

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

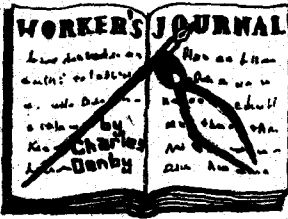
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Auto rebound on the backs of workers



I am turning over my column this month to the co-editor of *News & Letters*, Felix Martin, for a report of the crisis auto workers are facing — Charles Denby

The collapse of the Chrysler talks only further demonstrates how much the company is in the driver's seat over our UAW union bureaucracy which is supposed to be "leading" us. Only it is we auto workers who are being, once again, taken for a ride.

Chrysler had just announced that its profits hit an all time high — 50% higher in the second quarter than in the first quarter. With earnings up 190% over last year, Chrysler decided to re-pay the remaining \$800 million in outstanding debts it still owes the government.

BODYGUARDS FOR CHRYSLER

The union leadership, which had pressured us into giving all the concessions and give-backs to Chrysler, saying otherwise the company would "go under," now expected a little reward for being bodyguards of Chrysler's capital. They thought they would be able to walk right in and get \$1 an hour back off the top from what we gave up. But the company said no thank you. After all why should they? For the truth of Chrysler's "recovery" is that it all came on the backs of the workers. Not only was there the massive wage and benefit concessions that the UAW leadership forced us to agree to back in 1980. What did we get in return? Massive unemployment was our reward with Chrysler going from 56 plants down to 18.

And now that the automakers have grown fat by getting concession after concession, it doesn't mean they will "Share the wealth." On the contrary, management and union leadership now speak of creating a "new la-

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In-person report: International Farm Crisis Summit

Farm activists 'Forging the Links' to deal with agricultural crisis

by Azadkar and Bob McGuire

Ottawa, Ontario — Farmers and supporters from more than two dozen activist farm organizations in North America, Western Europe and East Asia gathered here the weekend of July 9 for the first International Farm Crisis Summit.

Unlike other agriculture summits, this was not agribusiness leaders and government officials getting together, although politicians wary of the growing militancy of farmers organizing provided a chandelied hall in Parliament House itself for the conference meetings. The participants came together intent on "Forging the Links" — the conference title — among farmers' groups in the U.S., Canada, and internationally, and with labor, peace and other movements of opposition.

The need for "forging the links" has become clear when we look at the devastation that farmers are facing. In the U.S. and Canada farmers are being driven off the land by bank foreclosures and by low farm prices. They are being replaced by corporate farms, which are nearly the only ones able to afford the huge capital investment necessary to farm today.

But the farmers have been organizing to fight back. Sometimes they have stormed foreclosure sales, stopping them outright. Other times they have organized penny auctions at these foreclosure sales so that the farm and equipment can be given back to the farmers. New organizations, such as the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA), which is organizing farmers and actively seeking

links with workers as well as with movements of Blacks and women, are springing up.

It was to face this crisis in agriculture and to organize opposition to it, that activists in the farm movement came together in Ottawa. It was also why we from *News & Letters* came to listen and participate.

The urgency was caught by a Nebraska wheat farmer who had just driven 29 hours to get here, and who told us "We worked to the last minute preparing for the harvest that may begin today, but I told the others I had to come here — if we can't do something about prices immediately, we're out of farming."

He was enthused to hear that the day before, farmers from Holland, France, Germany and Denmark had talked about their own similar problems, and what they were doing in opposition.

THE INTERNATIONAL DIMENSION

The most exciting feature of the Summit was its internationalism, and it transformed the assembly as the days went on. The feeling of solidarity was contagious. The

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4th Expanded Edition

American Civilization on Trial—Black Masses as Vanguard

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- * the first publication of *American Civilization on Trial*

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Excerpts from "A 1980s View ..."

On this double 20th anniversary of the famous 1963 March on Washington and the first publication of *American Civilization on Trial*, the struggle continues. The planned Aug. 27, 1983 March on Washington is taking place when the deep economic recession spells out Depression for the Black world, not only in terms of unemployment — especially that of the youth which is an incredible 50% — but in the whole field of civil rights, where that supreme artificer, President Reagan, is trying to roll back what civil rights struggles had achieved over the past two decades.

American Civilization on Trial cast a new illumination on the two-way road between Africa and the U.S. via the West Indies by showing that what, to the capitalists, was the triangular trade of rum, molasses and slaves, was, to the Blacks, the ever-live triangular development of internationalism, masses in motion and ideas. This triangular development remains the dominant force to this day.

What *American Civilization on Trial* reveals is both Marx's deep American roots and his Promethean vision. Take the succinct way in which Marx pinpointed the situation in the Civil War at its darkest moment, as the war dragged on and the Southern generals were winning so decisively as to produce a defeatist attitude in the North. Where others looked at the military forces, Marx looked at the forces of revolution: "A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves ... a war of this kind must be conducted along revolutionary lines ..."

WOMAN AS REASON

Dear Sisters,

I want to review Catharine MacKinnon's two-part article published in *Signs* (Spring 1982, Summer 1983), called respectively: "Feminism, Marxism, Method and the State: An Agenda for Theory" and "Feminism, Marxism, Method, and the State: Towards Feminist Jurisprudence," which is being widely discussed in the academic feminist movement and in the feminist press. In a column this size it is impossible to go into all her arguments, so I will try and single out what I consider most important.

MacKinnon argues convincingly that there is no objective view of the world, that what is presented as objectivity is in fact, "the male point of view (which) forces itself upon the world as its way of apprehending it." She shows this quite beautifully in a long discussion of how rape is viewed by the law.

FLAWED ANALYSIS

Yet what is flawed in MacKinnon's analysis is that she insists, again and again, that the male point of view has become reality. To MacKinnon, women have become the object: "How can women," she asks, "as reified, 'thingified in the head,' complicit in the body, see our condition as such?" She has to ask that question because with her analysis there really is no way a woman could be anything but paralyzed.

To get out of this bind, MacKinnon invents something: "In order to account for women's consciousness (much less propagate it) feminism must grasp that male power produces the world before it distorts it." But how can women "grasp that male power produces the world" if we are so objectified and reified? Her answer is through "consciousness raising" (CR) which she sees as the "method of practice and theory of social change of the women's movement." But how did we ever arrive at CR in the first place and why did women's liberation become a movement?

There is nothing in MacKinnon's articles about our roots in the civil rights and anti-Vietnam war movements

MacKinnon's theory 'thingifies' women

of the 1960s. MacKinnon simply doesn't see that women have fought against the male distortion of reality throughout history and never totally accepted it, never became totally "thingified in the head."

Because MacKinnon is not grounded in women's real lives, thoughts and activities, her conclusion in the first article places both our revolt and the new world women are to create, only in the realm of consciousness: "the pursuit of consciousness becomes a form of political practice." Her conclusion in the second article reveals just how far she is from the vision of totally new human relationships that marked the beginning of the Women's Liberation Movement in the 1960s: "Justice will require change, not reflection — a new jurisprudence, a new relation between life and law."

RAMPANT ANTI-MARXISM

Unfortunately, what I think is most attractive to some feminists about MacKinnon's articles is her rampant anti-Marxism. MacKinnon claims that Marxism "posits and refers to a reality outside thought which it considers to have an objective — that is, truly nonsocially perspectival — content."

In fact, from his 1884 *Essays*, through *Capital* to his last writings, the *Ethnological Notebooks*, Marx had a devastating critique of just the kind of "objective" science that MacKinnon accuses him of propagating. In *Capital*, for example, Marx's whole critique and the very reason he used the word "fetish" to describe a commodity, was to show that the capitalist point of view forces itself upon the world. But to get beyond that fetishized view of reality, Marx did what no one else had done — he created the category of freely-associated labor.

And again in his last writings, the *Ethnological Notebooks*, we see Marx's continuing awareness of the vacuousness of the empiric method as he criticized the new anthropologists even as he worked out new paths to revolution. For example, Marx noticed that even when the anthropologist John Lubbock noted that "relationships through females is the prevalent custom" in a society, he

continued to talk of "a man's heirs." Marx noted contemptuously: "But then they are not the man's heirs; these civilized asses cannot free themselves of their own conventionalities."*

The false dichotomy which MacKinnon tries to create between feminism and what she defines as Marxism, shows such ignorance of genuine Marxism that one can only suspect her of deliberately misrepresenting Marx's philosophy. Perhaps what is most telling about MacKinnon's articles is that they give the Women's Liberation Movement no direction at all. We will not go back 15 years to CR nor rely on "Justice" requiring anything. It is Marx's Marxism — Marx's method — that can give us direction as we ground ourselves in women's thought and activity, from Seneca Depot in New York to Central America, and from South Africa to South USA as we fight for a new society and totally new human relations.

— Terry Moon

*For a feminist analysis of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* see Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.



women-
worldwide

Women workers from Southern-based Hanes Co. plants which manufacture hosiery and underwear and none of which are unionized, attended an informal hearing sponsored by the Coalition of Labor Union Women and other women's rights groups on July 14. The women are fighting unequal pay, inhuman workloads, speed-up and a production system which "turns arms, wrists and tendons into machinery," resulting in serious health problems such as tendonitis and Carpal Tunnel Syndrome. Hanes is the company behind the slogan, "Nothing beats a great pair of legs."

Women from 24 countries met in Rotterdam in April to form a feminist network to oppose forced prostitution and to give refugee status to women escaping from sexual enslavement and mutilation. In San Francisco on July 19, 15 members of the U.S. Prostitutes Collective picketed the Hall of Justice protesting police violence, illegal arrests and racism against prostitutes. The women said that they are working for prostitutes, immediate rights and to find pathways to a new society in which prostitution is not forced upon human beings.

In New Delhi, on June 20, 200 women burst into the home of a Supreme Court lawyer, whom they stripped and beat to protest the "dowry death" of his wife, Chandramohini. Her parents charge she was killed because they were unable to meet dowry demands for a TV set, refrigerator and motor scooter.

In Belfast, in early July, the Organization of Concerned Teachers arranged a delegation of seven women and one man, all relatives of plastic bullet victims, who went to Dublin to urge the government to press a case against Britain in the European Court of Human Rights. Teachers are especially concerned because 7 of the 14 deaths from plastic bullets have been children, most recently 11-year-old Stephen McConomy who died in April after being hit in the back of the head by a plastic bullet fired from only 17 feet away.

NWSA: how to end oppression of women?

Columbus, Ohio — It was very exciting to participate in the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) Conference on Feminist Education which was held at Ohio State University and attended by about 2,500 women June 26-30. Most of the women were academics from various universities, but there were also some community activists such as the women from the Seneca Depot Encampment, who like ourselves had come to try and relate feminist thought and activity in academia with feminist movements in our communities.

The diversity of topics in over 200 workshops, from feminist perspectives on literature, history and art, to images of women in religion and pornography and from women's historic activity in 19th century England and Germany to current movements in Latin America showed the international scope and creativity of today's women's movement.

JUST SHIFT PRIORITIES?

But the one thing that women wanted most to learn, but which was too often left unspoken, was how to end the oppression of women. While speakers like Deirdre English in her keynote address, pointed to the need to demilitarize and restructure the American economy, she spoke as if it were simply a question of shifting priorities and convincing people that "the demand for comparable worth pay is just..."

Marian Lowe, from Boston University, said that because the oppression of women is so tied to the social structure, the changes needed were "going to have to be radical." She cited "radical and Marxist-socialist feminists" as "having done the most revolutionary scholarship outside accepted structures," but she gave no concrete examples of what she meant in either case. It was as if the speakers were afraid to say the word, "revolution," but isn't that what is needed? Do we still have illusions that relying on the "gender gap" in electoral politics will get us to anything new?

At the plenary on Racism and Anti-Semitism in the Women's Movement, Barbara Smith, a Black woman from Kitchen Table Press, was the only one to stress that fighting racism must take a political form and that women should not be seen merely as victims, but that creative struggles, especially of minority women, must be brought out if we are to move forward.

OPENNESS TO MARXIST FEMINISM

In our own conversations, we sensed a new openness to the concept of Marxist feminism, which we felt concretely when 40 women attended a workshop in which I presented a paper on "Hidden Dimensions in the Lives of Margaret Fuller and Rosa Luxemburg." I tried to bring out the revolutionary and feminist dimensions of both these women as inseparable and related their thought and work

to that of Marx, especially on the question of Man/Woman relations, and to the problems facing today's Women's Liberation Movement.

We had many conversations at our literature table and in other workshops as well. There was a great deal of interest in the works of Raya Dunayevskaya, whom many women had learned about during her recent lecture tour, and also (to our surprise) in our pamphlet, "Marx's Concept of Woman." We intend to write to the women we met with hope of continuing a dialogue around developing a theory for the women's movement which will not remain purely academic, as this was one of the problems with the conference itself.

We hope that some of these new points can be developed through our correspondence this year and at next year's conference, in which minority women, working class women and community organizers expressed a desire to participate in a less "purely academic" way in which papers need not be read but in which main points can be presented and discussed to give all participants more voice in the conference.

— Suzanne Casey

Women's Liberation-News & Letters

Eyewitness report of Seneca Depot protest

Romulus, New York — On August 1, two thousand women marched two miles from the Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice to confront the Seneca Army Depot with symbolically theatrical rituals opposing militarism in general and the shipment of Cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles to Europe from the depot specifically.

About 200 women climbed over the fence and were arrested by the military. Large numbers of state, county and local police separated the women from a counter-demonstration of local residents who brandished American flags and showed fear and hatred of the women they called "Commie dykes."

The threat of violence against the August 1 action had already materialized on Saturday, July 30, when 150 women began a 15-mile historic Peace Walk from Seneca Falls, New York to the depot. We were re-enacting the region's history of freedom movements: an anti-war meeting of Iroquois women in 1590; widespread participation in the Underground Railroad; the 1848 first Women's Rights Convention. We wore tunics with the names of women we admired; Rosa Parks, Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, and many more.

In Waterloo, we were met by an angry mob of 300 flag-waving people who blockaded a bridge on our route. Local police and county sheriffs told both groups to disperse, promising an alternate route for the march, but we

angrily replied that we had a permit and were doing no wrong. Fifty-four women sat down in the roadway and were arrested and held for trial on Aug. 3 on charges of disorderly conduct.

The encampment itself opened July 4 with several hundred women in solidarity with the British Peace Camps. Women of all ages poured in for August 1 from all over the Midwest and Northeast, as well as from Germany, Canada, Scotland and England. (See Readers' Views for a report from a woman from Scotland.)

In the Encampment, women form small autonomous "affinity groups," in which women determine their own actions by consensus. I found the camp's lengthy decision-making process frustrating, but the spirit of community and cooperation was very supportive. Like Carol (who reported in the July N&L on British Peace Camps), I found activity overemphasized and an avoidance of theory, but I too was impressed by the outpouring of artistic expression at the camp.

Only a handful of the campers were Black or Latina, in an area which is near industrial cities and in which migrant workers pick the produce. This raised the major question posed by the existence and self-development of the camp — how to connect to other freedom movements fighting against this sick and militaristic society? It is a question which needs to be worked out.

— Susan Van Gelder

Dockers shut S.F. ports for union rights

San Francisco, Cal. — A mass confrontation of over 1,200 waterfront workers at the small port of Richmond and a strike on the same day of all ships and docks in the entire San Francisco Bay Area forced a settlement from a company that had been bypassing the union for over six months. The militant action included defiance of a restraining order from a court as well as arbitration rulings against us.

The Levin Metals Corporation has been ignoring the historic jurisdiction of the locals of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union in the loading of green petroleum coke at its Pier 5 Terminal in the small Richmond harbor. Although only 15 or so jobs are involved when an occasional ship docks there, the scarcity of available work in the industry due to automation has had us on the alert about this scab operation. Up until now the union officialdom has responded to the Levin violation with merely token picketing, but when they attempted to repeat that practice this time there was a big reaction against them in the longshore local here.

MASS PICKETING

During a discussion on Friday, June 24, about what to do against the vessel which was to arrive the next day, a very active member of the local told the paid officials that he wouldn't even go to Richmond if the union didn't aim for mass picketing. What followed that, a co-worker told me, was that the officials got "at least 200 phone calls" demanding serious action. This may explain why we had over 300 pickets on the Richmond scene the next day. But since they were constrained by instructions not to shut the operation down entirely, the pressure from the ranks for more decisive action continued.

So the decision was made on Sunday to shut down all the ports in the Bay Area and that was done the next morning. That startling strike along with the presence of at least 1,200 very angry pickets in Richmond led the Levin Corporation to halt their entire operation, and by late afternoon they conceded with a settlement.

It should be especially noted that the notorious racist killer-cops of Richmond were immobilized in the face of the mass demonstration of Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, whites, Hawaiian Islanders, etc., including men and women. These police announced rules for the conduct of this mass of workers but wisely refrained from trying to enforce them when they were openly violated by the pickets.

We were also especially pleased by the good turnout from

all the locals, Longshore, Ship Clerks, Walkers and even the Ship Scalers who were not so directly concerned as the rest of us. It remains only to mention and thank the sympathizers who swelled the lines.

HOW TO WIN STRIKES

The entire scene on that last day was reminiscent of the 1930s in this area. And as we waited to hear the details of the agreement that had been reached, one picket said "If we'd run our 1971-72 strike on these lines the outcome would have been in our favor." When I repeated this to another brother his comment was, "Right on! And it would have been shorter too."

While we've been jubilant about the outcome it is a fact that we haven't seen the details of the settlement yet, although the promise was made that it would be published. And one co-worker assures me that at least one of the paid officials is already minimizing the importance of the huge turnout in bringing about the concessions from the company. Hard as it may be to believe, he seems to think that he and his group "did it" by negotiating the deal.

— S.F. dockers

Sanders Bakery fires 200

Detroit, Mich. — "They gave us five minutes to decide what we're going to do with the rest of our lives and we got kicked out the door with no seniority, no nothing." So spoke a young Black woman worker fired along with 200 other workers from the Fred Sanders Company, a bakery and distributor of pastries, cakes and cookies.

The workers were fired after they voted to reject a contract that would have eliminated cost of living as well as life insurance and restrict wage increases to under the rate of inflation. They had already been forced to accept a wage freeze in their last contract.

"I've had over 20 years in the plant and now there is nothing," said one man. "On Wednesday night we voted to reject the contract, on Thursday Sanders was sending out registered letters and by Friday morning when I reported for work the guards at Sanders were turning us back, passing out pamphlets which said that we were no longer employees." He felt that this was all a set up.

"The union had told us to vote for the contract or the company will be going out of business. But now the union is doing nothing."

Sanders is in bankruptcy, but the Sanders chairman, plus a family which owns a distributor of Sanders products, has arranged to take over the company, complete with a \$3.5 million loan package. It appears that they want to take over by cutting the wages, eliminating all the seniority rights and fringe benefits of the workers.

Meanwhile new applicants are coming in to try and get jobs. Detroit has already seen drugstore workers fired by Cunningham drugstores, when they "sold" the company, dismissed the workers and union, and hired workers at half the wages with no benefits. Sanders is doing the same kind of tricks, and workers with 20 and more years are out the door, unless they come begging.

Can the Sanders workers organize to fight what is happening to them? One worker summed it up: "Let's get together and do something. Let's not just take it."

— Sanders workers supporter

UAW at GM/Toyota?

Fremont, Cal. — The UAW said the rumor that they were conceding to GM/Toyota the right to bypass the old workers in the plant isn't true. They said Toyota doesn't want anything to do with the union or with the old workers and wants to have working conditions similar to pre-unionization in the U.S. Production won't start till 1985 in any case.

They said they took the Local into receivership because it is broke. I think they want to have absolute control. Whatever the concessions made, many used to think they'd at least get back in the plant. Everyone has pretty well come to the conclusion that won't happen now, that we've been sold out.

If there were unity among the UAW locals and among us we could get that plant open under any conditions we wanted but the responsibility is up to us. We have a right to be in the plant right now instead of being in some ridiculous skill center getting \$130 a week instead of a living wage.

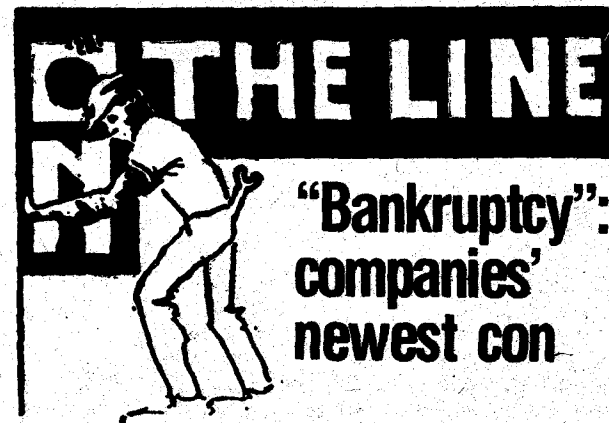
— Fremont Worker

N.Y.C. subway motormen begin slowdown

New York, N.Y. — Transit workers on the New York subway system began a work-to-rule slowdown when this outside "expert", Henry Williamson, blamed the motormen for the recent derailments. He called them "cowboys," but if the motormen go faster, it's because management wants them to.

If they want to know the problem, they should ask us, the workers. The main thing is that the tracks, tunnels and the cars are in bad shape. Instead of hiring more trackmen to fix them, all they do is cosmetic maintenance and painting. They also have an excess of foremen: one for every six workers!

After the eleventh derailment Simpson had to blame the



by John Marcotte

Capital has found a new weapon in its concessions war against American labor. It's called phony bankruptcy. Wilson Foods, the country's biggest pork producer with 8,000 workers, has just used it to cut benefits and slash wages 40 to 50%. Manville Corp., the big asbestos producer, used it last year to escape the lawsuits of workers dying from asbestosis and lung cancer while it made \$20.3 million in the first quarter of 1983. The Supreme Court is set to rule in the Bildisco case on just how far a bankruptcy court can go in destroying a labor contract. A Philadelphia appeals court has ruled in that case that there is no limit and that National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) rules do not apply.

The facts of the Wilson Foods case are outrageous. The union, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) granted a 41-month wage freeze in the Dec., 1981 master pork contract. In March of this year, the union rejected any further concessions to Wilson, which made \$13 million in profits last year. With no warning, on Friday, April 22, the company filed Chapter 11 bankruptcy and on Monday reduced benefits and cut the wages from \$10.69 to \$6.50 an hour, while its bank gave it \$80 million in credits.

WORKERS SLOWDOWN

Workers responded with a slowdown. When the company suspended workers and locked out whole departments, they struck seven plants on June 4. But the contract forced on them after three weeks includes huge concessions.

You know that just like everyone jumped into the concessions racket after Chrysler got away with it in 1979 — thanks to the UAW's Fraser. If Manville and Wilson get away with these phony bankruptcies that will be only the beginning. This is the unions' payback for their class collaboration in forcing concessions on workers. In the pork industry alone, Armour has announced it will close and sell all 13 of its unionized plants. Swift and Dubuque Packing have already closed plants and reopened them under new names with 40 to 50% wage cuts.

Ever since World War II's no-strike pledge, American unions have learned more and more to collaborate and give concessions. But because of the permanent economic crisis, it is now no longer convenient for capital to collaborate with the unions.

Solidarity Day 1981 was a stillbirth. The half million militant workers who made it a success scared the hell out of the leaders. Look at how some of them are out to wreck the Aug. 27 March for Jobs, Peace and Freedom before it gets off the ground. Rank-and-filers who have contacted District 65-UAW to help build Aug. 27 have been told to talk to local churches! Not a word has gone out to the shops. The fact is the unions are afraid to unleash a mass movement they won't be able to control and which will sweep them aside. And they're afraid they won't be able to keep out the Central American war as an issue this time like they did in 1981.

'WEREWOLF HUNGER'

The leaders are so far away from their membership they would rather throw in their lot with the companies in concessions, and with the Democrats who passed all of Reagan's plans, than with their rank-and-file.

The fact is that the "werewolf hunger" for unpaid hours of labor that Karl Marx identified as the motive principle of capital, resulting in a "Century of protracted Civil War between Capital and Labor," is still the motive force of our system, East and West. It is up to the rank-and-file to continue that civil war since their leaders have long since forgotten there is even a war. Nothing less than a second edition of the American Civil War which ended chattel slavery can bring wage slavery to an end.

— Transit worker

Agar steals more than just one piece at a time

Chicago, Ill. — In July an Agar mechanic was fired for trying to carry a small ham out of the plant in his lunch box. Most of the talk afterward was speculation about whether he had been set up and commentary on the stupidity of risking your job by stealing.

What occurred to me, though, was the comparison between the pettiness of that worker's theft and the enormity of what the company steals from us every day. They take our health, our dignity, our time and the wealth that we have produced.

What about the more frequent, lingering illnesses caused by the cold temperatures in the plant — the bad backs and sore arms and shoulders, or the pain, stiffness and swelling, especially in our hands? How many of us have been cut or gotten our hands caught in machines or conveyors? Workers with serious injuries ask, "What if this plant closes? No one else will hire me."

We complain that we are treated like "savages" or "animals" or "machines." This is the way things are set up, not just supervisors' bad attitudes. The company decides what to produce, by what methods, how much and of what quality. We do as we're told, but we want to rebel. We are human beings. We are not just bodies; we have minds, too.

Our labor creates the company's profit. We could say, as Karl Marx did, that we work part of the time for ourselves, to earn our wages, and part of the time for the company, to make their profit. Marx called the latter "unpaid labor-time."

That "unpaid labor-time" is time that we could spend with family and friends, working in our communities and developing our minds. The wealth that we have produced is turned against us as the company seeks ways to automate and eliminate our jobs.

We can't take back what is ours by stealing more ham. What we need to do is to change the whole society so that we can work together freely under conditions that maintain and develop our humanity.

— Agar worker

Come Join News & Letters Committees at the

March for Jobs, Peace, Freedom

Washington, D.C.
Saturday, August 27

Preface to Iranian edition of Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions

by Raha

We are presently — the fourth year since the 1979 Iranian Revolution — in the year of the Marx centenary. This is no mere coincidence; rather it is the year when, finally, Marx's Marxism can be seen as a totality. It is only now that we have the works of his last decade where he turned to what we now call the Third World in the *Ethnological Notebooks*. It is only now that we can see that Marx kept working out his whole life as a revolutionary the question of how to begin anew. We have gone through an actual revolution — a revolution so massive, and so persistent in the long preparatory strikes that became a General Mass Political Strike which drove the Shah along with his backers, U.S. imperialism, from power. Yet we are now under the whip of counterrevolution, one that emerged right from within the revolution which it turned so brutally to destroy. We must, therefore, seriously ask ourselves: why is it that we let Khomeini usurp that spontaneous revolt as if he, Khomeini, was that expression of elemental revolt of the masses for freedom?

WHAT IS EVEN worse now is to take defeat as our ground and to act today as if there was no way for the movement to go any further because of Iran's technological backwardness, which liberals very nearly automatically translate as "backwardness of the masses." This kind of economic determinism which identifies the whole of revolution with Khomeini, with "backwardness of the masses," with defeat, surely doesn't leave us anywhere to go. What is needed is a closer look at revolution that doesn't begin with what appears to be the end result, but looks to the revolutionary process to answer the question what happens after the overthrow. This is what compelled the translation and publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, which was written at the start of the Third World revolutions and is even more relevant today than in the 1960s. Then it was a warning of where these revolutions might end without a philosophy of revolution. Now that warning is both tragic fact and indication of how we can begin anew.

The author of this pamphlet, Raya Dunayevskaya, is the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. In a lifetime of involvement in diverse revolutionary movements, she has completed three comprehensive theoretical-philosophic works on Marx's philosophy of revolution as well as its development for our age as dialectics of liberation. These works are: *Marxism and Freedom: from 1776 to Today* (1958); *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973) — both republished this year for the Marx centenary. The newest work, just off the press, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, makes them what she calls a "Trilogy of Revolution" for our age which began as a movement from practice to theory which was itself a form of theory with its new revolts in production (Automation), in cognition (in East Europe especially, but also in Latin America and Africa and Asia as well as in the Black revolts in the U.S. itself), and is now challenging both post-Marx Marxists and all theoreticians to rise to the point of philosophy.

SHE WAS AT work on her latest book when the Iranian Revolution began in 1978. This led her to work out the ramifications of the 1905 Russian-Polish Revolution in the East, especially in the 1906-11 Revolution in Iran, where a deeper development of the Russian Revolution itself was found when it came to the formation of the first women's anjuman (soviet) in history. The work on this latest book led her to greet the great demonstration of Iranian women liberationists on International Women's Day 1979 and spell out its significance as an opening to the second chapter of the revolution as well as its international dimension. Along with that was an analysis of the emergent retrogression in her March 27, 1979 Political-Philosophic Letter "Iran: Unfolding of and Contradictions within the Revolution."

This letter and her other Political-Philosophic Letters which trace the course of revolution and counterrevolution are all published in a separate pamphlet: *Iran: Revolution and Counterrevolution*. Because the introduction she wrote to the Farsi publication of her letters ("The Struggle Continues: What Kind of Revolution is Needed in the Battle against the Khomeini-IRP Counterrevolution?" September 25, 1981) is both a summation of the recent revolutionary period in Iran as well as a perspective for the future, we felt it necessary to republish it as an appendix to this pamphlet.

What Dunayevskaya saw in the Third World was, not geography, but new human dimensions, new forces and new passions for the reconstruction of society, whose maturity is the exact opposite of technological backwardness. Now that the first workers' state, Russia, too, had been transformed into its opposite (state-capitalism), she articulated a new concept of revolution, concretized as a new relationship between the revolution of the technologically advanced and the technologically backward countries.

Dunayevskaya pointed to the great passion for freedom in our age that does not want to be determined by techno-

logy, finding in that refusal a new point of departure for world revolution. It began with her return to the Hegelian roots of Marxism which in turn revealed Marx's Marxism which makes clear that post-Marx Marxists had rooted themselves in a truncated Marxism since they did not have the works of his last decade. She had rediscovered a total philosophy of revolution in which the determinant is, not technology, but self-developing human beings who are not just force but Reason for revolution.

THE NEWNESS AND profundity of the philosophic questions these movements raised made Dunayevskaya develop further her original idea that the "movement from practice is itself a form of theory." The key is that the movement from practice does not release Marxist revolutionaries from their responsibilities. Quite the con-



Iranian women, demonstrating on International Women's Day, 1979, were the first to oppose Khomeini's regime.

trary, it was the beginning of a new stage of cognition about a human relationship to technology that now challenged theory itself to meet its demands, to establish a new relationship to practice.

Instead if we fail to work out a new unity between theory and practice, the outcome, if not outright betrayal, surely initiates a retrogression in thought that rather than releasing the creative energies of the new mass rebellions, stifles the revolution.

Herein lies the tragedy of the African revolutions that began so soon after the revolution. The beginnings of the African revolutions were also a proclaiming, even in their leaders, of Marxism as humanism. Yet so weighted down were the national leaders with the consciousness of technological backwardness, the need to industrialize, that they turned to one of the two poles of world capital — U. S. or Russia. Without the masses, i.e., without their reason as the basis of revolution and humanism, there remained no way to escape the objective vortex of the world market.

EACH REVOLUTION, however, discloses something new, unique and challenging. The new in the Iranian Revolution reveals both great strength and great weakness. Four years ago, Iran was the birthplace of the greatest, most massive revolution that burst forth and brought ever broader and deeper layers of society to the actual scene of revolution, and so miraculously put an end to the despotic regime of the Shah, armed to the teeth with the most sophisticated technological weapons. What was even more outstanding than the overthrow of the Shah was the flowering of creative energies of millions in the ongoing revolution who felt themselves to be not just muscle but the Reason of revolution. The shoras that emerged at the workplaces were instruments of workers' self-emancipation, of workers' control over their lives. It took two full years of constant state repression both with outright force of arms and certainly always with the imposition of Islamic ideology to transform them. That meant suppressing any initiative outside of opposition to "the Great Satan."

The same is true for the unemployed and student youth who fought the regime on the barricades. It took nothing short of closing the universities, even high schools, to make those hotbeds of revolutionary activity — and activity in this period meant also a search for new revolutionary ideas — quiescent. The Kurdish fight for self-determination which is the most democratic and extensive in worker takeovers and peasant land seizures, is ongoing to this day. Thousands of women mobilizing for five full days against Khomeini were the first to make explicit the goal of the revolution by declaring "at the dawn of freedom, we have no freedom." The overriding truth is that these revolutionary forces were also the ones who at-

tempted to deepen the revolution from mere overthrow of the Shah to actual freedom and new human relations. But what is equally true is that the thought and activity of Marxist revolutionaries was deeply separated from the masses in motion: a separation that became absolute at the high point of the revolution.

Rather than feeling compelled to reorganize to catch up with the revolution, the Left instead chose to so narrow the very concept of revolution as to identify its expression with Khomeini. Thus tailoring his "anti-imperialism" meant tailoring also his aim for the revolution. Those of us today, who have become oppressively aware of Khomeini's counterrevolution, certainly can't reduce once again the whole preparation for revolution to strategy and tactics and plunge ourselves into the indulgence of pure

sloganeering — this time "Down with Khomeini" in place of "Down with the Shah" — as unifying force. No! The whole experience of revolution demands that we not express ourselves only in terms of what we're against. What is needed is a new unifying principle that builds on the high point of the revolution.*

It is true that the revolution that was is no longer ongoing, however, the great experience of the masses in creating the revolution and taking the first breath of freedom is not going to disappear so easily. The elemental creativity of diverse forces of revolution — workers, peasants, youth, women, minorities (Kurds especially) — meant also a new consciousness of what is possible which will not sink into the void being created by Khomeini's counterrevolution. At this moment, when the objective crises are deeper than ever and the hardship of the masses more than before, that consciousness can become the regenerating force for a revival of mass activities. That's when a new beginning in the very concept of revolution becomes crucial: one that can open a perspective of total uprooting and become ground for actual revolution by spelling out what we are for. It is therefore imperative to begin anew by preparing ourselves theoretically for the next stage of the revolution. The contribution of this pamphlet is what I hope can become a taking-off point in that direction.

May 20, 1983

* In her keynote address to the Conference of the Center for Iranian Research and Analysis (Washington, D.C., April 2-3, 1983), Raya Dunayevskaya develops such a view of the totality of Marx's oeuvre as that new unifying principle. In her talk on "The Todayness of Marx's Humanism in the Centenary of Marx's Death," she especially pointed to the significance of the discoveries of Marx's last decade as that which challenges all the post-Marx Marxists.

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Nationwide protests against Reagan's Latin American policy

Mexicana boycott: Detroit

Washington, D.C.

Detroit, Mich. — The same day that President Reagan gave his war speech on Central America — July 26 — about 60 Detroiters picketed the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), protesting INS's policy of shipping El Salvadoran refugees back to that blood-soaked land on Mexicana Airlines. We were all very conscious of the war preparations as we marched, whether from the news-broadcasts on ship movements, or from the police photographer who carefully took "portrait" shots of each demonstrator. Yet the spirit was high as we shouted: "INS, it is clear: Salvadorans must stay here!"

Our picket line drew unionists and church activists, Black, white and Latino, all determined to stop the deportation of Salvadoran refugees. One of the church people was active in the "sanctuary" movement. He said they were prepared to hide people in homes if necessary. A young Mexican-American woman said she was sickened by the idea that a Mexican government airline would be the one to do INS's dirty work — the "death flights."

The INS office was a fine spot to hold the demonstration. Everyone knows that it isn't just Salvadorans who get deported from there. Mexican workers in Detroit are picked up every week and sent to Mexico. But only Salvadorans are sent to nearly certain death.

As we walked, a group of young men and women in the "Youth Corps" were cutting weeds across the street. After a while they came to join the picket line. One asked whether the picket was against Reagan. When I said it was, he said, "That's good enough for me," and started marching.

— Participant

Chicago

Chicago, Ill. — On July 6 at noon, about 50 of us picketed the Mexicana Airlines office in Chicago's loop. The demonstration was sponsored by a University of Illinois



— News & Letters photo

Detroit protest against Mexicana Airlines.

at Chicago (UIC) campus organization, Committee in Support of El Salvador and Central America. What was so good to see was that our demonstration drew others from UIC as well as some community organizers from Pilsen — a mostly Mexican neighborhood.

What struck me immediately was the response from passers-by to our picket line. Whereas the Vietnam war went on for years before most people opposed it, the response to our demonstration showed how much people are already against Reagan's imperialist plans for Central America. One of us had only a few leaflets left and said, "I'm almost finished." A man in a business suit walking by took the last leaflet and very seriously replied, "No, you've just begun."

People had good responses to the leafleting with many people asking what they could do to help stop the death flights. Most gratifying of all was that so many busy Chicagoans took their lunch hour to join our picket line and march against Mexicana.

— Terry Moon

'Guatemala in Rebellion: Unfinished History'

Guatemala in Rebellion: Unfinished History, edited by Jonathan L. Fried, Marvin E. Gettleman, Deborah T. Levenson, and Nancy Peckham. New York: Grove Press, 1983.

As a desperate Reagan daily escalates his war against the people of Central America, this new collection of documents, analyses, eyewitness reports and interviews presents a unique picture of Guatemala's people and their revolutionary process that could not have appeared at a more urgent time for the American people to become acquainted with these people, their reality, their struggle, their ideas.

From the first selection, a letter from the Spanish conquistador Pedro de Alvarado written to Hernan Cortes in 1524, in which he reports that the Maya Indians, upon being ordered to serve the Pope and the Spanish king or face extermination, "sent me word they did not know either of them," we are taken on a 450-year journey of invasions, oppression and racial discrimination to the present day of President Rios Montt's "scorched earth" policy of massacres of entire Indian villages. Parallel to this is the movement of 450 years of resistance, Indians maintaining their own culture, and new forms of struggle, from the 16th century *Annals of the Cakchiquel* to the voices of today's peasants, miners, women, guerrillas and

priests.

It is these voices, often speaking in their own words, which form a large part of the sections on "The Popular Movement" and "The War in the 1980s." They attain a universality that leaves us not only knowing the Guatemalan revolutionary process, but teach us much about all of humanity's struggles and vision to be free, including our own.

We read the story of the Guatemalan union movement as told by Miguel Angel Albizurez, a founder of both the National Confederation of Labor and the National Committee of Trade Union Unity. As the government would block one form of struggle, workers and campesinos would invent new forms, until the whole movement was forced underground in 1980 by the savage massacres and "disappearances." One of those new forms was the 250-mile march by miners in 1977 to dramatize their fight for union recognition, which we learn of through the diary of one of the miners, Luis Castillo — who has since also "disappeared."

We hear an Indian woman, Rigoberta Menchu, tell in the interview "In Guatemala We Indians Have No Childhood," that, "if I fight, it is to be treated like a human being." Another article explains how in Guatemala, the guerrilla and revolutionary movements spring from the community life of the people — "their religious, economic, social and even athletic organizations." Even local soccer teams can be transformed through revolutionary creativity into a form of struggle.

An interview with a priest from Quiche province, where the Catholic Church closed all churches because of the number of priests and catechists killed by the government, reminded me of our own history of abolitionists. They were persecuted for the crime of teaching peasants to read, "to be human," which means "moving from being seen as animals, as beasts of burden, to being seen as human beings."

Finally, we also see the uniqueness of Guatemala's guerrilla struggle, a form of struggle the people have turned to as the only means left open to them. The full participation of Indians as well as Ladinos, women as well as men, in both leadership and ranks, with one tendency even basing its analysis of the Indian dimension on the writings of Frantz Fanon, is presented to us. In short, this book is no mere collection of "facts" but manages to at least touch on the many aspects of the human reality that is Guatemala today, in all its horror, as well as hope for a new, human society.

— John Marcotte

*For an added dimension see *Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak*, which features both the voices of today's revolutionaries — including Rigoberta Menchu — and the revolutionary history of Guatemala, within a Marxist-Humanist philosophic framework. See ad, this page.

Washington, D.C. — Some 10,000 people demonstrated here on July 2 against Reagan's Central American policies. Kept small by a divided Left, the demonstration was enlivened by many young, independent people with home-made signs such as "Nobody's Backyard," by union participation, including the Newspaper Guild honoring the two journalists recently killed covering Reagan's "secret" war, by a large contingent of disabled people who navigated the march in the terrible heat in wheelchairs, and by lesbians and gays who chanted, "Money for AIDS, not for war, U.S. out of El Salvador!"

Symptomatic of the politics that kept people from coming was the sponsor's — People's Antiwar Mobilization — refusal to let a young man carry his Solidarnosc banner onto the rally site. Yet many independent people wore Solidarity buttons.

Sizeable numbers of Salvadoran, Nicaraguan and Guatemalan activists chanted revolutionary slogans that gave the day the flavor of Central America's struggles.

— Marxist-Humanist participants

Concord weapons station

Oakland, Cal. — Around 4,000 demonstrators came out to the town of Concord on July 24 to march and rally against U.S. intervention in El Salvador near the Concord Naval Weapons Station, where arms are being shipped to crush revolutions in Central America.

The marchers carried signs saying "Stop the Draft," "End the Covert War in Central America," and "Play It Again 'Nam'." Many had participated in the June 20 Livermore nuclear weapons lab blockade. Speakers at the rally included Ramon Cardona of the FMLN, and around 40 Salvadorans had joined the march.

The following day, Monday, 300 blockaders returned to the gates of the Weapons Station to halt the morning shift, but it had gone in earlier. Throughout the day over 125 blockaders were arrested for stopping outgoing traffic and for going on the base, but charges against them were dropped later in the day.

Blockaders also returned Tuesday morning, when 60 people were arrested. Only those re-arrested from Monday were charged, undoubtedly because of the jail solidarity experience after the June 20 Livermore blockade which had tied up the legal system for weeks.

While discussions of such actions still focus a great deal on the tactics and strategy of blockading, the protest at Concord continues the new relationship that began last spring when anti-nuke activists joined with the movement opposing U.S. intervention in Central America. That relationship is sure to go further on Aug. 27 at the demonstration for jobs and freedom here commemorating the 1963 Civil Rights March on Washington.

— Latin America solidarity activist

General strike in Brazil

Workers at Ford, Caterpillar, the Embraer aircraft plant, the Niteroi shipyard and other factories shut down production in and around Sao Paulo, Brazil, in a one-day nation-wide general strike on July 21. It was the first general strike in 20 years of military rule and had been called against recent government austerity measures that cut workers' pay by 20%.

Despite the arrest of union leaders on the eve of the "illegal" strike, and the mobilization of the army, air force and military police, marches and rallies were held in Brasilia, Porto Alegre, Belo Horizonte, and Rio where 25,000 people joined a nighttime march.

The general strike followed a strike earlier in July by workers at the state-owned oil refineries. The military government had responded by firing workers en masse and taking over unions, but had to step back when over 70,000 metalworkers walked out in sympathy, stopping all production in auto as well.

While the military government sidestepped default on its \$90 billion foreign debt payments in July, the Brazilian masses continue to reject the whole International Monetary Fund austerity package which their rulers are trying to impose.

— Mary Holmes

Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak

Domingo Hernandez Iztoy — Quiche Indian, founder of the Committee of Peasant Unity of Guatemala.

Manuela Saquic — Ixil Indian from El Quiche, member of the Committee of Peasant Unity.

Rigoberta Menchu — Quiche Indian, member of Vicente Menchu Christian Revolutionaries and Committee of Patriotic Unity.

Nicolas Balam — Cakchiquel Indian, member of the Peasant Committee of the Altiplano

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ON OUR DRAFT PERSPECTIVES: MASS UNREST AT HOME AND ABROAD IN GLOBAL YEAR OF MISSILE

Your Perspectives Thesis (July N&L) talks of 32 million unemployed in the West. The crisis is so real. We used to think of people going from plant to plant looking for a job. Now they are going from state to state. The other day I met a man from Mobile, Ala. He had been in Nashville looking for a job, and now was in California. And my brother had to go all the way to Hawaii to find work.

Young Black man
Los Angeles

I wish your Draft Perspectives Thesis could have included one more element in its title. "Mass Unrest at Home and Abroad in the Global Year of the Missile" certainly summed up the objective-subjective situation we face. And Reagan's war maneuvers in Central America in the month since then brings the dangers even closer. But the revolutionary thread of Marx's thought was so much throughout the thesis that I wish your title could have reflected how integral to today's world Marx really is. How about: "Marx's Thought Casts Illumination on the Mass Unrest at Home and Abroad in the Global Year of the Missile"?

Observer
Detroit

I looked up "artificer" in the dictionary after N&L called Reagan "the supreme artificer." One of the definitions was "a confidence man; an inventor of lies." That fits Reagan to a "T."

High school student
New York City

Very few journals, whether of the Right or Left, have spoken about the terrible current drought in Africa as a political question as you did (July N&L). I was speaking to a friend from Zimbabwe. He said that many of the new collective farms there are failing from the drought. Their corn and other crops have burned up, and now their livestock is in danger of dying. In a few months nothing will be left of the dreams they had. But much of this could have been prevented, or at least made much less disastrous, if they had deep water wells. Zimbabwe appealed to both East and West for emergency help in digging wells, but virtually no help has come. It seems like a political decision to me.

Southern Africa supporter
Ann Arbor, Mich.

I was very glad you are going to have a new edition of American Civilization on Trial. It is the only pamphlet or book I know of that tells American history as it really is. It isn't just a simple thing of saying "Black and white, unite and fight." This is the perfect time to have it come out, for the Aug. 27 March on Washington. See you there!

Black activist
New York

I have great interest in strategic and tactical analysis of the class struggle as it exists and progresses. But I find the perspectives and theoretical articles in N&L not to the point. I don't know if the problem is in your justified caution on Leninist vanguardism, or perhaps your stress on philosophy, but you shy away from Marxian analytic categories to analyze the world crisis... What do you mean by philosophy? Ethics, logic? But most of all why this burning desire to find genuine "Marx's Marxism"? Marx made mistakes...

Student
SUNY-Purchase, NY

I liked very much the idea that "Marx's Final Writings Let Us Hear Marx Thinking." The way today's Left intellectuals have ignored Marx's last decade is summed up right there. If you say that you "hear Marx thinking," you are talking about a constantly developing process, rather than fixed "laws" and conclusions to be either faithfully repeated or "refuted" with erudition. Unfortunately, most of today's writing on Marx-

ism is content to deal with "conclusions," rather than Marx's philosophy of liberation.

Librarian
Michigan

The Left here in Vancouver is still very much along sectarian lines. The Trotskyists read their paper, the anarchists theirs; little concern for alternate, independent thought. But we are trying to change that and your paper is great for that reason — open, honest, intelligent writing and refreshingly different. The printing of Marx's ethnographic notes is an incredibly important project, bringing new clarity to Marx's known writings. Hope to write in the future and participate in your ongoing dialogue.

Bookstore folks
Vancouver, Canada

The Perspectives emphasized throughout the relation between the ideal and the real. Even the bourgeoisie knows that ideas can be a material force — that's why they're so busy trying to convince people of concepts like the "New Economy." I was struck by the statement in the Thesis on the need for "philosophic answers reaching down to the division between mental and manual work characteristic of all class societies, which must be abolished." No other Left group besides News & Letters Committees have that as their banner.

Feminist
Los Angeles

The section on the "New Economy" in your Thesis hits hard. When I finished reading it, I saw the way this society manipulates words. The "New Economy" means going back to the worst of the old abuses of 19th century capitalism!

Reader
California

What struck me in the Draft Perspectives was the way Marx's expression on theory becoming a material force was related to Marx's search for new forces and new pathways to revolution in the East. If one goes back to where Marx first used that expression, in his 1843 Introduction to the "Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," one realizes how Marx was developing a vision of total transformation from the very beginning.

Where he calls theory a material force, he states: "The arm of criticism can't replace the criticism of arms... but theory becomes a material force once it has gripped the masses. Theory is capable of gripping the masses... when it becomes radical." And immediately that theory is made inseparable from humanism: "To be radical is to grasp things by the root. But for man the root is man himself."

Young revolutionary
Los Angeles

LATIN AMERICANS: 'WE AREN'T STANDING FOR THIS ANYMORE'

Contrary to what Reagan is saying, there is only one country making trouble in Latin America. That is the U.S., because for decades the U.S. has imposed governments on us that it could absolutely control. The U.S. gave us Balaguer in the Dominican Republic. People would be kidnapped from their beds at night. Now all that is changing. That's what's happening in Central America. We are not standing for this anymore.

Dominican worker
New York

When 7,000 public school teachers and students marched in Mexico City on July 21 against the government's plan to terminate the Normal School which trains teachers, they were met by a phalanx of riot police on foot and motorcycles. The police charged the demonstrators, swinging clubs and using firehoses. Over 150 teachers and students were injured and 100 arrested.

The teachers are one of the most militant groups in the independent trade

Readers' View

union movement in Mexico. I saw them spearhead May Day protests when I was there, against both the state and their own labor bureaucracy.

Many of the most militant teachers come from outside the main cities and in the countryside, where they "teach" the interrelation of poor conditions of education and living to the oppression of the state. The latest proposal to eliminate the Normal School and farm out its functions to other cities around the country is aimed at breaking up this center of opposition.

Mary Holmes
Oakland, Cal.

Did you hear Reagan say, "Remember the Maine"? Well, that was the battle cry of U.S. imperialism in the war against Spain in 1898. That was the slogan that "won" the U.S. colonies in the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. Is that where we are going now? At work people have put up on the bulletin board front-page headlines: "Reagan orders Navy ships to Central America," as well as leaflets against U.S. intervention.

Scared and angry
Chicago

Presently about 500 persons await trial by Secret Tribunals in Guatemala, tribunals set up in July, 1982 by a decree of Gen. Rios Montt. The tribunals serve as an instrument of repression, a legal pretext to systematically arrest, imprison and execute suspected opponents. Many of those awaiting trial have been tortured while in solitary and incognito detention. Most do not know the charges against them, and may not even know that they will be tried by a Secret Tribunal. Since last July, 15 have been executed, by government count.

The Guatemala Human Rights Commission is keenly aware of the suffering caused by the operations of the Tribunals. We find especially repulsive the "clean and legal" image the system projects in order to hide the cruel and inhuman reality. The Secret Tribunals must end. For information on how you can help with the campaign to abolish them, write to:

Guatemala Human Rights Commission
P.O. Box, 91 Cardinal Station
Washington, D.C. 20064



CONTINUOUS
BLACK FREEDOM
STRUGGLE —
IN AZANIA...

We want to thank you for the articles in the July N&L by Lou Turner on our Soweto Day conference at Howard University. There have been many responses to that article and the other reports on the support rallies to free Azania. As we continue to receive material from the Black Consciousness Movement inside South Africa, we will pass it on to you to inform your readers. We look forward to seeing you at the Aug. 27 March on Washington.

Black Consciousness Movement
of Azania
Washington, D.C.

I read that the workers in South Africa recently won a victory in the courts. It was ruled that supervisors can no longer refer to the workers as "boys" or "kaffirs." That's an accomplishment we don't have here! Management here still talks to us like dirt. It's another way of dehumanizing you. We have a lot to learn from the South African struggle.

Black worker
Los Angeles

Is there really something called "deja vu"? There must be, because the pictures in the July issue of N&L of the

three young South African revolutionaries who were executed on the eve of the seventh anniversary of the Soweto rebellion certainly made me remember the murder of the three Civil Rights workers — James Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner in 1964. Yet the murder of these young revolutionaries have only brought forth the intensification of the struggles on both sides of the Atlantic when such vicious counter-revolution occurs. Is there really any doubt that the movement for freedom is continuous?

Black feminist
Detroit

... AND IN THE USA

I was one of the 1,500 Black women that attended the First National Black Women's Health Conference in Atlanta, Ga. last month and was happy to see your report in the July issue of N&L. But, I would like to point out an inaccuracy in your report and to set the record straight. As one of the organizers of the conference I can confidently say that not only were we not surprised that grass roots women attended, but we helped to invite grass-roots women by offering over 400 scholarships to Black women all over the country (to those who could not otherwise afford to attend such a conference). Still, I did enjoy reading your paper.

Reader
Atlanta, Ga.

I was so glad to hear about the demonstration by Black and Latino construction workers in New York City July 25. They occupied the construction site of the Marriott Hotel for three hours, banging metal pipes against the steel girders and demanding jobs. They said that a check showed only 20 of the 270 workers on the site were minority. They left the site when "good faith negotiations" were promised, but not a single job has been offered since.

It all underlines how far we still have to go in this country, in this so-called "civilization." Over 20 years ago I was arrested at a New York construction site for protesting the same kind of lily-white workforce they still use (with token changes). I don't want to hear any more nonsense about "how far we have come" — from Democrats, Republicans or union leaders.

Civil rights veteran
Michigan

TEAMSTERS GIVE-BACKS

The Teamsters' union leadership granted major concessions to the trucking industry back in March 1982, and they are already planning another major give-back. There are 100,000 Teamsters laid-off out of 300,000 covered by the Master Contract and all that Jackie Presser can come up with is another major cut in the wages of workers. Presser has called for a "voluntary laid-off employees relief ride." That "ride," he said, would mean pay cuts of 33% for long distance drivers and 18% cuts for city drivers and warehouse workers.

When is this all going to end? Isn't it about time that labor said NO to give-backs?

Warehouseman
Los Angeles

TWO VIEWS OF YOUTH

I appreciate your emphasis on youth as a force of revolution. Not seeing youth that way is an obstacle to today's anti-war movement. Petra Kelly of Germany's Greens said of the youth who were protesting the visit of U.S. Vice President Bush, "They're only punks." She has also said that young people are getting "distracted" by "other" issues, like unemployment! I can only say that I have met punks active in the anti-war movement here — including some from England: "We're all unemployed," they say — and they have exciting ideas that need expression.

Anti-war activist
Oakland, Ca.

STUDYING, ACTING WITH OUR 'TRILOGY OF REVOLUTION'

I've been reading *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya in my study group and was struck by the fact that the preface by Herbert Marcuse seems dated, while the prefaces Raya wrote don't. Perhaps in the 1950s when things were rolling and the unions were strong, it did look as if workers sold out. But now we can see there were no real gains. Also, the way Marcuse discusses time seems dated. Now people are not concerned with free time, but with getting a job.

Studying
Chicago

I am now reading *Philosophy and Revolution*, studying the relationship of the Marxian dialectic to Hegel's dialectic, and specifically the idea of "second negativity." It seems to me that the concept of the vanguard "party-to-lead" clashes with the idea of second negativity, or continual self-development. I think this is why the vanguardists discuss dialectics as "Thesis-Antithesis-Synthesis" — which I only now learn was not Hegel's formulation — rather than as Absolute Negativity.

Student
Los Angeles

Our study group is continuing. What is most interesting about the work we have done is our relationship to a welfare rights group. As we read chapters from Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation* and Marx's *Philosophy of Revolution* we would immediately find ourselves illuminating some recent experience. One event was typical, in which right after talking about the "hushed-up woman question" in Chapter 2, we each took turns calling in to a radio program where the welfare rights group had some representatives. We supported them against right-wing and anti-woman callers. The interviewer even sounded like shades of Bebel and Kautsky in his subtle sexist sarcasm. Including M., a welfare rights activist, in the study group was a high point.

Economics student
Salt Lake City, Utah

AN IRISH ACTIVIST VIEWS USA

Having spent a few weeks in the USA — in Massachusetts and NY City — I think I have more understanding of the problems you are up against. I noticed that even people who were very open-minded on other issues (e.g. issues of sexuality) very rarely question the system. Even when for millions of people at the bottom end of the social system capitalism is blatantly not working! I also realized why it is that radical Americans have problems about attitudes to freedom movements in Ireland when I discovered how conservative on other issues many of the traditional IRA supporters in the U.S. are. I hadn't fully realized this, though of course I had been told.

All this led me to recognize the importance of the educative political work *News & Letters* can do. Especially in view of the fact that you cross the racial barriers, which do, unfortunately seem to be quite a problem in communication between the different sections of U.S. working people...

Eibhlín Ní Sheidhir
Dublin, Ireland

THE BRITISH SCENE

The outcome of the general election may have been a victory for Thatcher in terms of parliamentary seats, but it was far from being a resounding vote of confidence in Thatcherism. In fact the Tories received a smaller share of the vote than in 1979. Labour's share was very low — 26%. Red-baiting played a large part in the campaign, but in fact Labour's platform was no more radical than at any other election, except on the single issue of unilateral nuclear disarmament, where there is a mass movement to be taken into account.

The Tories' agenda for the coming months includes bringing Reagan's cruise missiles to Greenham and Molesworth, development of the Trident submarine missile system and a proposal for "trade union reform" which may turn out to have effects opposite to the reactionary ones intended. This latest proposal is to make union leaders subject to regular elections every five years. Thatcher fondly imagines that lead-

ers periodically elected by the workers will be more "moderate" than those who hold office for life. If they do shake up the entrenched bureaucracy they may inadvertently open up new opportunities for rank-and-file workers.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England



WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN TRIBAL INDIA, NUCLEAR BRITAIN

Our main struggle over here is for political autonomy and self-determination. The people are tribals who have been oppressed for centuries and still are today. When they try to raise their voices there is a brutal repression by police and they have to face guns, when their only weapons are bows and arrows.

Women have tremendous potentiality here, but are too busy with the problem of mere survival, how to get a plate of rice. There is a tremendous inequality in education, (only 2 or 3% of women are literate), and in work. They have no say in village meetings or in making any decisions. Husbands' beatings are a daily affair. There is no right to landed property. The whole sexual division of labor is really very unfair.

I suppose it is a very long process that we have to go through, and we are just taking the first steps, just coming to realize that all these are problems. In our area no collective action has been taken as yet. I would like to receive your newspaper and Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation* and Marx's *Philosophy of Revolution*... I feel very attracted by your way of thinking and wish to keep contact with you all.

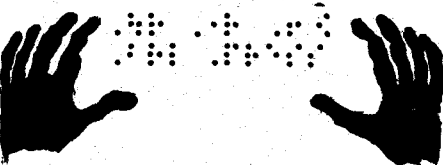
Feminist
Bihar, India

There was a "dragon festival" on June 25 at Greenham Common. Women all over the country made pieces of patchwork to make up a dragon which was to surround the fence of the Air Force base. It was five miles long and there were 5,000 women; a few arrests with some women going over the fence again. One woman told me it was just going 500 miles for a picnic, but I suppose it was good that it brought a lot of women together all over the country sewing. A lot of wee sewing bees have been set up with women doing banners and things.

One piece of good news is that some of the major unions are not going to handle nuclear waste or anything to do with it, among them the railwaymen's union and a ship union.

I'm pretty excited by Rosyth peace camp. They are making quite a few contacts in the local community and are hopefully getting away from just direct action. I hope they concentrate on talking to people as they go in and maybe setting up a stall with lots of information.

Carol
Edinburgh, Scotland



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EDITORIAL

Call off the Dogs of War

This July, Ronald Reagan unleashed the dogs of war throughout Central America. He has given new meaning to words that have traditionally summed up U.S. policy in Latin America — gunboat diplomacy. At the same time Reagan has slapped the people of Latin America across the face with his appointment of Nixon's Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, to head a commission studying a longterm approach for U.S. policy toward Central America.

The aircraft carrier *Ranger*, complete with 70 jet fighters and seven escort ships, is operating off the Pacific coast of El Salvador. Soon a battle group containing the aircraft carrier *Coral Sea* will move into the Caribbean. The battleship *New Jersey* with 16-inch guns will move through the Panama Canal to join the other ships in the Caribbean. Naval maneuvers, including a military quarantine or even a full blockade of all shipping to Nicaragua, are to be practiced.

KISSINGER AND CHILE'S PINOCHET

The Kissinger appointment dragged up from the not too distant past a voice of imperialism, war and counter-revolution. Kissinger, whose mandate is to "lay the foundation for a long-term unified national approach" to Central America, was the one who helped engineer the bloody overthrow of Allende's government in Chile, putting General Pinochet into power for what has now been a decade of fascist rule. It is this same Kissinger-sponsored Pinochet that the Chilean people are striking against and trying to oust today.

But Reagan has no intention of waiting for the Kissinger report next year to justify his militarist policies. Along with gunboat maneuvers, the entire country of Honduras seems destined to become one huge U.S. battleship. As many as 4,000 U.S. military personnel, army, marine and navy, will be taking part in military exercises called *Big Pine II*, lasting at least six months. At present the U.S. is constructing a \$150 million military base at Puerto Castilla on the Atlantic coast of Honduras. It is being used to train El Salvadoran and Honduran troops. Some 270 U.S. troops, the largest American military presence in Central America except for the Panama Canal Zone, are the trainers. A new radar station is in operation near the Honduran capital manned by 60 specialists from the U.S. Air Force. New airstrips are being constructed, others improved. During the military exercises two or three airstrips may be cleared by engineer battalions to accommodate C-5 Galaxy transports, the Air Force's largest, as well as any type of fighter plane.

If Honduras is a battleship, the Reagan Administration appears to want to make Nicaragua the battleground. Not only do we have Reagan's saber-rattling statements about the necessity of replacing the Sandinista government, but we have an extreme escalation in the production, training, arming and financing of counter-revolutionaries being imported into Nicaragua from the border areas of Honduras and Costa Rica. The numbers, now above 8,000 and seemingly headed for at least double that number, appeared as if produced off a United States factory assembly line.

July was also the month that the Reagan Administration went through its sham "certification of progress in human rights" for El Salvador so that Congressional money could continue. But meanwhile a new secret White House working paper called for more than a 30 percent increase in military aid to the dictatorship ruling El Salvador. And new proposals are in the works to increase U.S. military presence in El Salvador from 55 to 125 military-advisor-trainers. This same working paper as well calls for substantial increases in U.S. military money for Honduras, Guatemala and Costa Rica.

NICARAGUAN AND CUBAN REVOLUTIONS

But July is not alone a time of counter-revolution and war. This July is as well the fourth anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution that overthrew the decades-long regime of the U.S. sponsored Somozas, and the thirtieth anniversary of the beginning of the Cuban Revolution with the attempt to seize the Moncada barracks. It was, after all, that Cuban Revolution which started Latin America on a new pathway some two and a half decades ago.

True, the actuality of where Cuba ended up has not been faithful to those first revolutionary beginnings, but in spite of that others in Latin America were inspired by its defiance of U.S. imperialism and have sought to continue in a revolutionary direction. That is what the Central American revolutions have meant. That is what the new beginnings in Chile, and in many parts of Latin America signify today. It is precisely such new beginnings that Reagan-Kissinger seek to crush.

The U.S. Congress has little intention of opposing Reagan's wars in Central America. They have yet to significantly challenge his military requests for Central America. It is only the masses here in the United States who, in opposition to Reagan's actions at home and abroad, can join their sisters and brothers in Latin America, to call off the dogs of war once and for all.

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BLACK-RED VIEW Language, consciousness and freedom in Azania

by John Alan

Recently the fledgling Black trade union movement in South Africa won a victory against the system of apartheid. Whites may no longer call Black workers "boy" or "kaffir." This was the decision of an industrial court in Johannesburg after hearing a dispute that involved the United African Motor and Allied Workers Union and Fodens Ltd., an auto parts company.

South Africa's Black unionists hailed this as a victory for "human dignity and respect for workers" that will stop some of the mistreatment of Blacks by whites, especially white supervisors in the factories and mines. Under the ruling the company is required to discipline the whites who call Blacks derogatory names, but the type of discipline was not specified.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AT THE POINT OF PRODUCTION

Some of us Blacks living in the relative racial freedom of the United States, may consider this a minor victory and at best a paper victory. This would be a short-sighted opinion; it means that the person is overwhelmed by the awesome military and police power of the South African state and its noted political duplicity and ruthlessness. Yet a little reflection brings into focus the fact that Black Consciousness as an idea and a force for freedom is very much alive in Azania and has now opened up a front in South Africa's industrial plants.

To expunge derogatory words from the mouth of a white supervisor, even if it is only a legal concept, is to force that supervisor to recognize the unique humanity of the Black worker as he/she defines this humanity and not as the supervisors see fit to do. This is a direct challenge to the system of white baasskap (bossdom) that considers Black labor a thing to be exploited in white interest.

The right of self-identification, a move to transcend the white pejorative concept of Blacks as kaffir, Bantu, native, nonwhite, boy, etc. has been, and is, a major aim of the Black Consciousness Movement in Azania.

BIKO, LANGUAGE AND LIBERATION

Black self-consciousness was a revolutionary phenomenon that seized the imagination of the South African Black masses after the fall of Portuguese colonialism in Southern Africa. The martyr Steve Biko articulated it; he developed it into a theory of mass resistance to apartheid

that was destroying both the bodies and the spirit of the Black majority.

The Black consciousness groups that sprung from the idea broke with all past attitudes toward Black liberation in South Africa. They called upon the Black masses to redefine themselves in their own eyes. It emphasized the concept that the universal was within the Black movement itself. This new consciousness Biko called TO BE or BEness.

The concept that the masses contain both the idea and the goal of Azania's liberation was new and unique in Black African thought. And it is obvious, as the Black trade union movement grows in strength and militancy, that the full scope of the Black Consciousness Movement is yet to develop.

In 1976, when Steve Biko and nine other people were put on trial by the South African state for having subversive intentions, that is, for their thoughts and philosophy, Biko subtly defended the usage of the word Black as the dialectical opposite of white, within the political and social context of South Africa, though neither white nor Black was an accurate description of the races. He told the judge that they could have used an alternate word for Black, even brown. However, whites would still call them Black and evil, thus it was their aim "to elevate it (Black) to a position where we could look upon it positively . . ."

At this trial Biko was able to speak about language, when the judge suggested that Blacks could speak Afrikaans easier than English because Afrikaans is an idio-

matic language "like your language." Biko replied: "This is true, but unfortunately Afrikaans has got a certain connotation historically that provokes a rejection from the Black man, and these are political connotations."

I cited the above to show how close the connection is between words and language, as well as race and class relationships in society. And, that within the framework of language — I am not speaking about linguistics but about social revolution — important battles for freedom do take place.

MARX AND FANON ON LANGUAGE

Marx, who was always sensitive to the social categories hidden in language, said that language is as old as consciousness and that it is the first practical real consciousness; that all consciousness is a product of social relationships.

The whole of Black history, since the dawn of capitalism, in the United States, in Africa, and in the Caribbean Basin has been a continuous struggle against racism and exploitation. In every period of this struggle a new consciousness of self has come into being as we took decisive steps toward freedom.

Frantz Fanon, was an excellent product of French culture and its language. Yet, in the course of his opposition to colonialism he became a profound critic of both. In the words, the intonations and the accents of French he found the categories of his own oppression.

Black students in Soweto revolted against Afrikaans, because their idea of freedom did not conform with the categories of their servitude that was crystallized in that language.

Here at home, Ralph Ellison wrote that the words in novel and plays, etc. are an insidious form of segregation; so slanted against Blacks "that when he approaches for a glimpse of himself he discovers an image drained of humanity."

We Blacks in the U.S. have changed our name at each new level of struggle. We rejected "colored" as patronizing, substituted Negro and then fought to get the word Negro capitalized. Finally, during the Black revolts, Blacks became our name which symbolized the totality of our opposition to racism.

The history of our struggle for freedom has by no means come to an end, but the history of our consciousness of freedom is still evolving. What is crucial in this period of worldwide retrogression of capitalism is how can our Black Consciousness develop into a philosophy of revolution that opens the way to the transformation of class, racial and sexual exploitation into real human relationships.

Harlem "People's Court"

New York, N.Y. — On Monday, July 18, the people of Harlem and other areas of New York City turned the hearings on police brutality, called by the Congressional Judiciary Sub-Committee on Criminal Justice, attended by Mayor Koch, Police Commissioner McGuire, Rep. Rangel along with Rep. John Conyers Jr. (chairman of the sub-committee), into what has been called a "People's Hearing."

It "appears" the official hearings were called off indefinitely earlier when they were "perceived" by Koch and other politicians to be dangerous as the audience began to voice their dismay at the proceedings, especially when Shirley Roper decided not to wait on the politicians, speeches and called out "they killed my son."

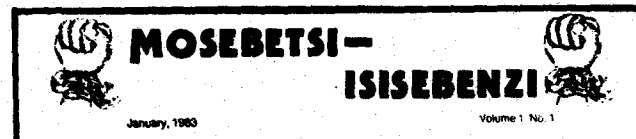
The politicians so underestimated the importance of this issue within the Black communities that the hearing was moved to a smaller room (reportedly asked for by Koch and his aides because it had more doorways out) in the State Office Building in Harlem. The room proved to be inadequate to accommodate the more than 600 people that came, wanting neither to listen to the politicians nor to Koch and McGuire repeat their racist thinking that New York city's record on police brutality is much better than other cities in the U.S.

How can that help Shirley Roper whose son suffered brain damage when he was hit by eight bullets from three cops, or Annie Brandon whose son was killed, or all the other victims of police brutality. Women and men, among the poor, working people; ministers; a restaurant owner called to his place of business because of a fire only to become a victim; even a State Assemblyman, all in all 51 people got up to tell their stories in the "unplanned" hearing, after Mayor Koch left the building with the voice of Harlem ringing in his ears.

A racist atmosphere permeates New York City. As the trial of those whites accused of killing Willie Turks, a Black transit worker, a year ago, is going on, groups of whites still feel free to beat up on Black citizens. The day before the hearings began, seven to eight men in Queens attacked a Black teenager as he walked home.

The good Mayor of New York City who belligerently denies being a racist, could wait but a few days before he again let loose. In a speech to 1,000 police recruits Koch said he hoped those community leaders outraged by police brutality will be equally outraged by the 300 or more youth who left the free Diana Ross concert in Central Park and attacked and robbed others. To link the two as Koch does is to show the deep-seated racism emanating from City Hall.

— Angela Terrano



"Mosebetsi-Isisebenzi" translated means "Work." It is Vol. I, No. 1 of the Bulletin of the Labour Committee of the Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO). The contents include: "Kloof Black Mine Workers' Revolt," "Legal Rights for the Black Worker," and a Black worker's short story of his life and labor as the real "wealth of the nation." For a copy of the bulletin write to: The Committee of Solidarity with Azanian Workers, 82 Prince Charles Dr., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6A 2H8, or BCM(A), P.O. Box 13038, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Review: 'Philosophy Born of Struggle'

Philosophy Born of Struggle: Anthology of Afro-American Philosophy from 1917, edited by Leonard Harris. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co., 1983.

Professor Leonard Harris of Morgan State University has gathered together a "family of texts" from "the modern history of philosophy done in the context of Afro-American culture" that reveals a dimension of Black theoretical labor that has remained as invisible to American philosophy as the struggles from which they were born have remained invisible to American history.

Taking the title from Frederick Douglass' famous 1857 statement that a philosophy born of struggle is the product of "the whole history of the progress of human liberty", Harris divides the collection of 21 essays into three quite dialectical categories: Philosophy Experienced, Experience Explained and Experience Interpreted. They range from Broadus Butler's commentary on Frederick Douglass as Black philosopher, to Alain Locke's 1935 treatise, "Values and Imperatives," critiquing American pragmatism, and his famous 1925 essay on "The New Negro", to such contemporary theoreticians as Lucius Outlaw on critical theory and Houston Baker on Black literary criticism.

A NEW CONCEPT OF THEORY?

Though it isn't possible here to give anything but the barest sense of the various subjects covered, nevertheless, I felt that the critical question underlying the whole is — what concept of theory determines a "philosophy born of struggle"? Is it simply as Lucius Outlaw suggests, following Vincent Harding and Harold Cruse, that the Black dimension is merely the "context" for African-American philosophy? Or isn't the history, reality and ongoing struggle of the Black masses the very source of Black thought? Indeed, hasn't the global Black mass movement beginning from practice shown itself to be a form of theory?

While none of the essays mark a break from the prevailing concept of theory as a discourse between intellectuals, still it seems to me that very serious questions are posed once the relationship of Black thought to experience is spelled out as "philosophy born of struggle."

What today's generation of Black intellectuals may be able to discern that no other has is the philosophical meaning in DuBois' concept of double consciousness that he articulated in *Souls of Black Folk*. For within the double consciousness of the African-American not only is to be found "two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder." The dialectic of Black history reveals that the determinant which both divides and unites Black thought at a given stage is the revolutionary struggle for freedom.

Though the two warring tendencies in Professor Harris' anthology are pragmatism and Marxism, it is necessary to keep in mind that the source of both is the Hegelian dialectic and both have American roots. It is in that "context" that we sense in critical theorists like Lucius Outlaw and Houston Baker the contradictory tension that characterized the thought of DuBois, Locke and other Black intellectuals of an earlier period.

The starting point for both Outlaw and Baker is the need to ground Black thought in what Marx called "history and its process," whether as critical theory or Black literature. Outlaw singles out the task of the Black theoretician as "the need to come face to face with the history of the relationship of black thinkers to the historical thrusts of black people and, most importantly, with where this history leaves us today." Writing on Black literary criticism, Baker notes that "(the critic) must view the text as historical evidence. Set in language, the text is also the vehicle of thought — that source from which the tides of history flow."

And yet, when they approach the threshold of revolution, rather than grasping Black masses as Reason (born of struggle), the old dualities set in. For Outlaw, dialectic changes into the "logic of equilibrium" as Fanon observed — a "method of criticism"; while the "oppressed people come to embody in their very being the negations imposed upon them and thus, in the reproduction of their lives, perpetuate their own enslavement." We are given a victimization theory in which permanent critique replaces "revolution in permanence."

On the other hand, Baker's original sensitivity to the dialectics of history in literature gets muted to: "Historically aware does not mean engagedly activist . . . The politician (or the active revolutionary) and the literary critic may require the same type of historical cognizance, but their roles should not be conflated . . . A full analysis of Native Son may, finally, be more revolutionary in its implications . . . than an ill-advised injunction to revolt . . . or a spuriously utopian social philosophy." Ironically, Baker could not have chosen a better subject to refute his own contentions than the "historically aware" and "engagedly activist", Black Marxist author of *Native Son*, Richard Wright.

When allowed to become a single dialectic movement, the history of Black thought and the "movement from practice," from Miami to South Africa's Black Consciousness Movement, (which is itself a form of theory) illuminates totally new human foundations. Toward that end, Professor Leonard Harris' contribution with *Philosophy Born of Struggle*, in this Marx centenary year, has widened the scope for working out "revolutionary, practical-critical" perspectives in Black thought.

— Lou Turner

Farm activists' conference: "Forging the Links"

(Continued from Page 1)

European farmers explained their very similar problems under the agricultural policies of the European Economic Community (EEC) which were set up for the largest producers and were driving small farmers from the land in every country. It became clear to North Americans that it wasn't these farmers who were their opponents, as government leaders would have them believe by claiming that EEC unfairly subsidized them to dump their crops on the world market.

These international reports showed how a dialogue between continents could strengthen all the movements. From Japan, a leader of Sanrizuka Airport Opposition League, an 18-year-long movement of farmers battling land seizures to build Narita Airport near Tokyo, reported how after their August, 1981 participation in the international gathering called by Larzac farmers in southern France they borrowed the idea of planting on land already seized. They grew crops on the vacant land the airport "owned" and contributed the proceeds of the harvest to movement groups. The Larzac farmers had planted on land "bought" for a military base. They kept up their ten-year struggle till last year the French government was forced to resell the land to the farmers — the site had become the center for all opposition forces, such as anti-nuclear and environmental movements.

One Canadian farmer explained why his concern for peasants in the Third World is more than just sympathy: "Like the colonized people, we are forced to sell our raw materials cheap and buy manufactured goods dear." But he continued, "Of course, our situation is not nearly as bad as the Third World peasants, especially when you consider the political repression in places like Latin America or the Philippines."

From the Philippines one farmer spoke, and was warmly received when he said it was wrong to see only poverty and starvation and ignore the necessary struggle of the peasantry against both their repressive rulers and imperialism. Martial law under Marcos had gone hand in hand with Dole Pineapple's huge investments, and there was a natural connection of peasant rights movements with armed struggle in the Philippines. This winter a second conference will bring together farmers from the developed economies and Third World peasant groups.

THE CRISIS IN AGRICULTURE

Speaker after speaker pointed to the sudden plunge in land prices throughout North America not as the beginning of the crisis for the small family farmer, but as what ripped the mask off the ongoing crisis in farm income. In 1982 farm land prices dropped 16% in Iowa and Minne-

sota, and 20% in Illinois.

The farmers who had been substituting credit for income, borrowing against sharply rising land values for more than a decade, were suddenly having banks and the Farmers Home Administration foreclosing.

The crisis is not merely cyclical or due to "natural disasters" but is rooted in capitalist production. Between 1929 and 1965, more than 30 million people left the farm in the U.S. Through the decade of the 1970s the farm population dropped by another one-third. The remaining 5.5 million people still on the farms are in the worst shape in more than 50 years.

Just as in labor within the factory, the root of the crisis in agriculture lies in the drive for more and more production and the long-term decline in the rate of profit. Pressure on farmers to expand the scale of farming and intensify production from each acre demands more machinery and chemicals (dead labor), at the expense of living labor (the farmers and farm laborers). The capital outlay for such intensive agriculture — at the end of 1982 total indebtedness in the U.S. on farm land and equipment was \$213 billion — ties the farmer tighter to government decisions on the economy and foreign policy.

Discussions at the conference made clear that low farm prices — now lower in terms of parity with the rest of the economy than at any time in this century — have resulted from deliberate government policy in cooperation with the largest food processing corporations.

It has been the struggle against foreclosures on the farms, at the same time that laid-off steelworkers in Pittsburgh and Youngstown were successfully pressuring sheriffs and judges to delay evictions from their homes, that brought the severity of today's farm crisis to many people's attention. Labor, farm equipment workers, millinery workers, have made a beginning in joining protests against farm sales.

Farmers have been working out new organizations and methods, in some cases by digging back into militant movements of the past. North Dakota farmers rediscovered a law allowing a halt to foreclosures as long as farm prices remain less than production costs, that the Non-Partisan League got passed in the 1930s. The depression tactic of penny auctions — bidding just pennies on a neighbor's equipment when it is seized, then loaning it back to him — has been used again both in the U.S. and Canada. Others have recalled the Populist movement of last century, or the close cooperation between the Knights of Labor and the Farmers Alliance even before that.

The NAFA at its May 22 meeting voted to support workers at Wilson Packing Company. Wilson, the nation's biggest processor of pork, had filed Chapter 11 bank-

ruptcy and used that as a legal pretext for nullifying its labor contracts. Wages were slashed from \$10.50 per hour to \$6.50. The NAFA also enthusiastically backed the Aug. 27 March on Washington for Jobs, Peace and Freedom, and laid plans for this International Farm Crisis Summit that we were attending.

Merle Hansen was speaking for the NAFA when he opened the Summit with the hope that there would be a farmer on every bus to Washington on Aug. 27, to give support and to explain the farmer's struggle as well. Yet there was not one Black farmer in attendance, even though whatever you say about the crisis of the family farm in general — whether massive evictions from the land for a half century or more, or bank foreclosures and the drying up of farm credit — are multiplied for the Black farmer. Many at the conference were interested in discussing with us the Black farmers' struggles, and responded to reprints from N&L on the fight to save Black land in the South, or *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*.

THE HUMAN COST

The human cost of the farm crisis became clear in many discussions at the conference. A workshop on stress among farm women brought out the rising injury and death rates among little children who are taken along in dangerous situations as both parents have to perform heavy farm labor. One survey of a small section of Ontario showed that among families in the most desperate situations, fearing loss of their land, over two-thirds of their children were untrained on the equipment they operate.

One South Dakota farmer was moved by the death of his 16-year-old son in a baling machine accident to organize a rye withholding action across three states. The whole family, kids included, was working longer hours, to the breaking point, as their income plunged. He said, "These farmers, they're using their most precious commodity, their children, to try and make it. You've got kids driving grain trucks who can't even touch the brakes."

A speaker at the conference said the family farm may be under attack from agribusiness, but it will survive because they have no better way of taking the unpaid labor of so many on the farms! A woman farm worker from Manitoba told us about the horrible condition of women on the farms and inside the family. She said, "We not only need a women's movement on the farms but throughout Canada. As you know, we still don't have abortion rights here."

The power of this International Farm Crisis Summit was in its multi-dimensionality. Not only did it have farmers from Canada, the United States, Europe and Asia, but it had farm laborers, and non-farming people. Not only was the role of multi-national corporations and banks discussed, but so was Poland's Rural Solidarity that martial law had abolished. Not only did the conference discuss falling farm prices and the crisis in agriculture, but it welcomed with enthusiasm reports on social protest from the Philippines and Japan, to France and Holland.

"Forging the Links" was occurring right within the conference proceedings. It was for this reason that we from *News & Letters* found a welcome for how we discussed the activities for social change inseparable from a full philosophy of human liberation.

Two weeks after the conference "Operation Solidarity" occurred in British Columbia. Farmers and farmworkers joined thousands of others — teachers, nurses, professors, bricklayers, mechanics and many others — against the vicious attack of the government on social, economic, human and trade union rights. "Forging the Links" of freedom activities and freedom ideas is just a beginning.

Navajo support rally

San Francisco, Cal. — On July 8, a rally was held at the Federal Building here in support of Mae Wilson Tso, a Dine (Navajo) grandmother who was scheduled to appear that day in U.S. Court in Arizona. Arrested on April 5, she is charged with assaulting a federal officer who had come to confiscate her livestock.

This confiscation is part of the U.S. government policy of forced relocation to throw some 14,000 Dine off their mineral-rich reservation land by July, 1986.

Since 1977 there have been several confrontations, some involving gunfire, between the people of the Big Mountain area and the government fencing crews attempting to run a barbed wire fence through the Dine lands. In each case the women of Big Mountain have put themselves in the way, getting maced and knocked down, but effectively halting the fencing.

The July 8 rally, sponsored by the Big Mountain Support Group and the American Indian Movement, though small in number (15 Native Americans with 35-40 independent and group-affiliated supporters), was large in spirit. I felt a definite sense of mutual concern, support, and thoughtful resistance between the Indian participants and the various groups — from anti-nuke to international solidarity groups — that made statements.

The Big Mountain Support Group needs funds for legal defense and support work; a monthly newsletter will be sent to all donors. Send to: Burnham/Big Mountain Support Group, 1412 Cypress, Berkeley, CA 94703 (415-841-6500).

— Janice

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of a new human society based on the principles of Marx's Humanism as recreated for our day.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, is the editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

In opposing the capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim . . . to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the Constitution of *News and Letters Committees*.

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

bor-management relation" on the shop floor modeled after the Japanese auto industry. It will make the working conditions even more unbearable than they already are.

It's the threat of a "new labor-management relation" which is keeping workers' eyes glued to what happens at the Nissan truck plant in Tennessee and Toyota-GM plant scheduled to open in Fremont, Cal. By now it's no secret what is behind the "success story" of the Japanese auto industry — slave labor working conditions, massive unionization, and company unions. The founding slogan of the Nissan Labor Union (Nissan is the maker of Datsun) is "those who truly love their union, love their company. Wage increases shall derive from increasing productivity." This translates into long hours, low pay, and poor union representation which Japanese workers have fought against for decades.

At Nissan plants in Japan, one way the company tries to increase productivity is with the "quality control circle." These are small groups organized on the shop floor that put workers in the position of reporting to the company on ways to increase production.

It is precisely such conditions of slave labor and class collaboration that the automakers hope to bring to the U.S. plants. And the legacy of the UAW's capitulation to concession after concession only helps lay the ground for that.

PIT WORKER AGAINST WORKER

Recently I spoke with a fellow auto worker from GM South Gate who had to move to a GM plant in Oklahoma City or else lose his benefits. He told me, "one thing different from South Gate is how few foremen you have here. There are hardly any supervisors, maybe one for every 25 workers. They are handing the quality control over to the workers, so the workers have to go out and check the defects. They want to pit worker against worker."

Things have truly reached a new low when Owen Bieber, the new President of the UAW, acts as if the "Japanese-style management" at the Nissan truck assembly plant in Tennessee is compatible with UAW representation. Recently he wrote, "the head of the Japan auto-workers federation . . . recently pledged the full support of the Japanese autoworkers to organize Nissan here." Bieber does not bother to mention that the union bureaucrat whom he quotes is none other than Ichiro Shioji, who is also head of the Nissan Labor Union — the very union whose motto reads "those who love their union, love their company."

If all the UAW can promise workers is more and more concessions — this time extended to the very conditions on the shop floor — they will have a hell of a time organizing the Nissan Tennessee plant. I heard one worker there quoted as saying, "I'm not sure we want the UAW if all we can expect from them is wage and benefit give-backs." As against the introduction of "new labor-management relations," workers are looking for new ways to defend themselves.

The kind of response that can arise against this attack on labor can be seen by looking at labor's own history. In 1877 the railroad workers in this country had gone through three years of continuous givebacks and concessions forced down their throats by an opportunist union leadership. In 1877 they struck back, formed a new union, and launched the wave of strikes that culminated in the 1877 St. Louis general strike. They held power in that town for three days and helped transform the face of this nation.

Today the capitalists boast that they are on the road to "recovery" and point to the massive profits Chrysler is making as proof. But all these profits are coming from the backs of labor, from the concessions that have been forced out of labor. Just as before, workers will be looking for ways to create new kinds of organizations, new kinds of freedom actions. This is where we have to have our eyes trained in 1983.

— Felix Martin

War Resisters meet

Easton, Pa. — By attending the 60th anniversary conference of the War Resisters League, which brought about 200 people together, I had the opportunity to learn more about the actions taking place across the country against militarism.

The focus on grass roots-type resistance gave attention to events which have taken place in the small towns and rural areas of the U.S. which usually go unreported in the daily press. To hear about the extent of civil disobedience activity against military recruiting, arms storage facilities, training bases, missile sites and submarine ports gave a different picture of so-called middle America.

A recent development has been the sanctuary movement. A woman from New Mexico told of the network of churches which is developing to give shelter and protection to political refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala. She was most impressed with the courage and initiative of the North American youth, often teenagers, who frequently help transport the refugees by car in trips that involve distances such as that between Tucson and Albuquerque. This comes at a time when the U.S. government is not only refusing to grant political asylum to these refugees, but is trying to stir up a racist hysteria against Latino immigrants in general.

The conference also heard from a participant in the ongoing anti-nuke struggle in nearby Bucks County against a pump station on the Delaware River, which is being constructed in order to divert water to the Limerick nuclear power plant. Residents had organized against these plans as well as against solid waste dumping and pollution of the water tables.

In spite of the majority support for a county-wide referendum to shut down the station, the local government disregarded the opposition. The direct action on the station site was met with police beatings and during the weekend of the conference, 70 activists were in jail.

— John Phair

Italian elections report

Milan, Italy — The results of the Italian elections this year were a surprise for almost everyone. The Christian Democratic (Catholic) Party lost at least six percent of its votes, while the Communist Party (CP) received around the same number of votes that it got in the elections of 1979. This has put the two principal political parties at an almost equal level: the Christian Democrats with 32% of the votes and 121 delegates in Parliament compared to the Communists with 30% of the votes and 109 delegates. The rest of the votes have been distributed to the other right and left parties, while those who did not vote at all were not more than 12%.

Thus, Italy, already in a deep political and economic crisis — probably the most unstable country in all of Western Europe — seems to have reached a point of real ungovernability.

The anti-Communist left has also made news. The PDUP that has for more than 10 years presented itself in the elections as a Marxist-Leninist alternative to the Communist Party decided to unite its list to that of the CP. None of the PDUPs' delegates were elected. Instead Democrazia-proletaria, a new party which is composed of what is left of the Marxist-Leninist groups formed during and after 1968, gained around seven posts in Parliament. That is more or less the same percentage of the votes that the PDUP received in the elections of 1979.

Much more spectacular was the election of the political prisoner, Toni Negri, who ran as a candidate for the Radical Party, a party that has always supported social causes rather than presenting a political program. When Negri was arrested on April 7, 1979 along with some 150 others that were called his "associates," he was Director of the Department of Political Science of the University of Padua, an editor of the newspaper Rosso (a newspaper that supported the spontaneous movement called autonomia operaia and that contested the para-military terrorist groups that have been active in Italy since 1970).

Toni Negri has been held in prison for more than four years without trial since up to now the Court has not found any proof to condemn him of the some 60 crimes he is accused of. With his election to Parliament, Negri is subject to parliamentary immunity and has to be freed from prison. He has stated that, in connection with his trial, he will refuse parliamentary immunity in order that the trial takes place so that he, along with those arrested with him, can demonstrate that they have been falsely arrested. He has also stated that he will use his parliamentary power to attempt to change the situation in which there are some 4,000 political prisoners in Italian jails, while many others live in political exile in other countries.

— Margaret Ellingham

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YOUTH

'New Economy' and youth

by Jim Mills

Here are some dispatches from the Michigan Youth Corps, a jobs program the new Democratic Governor James Blanchard created for poor youth this summer:

- A 19-year-old woman works picking up paper along the highways for the standard minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour. She was told to take the job or lose her general assistance benefits of \$143 a month. Though a high school graduate, this was the only job she was "qualified" for.

- A young man is spending the summer shovelling sludge from Detroit's storm sewers. This, despite the fact that he got straight A's in welding, math, English and machine shop in high school.

- A 21-year-old worker needs the income so badly that she promises to return only a week after giving birth to a baby.

JOBS PROGRAM AND TEENAGERS

These dispatches tell us something about the desperation of America's unemployed youth, Black youth especially. The "New Economy" means that teenagers will not get a job soon. The latest figures show that 33% of the youth, 16 to 19, are unemployed. That doesn't count those who have given up looking. For Black youth it is even worse. In New York City their unemployment rate is 60%.

The Michigan Youth Corps is a throw back to the make-work programs of the Great Depression. Though some jobs are interesting, most are cutting weeds, picking up garbage along highways and cleaning sewers. And a little disciplinary twist has been added to the program. Officials have set up a toll-free telephone number and encouraged the public to use it to complain if they see any of the Youth Corps workers not working. And yet so bleak the job scene for teenagers, that 75,000 poured in to apply, though only 25,000 were hired. (See "Inside Youth Corps" on this page.)

Are we trying to prepare young people for a repressive future? Are we training youth for the conditions of unemployment that that future holds, rather than for careers? One government researcher who looked at the youth unemployment statistics called them "a teenage employment disaster," adding "We have created a lost generation."

But existing adult society seems intent on not merely losing a generation of youth, but permanently alienating it:

- In Detroit at the height of the recession they want to cut library hours on top of last year's cuts, and to close many branch libraries.

- An 11 p.m. curfew (10 p.m. weeknights) was instituted for Detroit youth. This has led to new incidents with the police, and arrests.

- A downtown weekly rock concert series was cancelled after teenagers attempted to escape from oppressive heat by moving inside an airconditioned shopping center-office mall, called the RenCen. It appears the RenCen is for adults and out of towners, not for the city's youth.

MARX AND YOUTH

In a chapter of Capital called "The Working Day" Marx described the way 19th century industrial capitalism treated its youth — as factory workers with seemingly no other needs than to eat a little and sleep less.

In the late 20th century it is not so much the drudgery of teenage and even younger factory labor that Marx described so graphically in the industries of lace, pottery, wallpaper, steel and coal. It is unemployment that is today the greatest barrier to youth's development, along

Parents fight school rules

Los Angeles, Cal. — Recently I attended a meeting for parents held in a school near where I live. Parents were invited to discuss new rules established by the school administration, including one which bars parents from school grounds. Many people said that the meeting was a waste of time, because everything had already been worked out. No matter what they said, nothing was going to change. But many came anyway to complain about the school ignoring their rights.

One woman from the audience got up, took the microphone, and spoke to the other parents: "Talk don't be scared. Say what you feel. Don't keep silent. They ignore us all the time. We are demanding improvements in the school. We want better food for our children. We have asked that our children not spend time saluting the flag every day of the week; that takes time away from their education." Another woman agreed: "Our children will never get a job saluting the flag."

Parents complained of bad treatment suffered by the students. Some teachers use improper words when talking to the students. The restrooms are always in bad condition. Eighty out of the 120 parents present disagreed with the plans of the school administration. They weren't convinced that the promised improvements would take place. They didn't like it that they were invited so the rules could be read to them. They have their own ideas.

Youth have their own ideas too. The teachers ignore us. We have fights at home with our parents. We also need to have our own meetings, where we can speak out and develop our thoughts.

— Young Latina

with deadend temporary jobs. But in truth, how young people are looked upon by capitalism has not really changed from Marx's time to ours. In each case they have been viewed as less than human, as at most to be tolerated, never to be seen as self-developing human beings. For today's generation, whether at work or on the streets, much of life seems devoid of interest — not because youth are not full of life, but because capitalism is so devoid of it.



Teenagers applying for summer jobs program in Chicago

Inside Youth Corps

Editor's Note: The following story is from a young Black worker in the Michigan Youth Corps jobs program.

Detroit, Mich. — I'll be glad when this program is over. I've been here for four weeks, and there's four more weeks to go. There is a supervisor who doesn't know how to talk to people. She tells you, "Come here. Be quiet. Shut your mouth. You better have a tool in your hand." She's always hassling us, but I don't need anyone to be on my back. She terminated someone this morning for talking too much, and she's not even really our supervisor. She told me "You're next!"

That's why we hate Gov. Blanchard and this program. We refuse to wear the hats and buttons they give you for the job. They think we're children, but all of us are 21.

I've been in other programs before. I used to be in a program that trained people to find jobs in '78 and '79. I was told you can't be fired, they can only transfer you. That's not true here. Since I was 16 I had a job delivering handbills for \$3.35 an hour. I will do that before getting in another program.

A friend also in the program used to work at K-Mart as a stockman. They laid him off, which is the same as getting fired since there's no union. They told him he could put in an application saying he was underprivileged, but he would be starting out all over again.

We don't even get bus fare to get to work. They read us a contract when we started, saying we had privileges like bus fare. Then they took them away as soon as they got us under contract. They told us to show our Youth Corp IDs to the bus driver and he'll let you on. Well, the drivers don't accept them. When the paychecks went three weeks in the hole, we were paying for bus fare out of our own pockets. And when we got paid, it was only for one week — \$80.

The first time we got paid, they made us wait until 4 p.m. They had the checks at lunch time, but they didn't trust us enough not to leave. We didn't have to do any work until four, but they still waited until the last minute. They call it discipline — they think they're teaching us something.

The supervisor told a worker, "You'll be able to get a job out of this." We know there isn't anything behind this. It's just to keep us off the streets. But it's the younger people who don't have jobs at all they'll have to watch out for.

—Michigan Youth Corp worker

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Two anti-nuke meetings

Berkeley, Cal. — On July 14 and 19, hundreds of students and anti-nuclear activists, many of whom had just recently been released from jail following the Livermore Blockade, poured into 2 different meetings on the international anti-nuclear movement.

The first, a talk by E.P. Thompson, British historian and founder of END (European Nuclear Disarmament), drew a crowd of well over 1,000. When he called for unilateral disarmament, a principle upon which END was founded, including freedom for both El Salvador and Poland, he received immense applause. But he then posed the problem only in Cold War terms of "tensions" between East and West, so his solution was the reunification of Europe, making it a buffer zone between Russia and the U.S.

So far did Thompson move from the actual deep revolt in Europe today, especially from the youth and women's liberationists in his own Britain, who went unmentioned, that his anti-climactic vision was "the election of a progressive President in the U.S. coinciding with a leader with vision in Russia, who could sit down at a Summit meeting in the early 1990s"!

Unlike Thompson, the three young West Germans who spoke on July 19 to another standing room only audience, on "The Greens Party: A Challenge to the U.S. Left," did have a relationship to the youth and feminists, who are part of the Greens. Thus, they showed the movement as a concrete human struggle for a new kind of German society.

Yet the theoretical ideas they posed as ground for their direction flew in the face of the ongoing protests in Germany. One panelist, Florentin Kraus, described his "departure from traditional Marxism," emphasizing not worker control of the means of production, but "socially responsible consumer control." From the floor I pointed to the deep ferment within Germany from the huge demonstration of unemployed workers to the anti-racist marches by minority workers to the anti-nuclear activity of unemployed youth, and asked how a theory of "socially responsible consumer control" could possibly answer the crisis in capitalist society that is sparking this revolt.

Other questions from the floor concerned Greens leader Petra Kelley's reference to the youth who demonstrated against Bush as "just punks," the rise of racism within Germany, and how the Greens were grappling with the ideological dualities within the party itself, especially the conservative element that favors a strong, unified independent Germany.

Every time the parliamentary attitude to revolution emerged — posing a theory of consumer control instead of grappling with the actual forces of revolt and what we are for — the speakers were challenged.

In fact at both these events what was most exciting were the audiences. Their discussion showed to me that many of the youth in the audience are looking for new direction.

— Laurie Cashdan

Quits army in protest

Editor's Note: On Memorial Day, Sharlyn, an American soldier, issued a statement questioning U.S. military policy on Central America and stating she could no longer fulfill her contract with the U.S. government. She quit the military. Below we print brief excerpts from an interview we conducted with her.

When I joined the service, I believed in non-violence, even though I knew the Army trained people to kill if need be. And I knew there was a definite conflict. But I chose to hope I would not get into a situation where I would have to face that conflict. I didn't know too much then about what was going on in Central America.

I decided that \$20,000 in education from the Army after I got out, a \$2,500-bonus after I got out, prestige of being in military intelligence, room and board — it sounded rather attractive.

It took me ten months to reopen my eyes to my more essential ideals. The government, being the biggest business in the U.S., does have some control over the economy, and it is getting itself up for the ideal conditions to start a war, and is trying to get approval from the public.

I had an anger building up from the general lack of honesty in the military. It had been developing since basic training especially at being humiliated. I was told that I was just a piece of property owned by the U.S. government. This anger had to have some kind of release. Either I could hang onto it until we went into a war situation, or I could break free and channel it into a sane direction. That anger and my ability to recognize it helped me break loose.

I learned Spanish in the army, and I'd like to use the language, possibly visiting Central and South America, to communicate that Reaganomics says we want to abuse your resources and manipulate the military environment according to our needs, but that is not what all the American people say.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Lebanon

A glimpse of mass unrest and class struggle in Lebanon broke out into the open on July 15, when the internal police moved into a poor Shiite Moslem neighborhood in West Beirut to evict squatters from an abandoned school. They were met by a large angry crowd that threw stones at the police and set up barricades in the street. The police called in the Lebanese Army and three civilians were killed in the ensuing battle.

The squatters are among thousands of refugees who have fled to West Beirut from East Beirut and southern Lebanon over the past eight years. They are unable to pay the exorbitant rents for what little housing remains, and families have had to take over and live in the crumbling, war-torn buildings. The government of President Amin Gemayel, head of the fascist Phalange, has done nothing to provide housing, instead using the Army to enforce eviction notices for landlords who now think it is "safe" to move back.

The growing mass discontent broke out the same day south of Beirut when 1,000 Druse townspeople threw stones and broke windows of a convoy which had come to investigate for preparations to occupy the Shouf area. Unrest also erupted against the occupying Israeli army at Ansar prison camp when inmates rebelled, and one was killed by Israeli soldiers. And in the north in Tripoli, fighting took place in late July between Syrian troops and Shiites in the main telephone exchange building.

The Lebanese opposition "National Salvation Front," formed in the wake of these outbreaks, includes Suleiman Franjeh, former president who opened Lebanon to the Syrian Army to put down a growing class war against Christian right rulers in 1975-76; and Walid Jumblatt, leader of the Progressive Druse Socialist Party and the left wing of the Front. What is uniting them at present is opposition to the Gemayel Phalangist government.

Honduras

Honduras is now being built up by Reagan as the launching pad for attacks on Nicaragua by exiled "contras." It is already swarming with CIA, Green Berets, military "advisers" and a "diplomatic" staff from the U.S. of 145, the second largest in all of Latin America.

This American presence is not new. In 1903, 1919 and 1924 the U.S. Marines invaded and occupied Honduras to "restore order" and to protect the holding of U.S. companies such as United Fruit (today United Brands), Castle and Cooke, and Chase Manhattan. U.S. companies still control 60% of the economy. This American imperialist presence is deeply resented by the people.

President Roberto Suazo Cordova was elected in 1982 after ten years of military rule. He promised to take the army out of politics, to enact social reforms and to avoid confrontation with Nicaragua. He has done the opposite, under pressure from General Gustavo Alvarez Martinez. Alvarez is the real power in the country, trained in Argentina and backed by the Pentagon. Such is the "democracy" U.S. imperialism counterposes to Nicaragua.

Honduras is the third poorest country in the hemisphere, after Haiti and Bolivia. Unemployment is 24%, and 60% of the labor force is working less than full-time. Per capita income is \$524 per year but the vast majority of the peasantry get only \$60 per year. The military and ruling class may be pro-U.S. or even "made in the USA," but the people have a long history of resistance, as recently as the guerrilla actions which took place in 1982. Given the conditions people live under here and the example of revolutions next door, Reagan may find that the ground in Honduras itself will get hot under his feet.

Ireland: Free Nicky Kelly

Nicky Kelly and two members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party were framed in 1978 by the non-jury Special Criminal Court in Southern Ireland for a train robbery of which they were innocent, as a part of an attempt by the state to smash this legal political party. At this time the Provisional IRA publicly claimed the robbery and said the three convicted men were completely innocent.

In May, 1980 Kelly's two co-accused were acquitted on appeal and Kelly, who had fled to the USA before his sentence, returned to clear his name. But Kelly was arrested on arrival in Ireland and has been in jail ever since, serving a 12-year sentence. He appealed his case up to the Supreme Court level but the appeal was rejected.

Feeling he had no other option, Kelly went on hunger strike on May 1, 1983. On the 38th day amidst mounting publicity and concern both in Ireland and abroad for the injustices of his case, and perceiving that the state would let him die rather than admit his innocence, he came off hunger strike in order to more effectively carry on his campaign to clear his name.

It is now essential that the pressure be kept up for the release of this innocent man, otherwise Kelly believes he would be forced to recommence his hunger strike.

The Release Nicky Kelly Committee, 11 Grange Terrace, Monkstown, Co. Dublin, is working to pressure the Minister of Justice for Kelly's release. Activities in the USA include an active committee in New York which has continuously picketed the Irish Tourist Office there.

— Eibhlín Ní Shéidhir

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Struggles against Pinochet in Chile gain new intensity



At 8 p.m., July 12, tens of thousands of Chilean people came to their windows and banged on pots or blew their car horns, while chanting rhythmically "He will fall! He will fall!" In working class districts, barricades went up as residents fought police. This was the third monthly mass outpouring in a row against the Pinochet dictatorship.

Hungary

Latin America is unfortunately not the only part of the world whose totalitarian repression has created thousands of "disappeared." A Hungarian exile writer, Tibor Mery, wrote recently:

"It will soon be 25 years since the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 — all Communists — were executed. Without having ever spoken of a trial, Radio Budapest announced at dawn on June 17, 1958 that Imre Nagy, Prime Minister during the insurrection, Defense Minister General Pal Maleter, head of the cabinet Jozsef Szilagyi, and the journalist Miklos Gimes had been condemned to death. The sentence was definitive and without appeal.

"It took 25 years for us to know exactly where were the remains of Imre Nagy, of his co-defendants and of the hundreds, really thousands of people executed during the years following the Hungarian Revolution. They are in an isolated part of the biggest cemetery in Budapest. No tombstones, no signs, no names. Common graves. Is not 25 years enough? Let the families claim their dead. This is not a favor. This is an elementary human right."

Tanzania

The role of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) is one way of measuring the crisis facing the world's poorest continent, Africa, where mass starvation is today a very real possibility.

The poorest countries such as Tanzania are facing cruel balance of payments problems because of the skyrocketing world inflation of the 1970s. In the last eight years the price of oil relative to coffee has almost doubled for a country without oil, significant industry or other exportable natural resources. By 1980, 60% of the country's meager export earnings went for oil. Virtually all the rest went to debt payments.

In 1980 the IMF dictated to Tanzania terms for a new and desperately needed loan: lower wages, raise prices, devalue the shilling and cut funding for schools and health. The pride of Tanzania's socialism is its literacy rate of 70% and its 2,600 health facilities, a level of development for human needs unmatched anywhere in Africa. Tanzania publicly refused and defied the IMF for three years, but today shortages of spare parts for indus-

try have ground the economy to a near halt and the government has been forced to call the IMF back in.

On the other hand, apartheid South Africa's loan application for \$1.1 billion sailed through without conditions in 1982 — it is said that the loan matches the cost of their colonial war in Namibia.

Poland

The so-called lifting of the martial law in Poland actually means incorporating its provisions into civil law, so in fact it's worse than if nothing had changed. The government powers considered unusual before are now part of everyday life. The amnesty is likewise very limited. Not only will not all Solidarity activists be released (it will not apply to the six top Solidarity leaders or the KOR members now facing trial), but even those released have to sign a pledge not to participate in future protests.

Yet those two things — lifting the martial law and general amnesty — were supposed to be the big concessions the government made to the Church as part of their deal. It is painfully clear that the deal between the Church and the State is aimed against the masses.

In fact, so pleased are the Russian overlords with the "success" of the Pope's visit to Poland to usurp Solidarity's mantle while betraying it, that now they are holding talks with the Vatican for the Pope's visit to Estonia, where unrest is continuous and there are a great number of dissidents.

Yet, as one of the freed Solidarity activists said when leaving prison while courageously wearing a Solidarity T-shirt (an illegal act, for which she can get three years in prison again) "Solidarity lives" and none of the church-state machinations will be able to kill it in the minds of the people.

West Germany

All eyes are fixed on Fall, 1983, when the Cruise missiles are due to arrive in West Germany. Several million people are expected to come out for mass demonstrations in Stuttgart, Bonn and Hamburg on Oct. 22, but other large actions will begin in September. These will include massive civil disobedience.

The conservative Kohl government continues to attack the peace movement as misguided and as appeasing Russia. That did not stop Kohl ally and ultra-reactionary Bavarian leader Strauss from being in Poland the day martial law was lifted, at least in name. Strauss had some very kind words to say about Jaruzelski — after all, his Bavarian banks have a lot invested there and want to see the Poles get "back to work."

Closer to home, Strauss's man in the government, Interior Minister Zimmermann, has proposed a new Polish-type law on demonstrations which would hold anyone present responsible for any violence which might occur. Thus, anyone in a large demonstration could be arrested or fined if a small group fought with police or damaged property.

The largest wing of the peace movement is strictly for non-violence, but smaller groups have engaged in confrontations with police. When Vice President Bush visited Krefeld for Reagan in June, several hundred youths broke away from an anti-Bush demonstration of 20,000 people, stoned Bush's car and fought police. They were brutally beaten by police.

Despite a 10%-plus unemployment rate, increasing labor dissatisfaction and a large anti-racist movement including some foreign workers, the peace movement so far remains narrowly single issue. When it does attempt to link with labor at all, it usually does so through the conservative labor bureaucracy.

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

— Karl Marx

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