Women’s Liberation—whether viewed as it relates to
philosophy or to forms of organization—is inseparable from the dialectical revolution.” The methodology Dun-
ayevskaya developed in meeting the Women’s Libera-

tion Movement traces its historical form of theory
derived from theory grounded in and reaching for
philosophy, enables the careful reader to see how that
topology may be recreated for any force for change.

Black, worker, youth. What flows directly from this
book is a new understanding and direction for the
Women’s Liberation Movement and, unfortunately,
that many, new insights on the dialectics of revolution.

Raya Dunayevskaya, at the end of the Introduction,
writes: “The logical connection from the analysis of
the basis for science and another for life is a priori a lie.”
She then ends the Introduction/Overview thus: “The

far from Ronald Reagan’s State of the Union pro-
nouncement being the only way to define freedom, or “Sec-

ond American Revolution,” it was in fact a new decla-
ration of Ragnemagics, Reaganpolitik and the deepest
of the capitalist state. And the real support for the “contra” — counter-revolutionary elements of the
corrump Somosa dictatorship who had plundered
Nicaragua for decades and who are now attacking bor-

ders and sabotaging Nicaragua’s economy.

FROM ELECTION TO STATE OF UNION

In truth no election could be the false accusations of
MIG planes being shipped in from Russia.

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

Simultaneously the U.S. has chased the bilateral
talks it had been having with the Sandinistas govern-
ment.

The U.S. has worked to strangle completely the Con-
paderoa Peace Process, especially after Nicaragua
greed to a draft treaty.

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

This is no mere propaganda and diplomatic of-

fensive. It is military preparation for war in Central
America.

Even the 130-member arms control and foreign poli-
cy caucus of Congress was forced to accuse the Admi-
istration of misleading Congress with information on aid to El Salvador. Of the $17.7 billion in aid
that has been given to the right-wing regime in El Salva-
dor since 1980, the Administration claims that three-
quarters of it was for economic development. But the
caucus traced the budget and has shown that all but
15% of it was for military purposes. The military caucu-
also reported that the government has continually violated the Congressional appropriation of aid to El
Salvador. In 1980, the Administration claimed that two
Air lift aid had been cut into that country’s civil war.

jeans are the base from which the 10,000,

U.S.-sponsored Nicaraguan counter-revolutionar-

ues, the “contra,” operates.

The proposed Reagan military budget is expanding in the grossest manner. This will be the sixth consecu-
tive year that the military budget has grown faster

than inflation, a postwar record. While Nicaragua and all of Central America is an immediate target, the
whole world and outer space too is on the agenda for
militarization tomorrow. The biggest individual pro-
grams in the military budget are for nuclear weapons
and space-based anti-missile programs. (Star “war’
is budgeted for $83.7 billion in the 1986 budget.)

NICARAGUA IN REVOLUTION

But it is in Nicaragua where Reagan is concentrating
his counter-revolutionary propaganda and military

force. This is not because Nicaragua is a Communist
threat to the United States. It is because Nicaragua

is still a revolution in the process of happening. After
some 30 years under Somosa family dictatorship, the
Nicaraguan people finally took power into their own
hands, not only to overthrow Somosa, but to begin the
process of building a new society.

Their fight against the U.S.-backed Somosa regime was an indigenous one, of guerrillas, but most crucially of the masses of Nicar-
guan people in motion.

Whether that spirit of a new beginning can be main-
tained, in a small, poor country, is a very difficult
question to answer. But it cannot possibly have any
change for the people to die until the colonies of the
North, the United States, is stopped from intervening.

A movement against intervention has been building
in many ways, from giving sanctuary to Salvadoran re-

fugees fleeing persecution, to medical and other aid to

the Nicaragua people, to resistance to draft registra-
tion, to marches and demonstrations against any re-

newal of aid to the “contra.” The movement has seri-

ous activists within it. What all of us need to be dis-

cussing now is how to create a movement which has as

its focal point anti-intervention, but does that both by

expressing the necessity of a total opposition to Reag-

an, at home as well as abroad, and by posing the

necessity for full freedom now in the U.S. as well as

Latin America.

Dialectics of Revolution — in Marx’s day and ours

Read Raya Dunayevskaya’s unique analysis of the importance of Karl

Marx to today’s Women’s Liberation Movement

Tracing the development of Marxist-Humanism, as philosophy and as

organization, in its dialectical relationship to actual revolutionary
developments of our age

March 1985 NEWS & LETTERS
Afro-American history in the battle of ideas

Folklore: The Black Ethos In Slavery, showing that Blacks preserved their basic humanity by creating their own world within the walls of slavery, as stated in Raya Dunayevskaya's writing in the 1983 introduction to the News & Letters publication American Civilization: A Contradiction In Terms.

"Reagan's retrogressionism makes it more imperative than ever not to leave these stark facts at the factual stage alone... the truth is that what was won through the Civil Rights Movement is at risk, and a new form of revolt... in a word, to separate a philosophic liberation from the struggles for freedom is to doom us to yet one more unfinished revolution."
Eighth-grade student from Middle School were talking about picketing in front of the Central High School, the main school in the area. They felt that they were being treated unfairly by the authorities and that their rights were being violated. They were upset that the school had changed the rule last month and that locker searches were now being conducted regularly.

"When we arrive at school in the morning, we're not allowed to open our lockers. They say, 'you must wait five minutes for the bell to ring before you can do anything.' It's humiliating. We feel like we're being treated like prisoners," said one of the students.

"I've had enough of it," said another. "We want to be treated with respect, not like kids."

The students were discussing the possibility of organizing a petition and bringing it to the school administration. They felt that their voice should be heard and that they deserved better treatment.

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**Young Women, Woman and Education in Revolutionary Paris**

By Eryca Rae

Because it is impossible to separate education from the society in which it exists, the Paris Commune of 1871 offers an excellent example. The revolutionaries, who were also fighters, articulated the concept of a blossoming new society. Thus, when women and girls had been so completely written out of history, I wish to focus upon the role of women in the uprisings of Paris, especially the revolutionary women entrepreneurs Louise Michel.

Of all the many women who were ensnared by the Prussian army. A revolutionary ferment was underway even prior to the Prussian takeover. The government cut off Paris from the surrounding land, which had never been done before.

Women suffered more than men, as usual, because it was they who stood in line for hours, in mud, in snow, in rain, in the cold, in a falling attempt to feed their families. Yet, the women were also among the most valiant in all of these conditions.

Louise Michel, a school teacher at that time, organized and led an expedition of women and their children to the fight against the Prussian army. She was given charge of an expedition against Paris. She believed that machines should be used to allow them greater leisure time, both for educational pursuits and to increase political activity. Instead they found they were fighting for their lives.

Prostitution was another problem plaguing the times. Because of the economic situation prostitution was a normal way of life, many times supplying wages, of earning a living.

**MILKMAIDS OF PARIS**

Thus the historic stage was set for something to happen. It did. The Paris Commune began on March 18, 1871. The women workers joined in. They felt as though they were fighting for their lives. For the first time in their lives they saw something that they could fight.

"We went to the barricades," said Louise Michel, "We fought against the enemies of the working class."

"We went to the barricades to protect ourselves and our families," said another worker.

The barricades were set up to protect the workers from the Prussian army. The women worked as nurses, as cooks, and as soldiers. They fought with all their strength to defend their homes and their families.

The Commune was a revolutionary women's movement. They believed in the equality of the sexes and the right of women to participate in all aspects of society.

"We are equal," said Louise Michel, "We want the same rights as men."

The Commune was put down in blood in the Crimea. The women and children who had been arrested were released. The public was outraged. The women and children who had been arrested were released.

"We will fight again," said Louise Michel, "We will not be defeated."

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**Youth in Revolt**

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

An appeal to independent peace movements of all countries, from East and West, to join the struggle of young activists in East Germany and Czechoslovakia, has been circulating around the world. It is a statement opposing an aggressive war at home and abroad, against all forms of injustice, including human rights. The road to an open society doesn't lead through military barracks, a polluted environment or prisons.

On Feb. 12, 1990 people gathered in Costa Mesa, Cal., to protest the National End the Draft Day. The protest, consisting mainly of young activists from throughout southern California, was the culmination of weekly vigils held since the beginning of December.

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

Robert Hawke visited Washington in February, he not only refused to condemn New Zealand, but also hedged on his own nuclear policy. In U.S. Hawke had seen his electoral margin cut to a razor-thin one in December with the emergence of the new Nuclear Disarmament Party, led by Miroslav Mitro. Seeing both U.S. and Russian missiles as a threat, the NDP wants to close all U.S. bases, stop uranium mining and reduce military transit. Despite their own private friendliness to U.S., imperialism, Lange and even Hawke are forced to distance themselves from Reagan's nuclear madness.

New Zealand

Unrest continues in the wake of white settler and police violence against indigenous Kanaka independence activists. While facing a negotiated settlement, independence leader Jean-Marie Tjibaou remarked, "If the (French) soldiers are there to make peace, they have to disarm the far Right. U.S. imperialism worries that socialist-oriented independence movements will shake up its "security interest" in the South Pacific.

Louise Michel and Kanaka rebels

As one of the Commandants bound to the distant French colony of New Caledonia, Louise Michel witnessed the Kanakas' grievances. As noted that Machoro favored a multi-racial society, but "humanitarian" gesture. The Social Democrats depend on Frischenschlager, who has been criticized but did not fire Frischenschlager during the sentencing.

In Brief

Bulgaria—In January the ultra-Stalinist Democratic Front, which claims 90% of the vote, swept the election, gaining control over 100 members of the Turkish minority. The reason? Resistance to government decrees changing the name of the country to "Bulgarian" ones. The country's 800,000 ethnic Turks constitute 9% of the population, the gypsies the other large minority group, the government denies their very existence.

Spain—Preston Gonzalez's socialist democratic government was shaken last December when the U.S. contingency plans to use nuclear weapons against Cuba. The U.S. had provided them with "nuclear" allies, without having informed them these "allies." To save his own neck, he had to state immediately that U.S. nuclear weapons would not be permitted in Spain.

Cuba—Ariel Hidalgo, a Marxist writer, sits in the Combinado de Este prison in Havana. In 1983 he was convicted of "anti-state" offenses. He is serving eight years, while the state prosecutors was due to international national support and an organized committee inside Yugoslavia.

Milan Nikolic said of the trial in his last statement: "...it's not only our skin that is at stake—but whether it would be a progressive motion toward the development of socialism according to human needs and historical possibilities, or it would be a stagnation and even regressive motion to different (corporatism and Stalinism.)"