

Atlanta shows how America sees Black life

by Charles Denby, Editor

Author of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal
Many of the Black people who have been talking about the murder of Black children in Atlanta — how sad and awful it is—have also been talking about what is happening in this country, how it is turning more and more to the right, with increasing racism.

Ever since President Johnson left office, Black people have been losing ground, especially on their civil rights — gains they had won through years of struggle in the Civil Rights Movement. The killing of Blacks has been going on all over this country without anyone being arrested for the crimes. In Buffalo, N.Y. there have been killings of Blacks, and no one can deny that it is racist. There was the killing of young Blacks in Salt Lake City, and the shooting of Vernon Jordan, which was also racist.

KILLINGS ARE RACIST

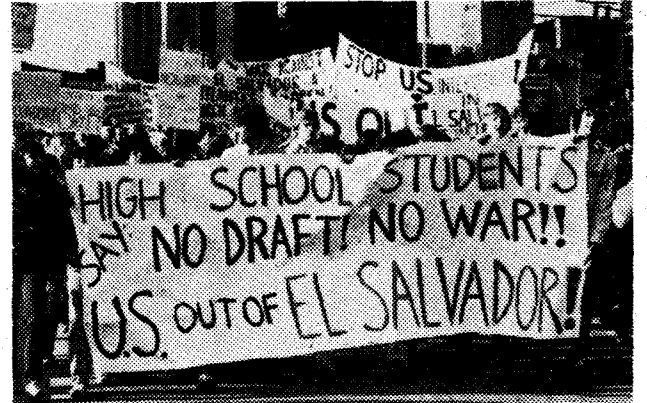
It is disgusting that two white columnists in the papers — Jules Witcover and Jack Germond — are saying that the killings in Atlanta are not racist, but the product of an irrational person. In truth the atmosphere for these killings was created under the Nixon administration, when Nixon hit out against the rights of Black people and began laying the ground for what Black people are facing today. Both Frank Sinatra and Sammy Davis Jr.,—who just put on a benefit concert in Atlanta, raising funds for the police task force, not for the parents of the children murdered — were supporters of the Nixon administration.

There has never before been such a comprehensive investigation as they are having in Atlanta. They have super-cops of five cities, people who have outstanding records in solving homicides, coming in. Yet the crimes remain unsolved. We live in an age where a person can be identified by his or her fingerprints. A gun can be identified as the one which shot a bullet by matching microscopic scratches on the slug. Scientists can tell us what mill produced a piece of lint, can tell you where a small piece of dirt came from. With all this, the nation's best law enforcement has failed so far to find a killer. What are their chances of finding an important clue if there are no more bodies found?

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Liberation fighters in El Salvador



—News & Letters photo

Detroit march against U.S. intervention in El Salvador (See page 10)

U.S. terrorism against El Salvador Reagan-Haig conspiracy

by Eugene Walker

The arrival in El Salvador of 15 U.S. Green Berets of the Army Special Services (among the 54 military advisors scheduled to be sent in), of 10 American Bell Huey transport helicopters, of patrol boats and communications equipment—all told, \$25 million in military aid—and the promise of more than \$60 million in the next fiscal year, shows clearly that it is the United States which has chosen to step up its military intervention into El Salvador.

Under the cover of documents purporting to show the involvement of Cuba, Russia, Nicaragua, Vietnam and other countries in El Salvador, the Reagan administration has begun a propaganda campaign in Latin America, in Europe and in Congress to mobilize support for its attack against El Salvador's fight for self-determination.

• It cut off aid to Nicaragua, claiming it was being used to transport arms from Cuba to El Salvador. EX-C.I.A. deputy chief Walters was dispatched to Mexico and other Latin American countries to show the supposed U.S. evidence of "subversion."

• It pressured Europe's Common Market to halt humanitarian aid to El Salvador, including powdered milk, on the grounds such aid would fall into the hands of the guerrillas. A diplomatic mission went to a number

of European countries to sell the U.S. version of life in El Salvador.

• It sent Haig — the General in civilian clothes who heads the State Department as a Department of War — to unleash his 10-megaton rhetoric about drawing the line against the Communist conspiracy (talking tough with the Russians, disciplining Cuba, etc.) into the halls of Congress. There, a "white paper" was presented of "facts" that would help convince Congress to finance the murderous U.S. support of war against the El Salvadoran people. Congress, it appears, needs little convincing to go along with the Reagan-Haig plans.

It is neither Communist subversion nor a new "domino theory" but the reality of 50 years of repressive military rule in El Salvador, that has led to the current civil war. The truth of life for the El Salvadoran masses has been one of agriculture tied to export crops at bare survival wages; of free trade zone incentives for foreign capital to "industrialize" El Salvador — opening export-

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El Salvadorans speak

Editor's Note: The following are translated excerpts from an interview News & Letters conducted with two El Salvadoran trade unionists on a speaking tour in the United States.

We of this delegation are representatives of the trade union movement. We have nine union organizations which represent about 70 unions. This delegation has been making known the problem the union movement in El Salvador has undergone, the violations the junta government is committing against the trade union movement. For example, the elimination of union locals, the sacking of the local where the furniture is destroyed, mimeo machines carried off.

Also the capture and assassination of many union leaders. For example, in Santa Tecla prison there are 11 trade union leaders. Others have disappeared. The government has also come out with decrees which they intend to use to finish off the union movement. Some of them don't permit public employees to participate in strikes. Others have militarized public services like water, electricity, telephone.

MULTINATIONAL FACTORIES

I am a member of the union in the metal working industry. I worked in a Phelps Dodge International plant where they make electrical conductors. There are many multinational factories in El Salvador, like Texas Instruments, Eagle Electric, Coca Cola, where they pay low

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Three Mile Island protest: 'no nukes, no war'

Harrisburg, Penn.—On the second anniversary of the nuclear power plant accident at Three Mile Island, some 15,000 people poured out in a day that was more than a reminder. It put the Reagan administration on notice that the anti-nuclear movement has found its way into an increasing number of struggles and is part of many lives.

Though called by the Labor Committee for Safe Energy and Full Employment, a coalition of eight international unions, the diversity of the forces is what stood out. Young people converged on this capital from as far south as Florida and from the west, Detroit. The dominant chant, initiated by student groups and taken up by the whole march was "No Nukes, No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador."

James Farmer, former leader of the Congress of Racial Equality, who got the best response from the speakers platform, was moved to say that he sensed as great a determination and spirit as during the August, 1963 March on Washington. Noting the messages of solidarity from Asia, Europe and Africa, and the potential for an international anti-nuclear movement, he reminded everyone of uranium deposits in South Africa, which along with other minerals, are far more important to American rulers than the near slavery conditions of African miners.

A speaker from the United Mine Workers of America, whose members had just gone out on strike, stood in for the president of the union, Sam Church, who was in

the coal fields promoting a proposed contract. The speaker reminded everyone of the long history of the miners' fight, recounting the numerous mining disasters, but didn't touch upon the current status of the negotiations. "They are from the International," said one Pennsylvania miner, her thumb pointing downward when asked about the proposed contract, the wildcat strikes that had occurred in West Virginia and Pennsylvania even before contract deadline and the failure of the many labor union speakers to raise these issues.

"We don't accept the processing of non-union coal," she added. "Maybe what we need," her companion said, "is to do like in Poland," referring to the national strike of 10 million workers of Solidarity.

A Filipino from the vast crowd talked about the storage of U.S. nuclear weapons in the Philippines for possible use in the Mid East, noting that at one point U.S. officials had suggested their "tactical" use in a possible intervention in Iran. Speaking for his organization, Friends of the Filipino People, he pleaded that the Westinghouse Co. be prevented from going ahead with plans to build at great profit, a nuclear reactor in the Philippines on the flanks of a potentially active volcano.

A singing group, Bright Morning Star, seemed to bring the diversity of the people closest together with a song whose lyrics insisted, "Our life is more than our work, more than our job."

—Marxist-Humanist, N.Y.

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WOMAN AS REASON

by Terry Moon

The campus women's group I am active with has been debating changing its name from "Women's Liberation" to "Women's Alliance." What came out at our last meeting is that the quality of the organization has changed from being a socialist-feminist organization to becoming a bourgeois women's group.

There is nothing surprising in this—there are plenty of bourgeois women's groups on and off campuses. But what does need to be discussed is those women who are genuine socialists, who are Marxists and who want a new society, but who, in light of Reagan's election, are willing to set aside their principles in the hopes that more women will be attracted to a less militant organization.

ANSWER NOT IN NUMBERS ALONE

The question is how can women think that hiding our vision of how total a revolution has to be will help us fight Reaganism? Especially in 1981 when we have plenty of history that shows us that just having a large organization, if it is not based on a philosophy of revolution, will not get us to a society where all people are free.

At least part of the problem is the total isolation of many socialist-feminists especially academic socialist-feminists, from working-class and Black women. This is ironic since Marx's greatest category was labor—the human being transforming reality at the point of production. Yet these Marxist women rarely talk to working-class women.

The working women I have been talking to reveal a confidence in their ability to transform reality not only at the point of production, that is, by creating a commodity, but by changing their conditions of life and labor as well (see Schwinn story, page 4). But because academic "Marxist" women have isolated themselves from working women they not only don't recognize the fact that Black and working women are shapers of history, but instead they think that the masses of women are backwards. That is the reason they think that the way to interest women is by hiding their ideas rather than by putting them forward.

SHORT-MINDEDNESS

I just loved the story in the Chicago paper about Ms. Susie Bates. She is the 70-year-old Black woman janitor who helped initiate a successful \$300,000 sex discrimination suit against the City of Chicago. She said, "Most of the thinking people believe in equal

'Liberation' or 'Alliance'?

rights. I believe we will eventually get it all the way around. These people who are short-minded, who think a woman should be two steps behind a man, they are fading."

"Short-minded" is such a magnificent expression. It is the same one that Sojourner Truth had used over 100 years ago in criticizing those men—even Frederick Douglass—who wished to separate the fight of Black suffrage from that of woman suffrage.

Why can't today's socialist-feminists see the Reason that is so profound within proletarian and minority women? Isn't that what Marx did when he established a new concept of what is revolutionary theory—not a debate among intellectuals, but a vision that encompassed the dimension of masses of people fighting for freedom?

That total vision of the Women's Liberation Movement is crucial to a successful revolution and we can no longer separate that from the Reason and activity of working women. Not because that will make us "good Marxists," but because it is the only way we too will gain the confidence to know that together we can change this sexist, racist, oppressive world.

All women are not my sisters:



March 8, 1981 celebrations

Editor's Note — International Women's Day 1981 was marked by celebrations from Rome, where 10,000 women marched for abortion rights and against the Vatican, to San Francisco, where 6,000 attended a celebration to discuss new threats to the Women's Movement from the Reagan administration in the form of cutbacks and the "Human Life" Amendment.

In Detroit, Women's Liberation-News and Letters held a special meeting at which Olga Domanski, National Organizer of News and Letters Committees, spoke on "Women's Liberation and Marxism: from Rosa Luxemburg to Today."

We print below, excerpts from letters from participants in a special meeting in Los Angeles:

I was a participant in a gathering of about 150 women and men of different nationalities, ages and backgrounds, organized by the Committee for the Liberation of Iranian Women, for International Women's Day 1981. A panel of three young Iranian women spoke on women in the Middle East, Russia and the U.S. and discussed not only the objective-subjective situation of women in the world, but expressed as well the need for a new philosophy of revolution based on Marx's humanism that would bring about a total uprooting of the present society based on new man/woman relationships.

Ursula Wislanka (we were fortunate to have her with us) spoke on Polish women, from Rosa Luxemburg's time to their participation in recent strikes there. Maria spoke on Cuba and El Salvador and a young student from England who wanted to be on the panel took up the many revolts of Asian-Indian and Irish women in England and Ireland. An American woman spoke on her life as a working woman who had never heard of Marxism until she met News and Letters and what it has meant to her.

It was the internationalism of this event which most struck the people who attended—from Iranian, Latin American and Black students to university professors and women of many ages. Enclosed please find a copy of a statement which was distributed at that meeting, and has been translated into English. This statement, "Anjuman (Committee) for Liberation of Women," is available for 18 cents postage, from Women's Liberation-News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211.

An American tragedy

Los Angeles, Cal.—Jeanette Williams, 21-years-old, has been charged with the murder of her two children by the L.A. County Sheriff's Department. This young mother, who had been on welfare for two years, got tired of being dependent on the state and its degradation. Taking a job at a box packing company at \$800 a month, she was unable to afford a babysitter for her children. Many times she would bundle the children up and take them to work with her.

On March 9 she went to work and left the children at home. On that night her children were smothered to death by a fire that broke out on the service porch of her small apartment. Mrs. Williams' live-in babysitter had been forced to move by threats of the landlord to raise the rent an extra \$100.

Being unable to pay a babysitter is a reality for single working mothers who have been forced into low-paying jobs. The fact that Jeanette Williams is being charged with murder for the death of her own children when it was in the interest of her children that she went out to work, shows not only the injustice of this society but reveals that this capitalist society is the real murderer of these two children.

This kind of tragedy is becoming a way of life for the American working class — particularly minority working women—and especially now with Reagan's proposed social budget cuts of \$80 billion plus, to take place over the next two years. As the present administration puts the hatchet to jobs and social programs, workers will be forced to take jobs paying even below minimum wage.

—Felix Martin

'The Rising of the Women'

The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917, by Meredith Tax (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980).

The Rising of the Women will be welcomed by women's liberationists for the wealth of information Meredith Tax has provided about working women's struggles in the U.S. during these important years.

We see Chicago sewing girls march for the eight-hour day in 1886, and domestic workers organize a union in Denver, 1916; teenage shirtwaist makers on New York's Lower East Side strike in the 1909 "Uprising of the 30,000," and women workers and housewives weave their own creativity into the great Lawrence textile strike, 1912.

The author, who wants to contribute to a "strategy for organizing women today," brings out points which are still at issue in today's Women's Liberation Movement, such as sexual harassment of working women and struggles over birth control, to name a few. Perhaps even greater insight for today is gained by seeing how socialist individuals and organizations envisioned the "Woman Question," as they faced the sweeping, creative spontaneity of mass actions of that period.

The contradictions this brings out between "feminist solidarity and class conflict," (and within the author herself I think), are most explicit in two chapters of Part III, "Fragmentation." Here the reader can test the unifying concept of Ms. Tax's entire study—what she calls a "united front of women."

She devotes one chapter to the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), born in 1903 out of the AFL in opposition to its narrow, exclusionist attitudes towards women, the unorganized and so-called "unskilled." From the start the WTUL included both working women, like Leonora O'Reilly and Rose Schneiderman, and bourgeois women "allies." But when the WTUL began to drift towards reformism after 1912, was it primarily, as the author implies, because proletarian women became increasingly isolated within the WTUL, or was that more a consequence of the WTUL's own isolation from "deeper and lower" proletarian impulses?

The other important chapter is "Socialists and Suffragettes," as it takes up the debates within socialist organizations and parties about whether to work for women's suffrage; on how to maintain a distinct stand as the opposite of the bourgeois and sometimes racist suffrage groups; and on the phenomenon of sexism within the "party" (whether the Socialist Party, the IWW, or others).

Raising the "Woman Question" certainly caused "fragmentation" within the socialist organizations. But it was more a fragmentation of ideas than of "united fronts." We need to know more about what objectively compelled these break-ups, such as occurred in 1912 when many left the SP for the IWW, than to have it described only as a "power play."

In proposing a "united front of women"—or imposing it on history—Meredith Tax has rushed too quickly and uncritically past the relationship of ideas to organization, in order to get to the moments of mass unity. Mass spontaneity is certainly needed today in confronting such a reactionary as Ronald Reagan, but we need much more powerful ideas than a "united front." That need will compel, I'm sure, deeper examination of this rich historic period.

—Mary Holmes



Women-
worldwide

In Utah, the state legislature has enacted a law requiring women seeking an abortion to view photographs of unborn fetuses and be given "descriptions of a normal unborn child described at two week intervals, beginning with the fourth week and ending with the 24th week," before they are allowed to have the operation. Afraid of leaving any "loopholes," the Senate rejected an amendment which would at least have exempted women who need abortions as a result of rape or incest.

On March 12, in Buenos Aires, 68 relatives of people who have disappeared at the hands of the Argentine government since 1972 were arrested and detained briefly. Most of those arrested were women, part of a group of about 200 known as "Las Locas de Plaza de Mayo," who have gathered every Thursday for several years in the central square protesting the disappearances and demanding information about their relatives.

On May 25, South African freedom fighter Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, will appear in court on charges of violating the ban that restricts her movements and forbids her to speak politically—or at all in most cases. Of the threat of jail she says, "The only difference is between being in prison and this outside prison. My country is a prison in itself." Even while banned, she has openly defied segregation laws in the tiny town to which she is exiled.

In October, 1980, 40 women from West Germany, West Berlin and Switzerland, formed the International Association of Women Philosophers and held their first conference in Wurzburg, Germany. They discussed such topics as "The Phenomenon of the 'New Philosophy,'" "Marcuse's Concept of Feminism," and "Is There a Feminine Philosophy?" The group intends to meet annually—next at the Philosophic Congress at Innsbruck in October, 1981.

(Information from Courage, W. Berlin)

Gulfport workers win union recognition

Gulfport, Fla.—Working class victories have been pretty scarce lately, but recently the 38 public works employees of the City of Gulfport, Fla., voted in favor of the Amalgamated Transit Union, 26-8. Our last union election was in 1976, when the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers was defeated by four votes.

Our drive to organize began back in May, 1980, when myself and another co-worker called a Transit Union organizer and picked up our pledge cards the next day in a local donut shop. That same weekend we signed up 60 percent of the public works employees, and from that moment on we all went under the thumb of both the city and the state of Florida. Several of us suffered pay cuts and untold harassment by the city, including a threat to sell the sanitation system to private contractors, eliminating 15 jobs. The state also got their pound of flesh, delaying the setting of our election date for four months.

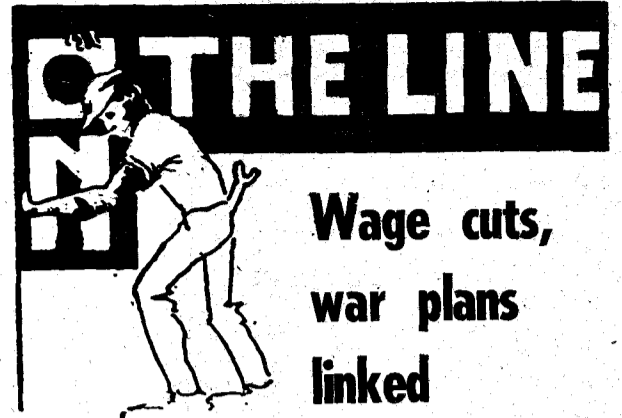
During the one-month campaign, we got four letters a week from the city, which we countered with union-sponsored meetings which consistently got 50-60 percent attendance. We effectively sabotaged the only captive audience meeting, held on Christmas Eve, by heck-

ling and disruption. Nobody could sit still for the load of lies and insults dumped on us during that meeting. We don't want to hear anything we don't want to hear, especially from the city.

Come election day, we won 26-8, and as of today we have 26 sworn-in members. We are now getting together our proposals for our first contract, which is going to be our toughest fight so far. Because of our size, we are being placed in Local 1464, which represents the City of Tampa, two countywide transit systems, and now the City of Gulfport. With unity, militancy, and class consciousness, make two, three, many Gulfports!

My drive to organize springs from the fact that theory has to be put into practice or it benefits nobody. Don't talk—organize, to alter a phrase from Joe Hill. Our organizing was also a necessity, because you can get awful tired of riding bicycles because you can't afford gas, going hungry for two days before payday, or having to scrounge around for aluminum cans to turn in, to pay the electric bill or rent. The alienation one feels from this system when you are at the bottom is tremendous.

—Militant member, ATU 1464



by John Marcotte

Over 200 workers turned out to hear trade unionists from El Salvador speak at my union recently. They called on American workers to do all we can to support them in their fight against the U.S.-supported military government. We have all heard how workers and peasants, and even priests and nuns are being gunned down daily, with union members and supporters a particular target.

IMPERIALISM ABROAD, REACTION HERE

It has ever been the history of this country that imperialism abroad has always gone hand in hand with racism and anti-labor attacks here at home. It was no accident that 1898 was both the year when the U.S. invaded Cuba and the Philippines, and the beginning of a wave of lynchings and anti-Black voting restrictions here. And it was no accident that Blacks formed the first Anti-Imperialist League in 1899 and linked it to their demands.

It is no accident that Reagan's adventure in El Salvador comes together with the wave of racial violence from Atlanta to New York, and with the budget attack against workers and the poor.

Workers in my shop say Reagan is cutting help for the poor in this country, so he can send more guns to kill the poor in countries like El Salvador. A Dominican was outraged by Reagan's budget: "He is robbing bread from the mouths of the poor, all for more cannons!"

A Black worker expressed what we are all wondering here at work: "How are people going to survive? Reagan's only been in two months now, and there's something new everyday. Four years of this and if he has his way, we'd be crawling on our bellies."

"And all that money he's sending to other countries is not for food, it's for guns. Now he wants to send guns to Afghanistan! What Reagan wants is a war for sure."

REAGAN WANTS WAR

But young Blacks are saying in no uncertain terms, "We are not about to do what Reagan wants us to do. We are not about to have a welfare mother with six or seven children having to work for her check, and we are not about to go to fight any war. There is nothing in this for us."

A South American worker felt the same. "If Reagan keeps on this way, the country will have a social revolution like in Latin America. The poor people will move to take what the rich are holding. There will be urban rebellions like in the '60s."

But Reagan is clearly in for a big surprise. The rumblings of opposition, from Black labor to the coal miners, are only a beginning which is sure to grow in ways no one can predict.

Workers' Bookshelf History of labor in the South

Working Lives, The Southern Exposure History of Labor in the South, edited by Marc S. Miller. Pantheon Books, New York, 1980.

It is unfortunately all too common to regard the American South as a benighted land where reaction alone prevails and progressive forces have never taken root.

Working Lives does much to break up this false image. The book is a collection of articles, most of which first appeared in the journal, *Southern Exposure*. The essays are largely first hand accounts by workers who were part of the labor struggles from 1900 to today.

TRADITION OF STRUGGLE

Rather than seeing only racism and the KKK as the hallmarks of Southern history, the book clearly shows how a long tradition of struggle against reaction and a fight for justice are true characteristics of the men and women of the South.

The brutality and savagery of the lumber barons, coal operators and other corporate giants is almost beyond belief. One of the most shocking instances was the "Massacre at Gauley Bridge, W. Virginia," from the 1930s. A local power company, a subsidiary of Union Carbide, had contracted to build a tunnel four miles long through a mountain literally made up of silica. When the contractors could not recruit workers locally (miners who knew of silicosis) they imported inexperienced Black workers from outside the area. The resulting disaster has been called nothing short of "genocide" carried out under "concentration camp" conditions. Where silicosis usually takes decades to kill, some 2,000 of the Gauley

Bridge workers died of the disease in just a few years.

But the most exciting contribution of *Working Lives* is the way it focuses on the constant resistance by workers to these kinds of assaults against their humanity.

In defiance of the timber barons in Louisiana, lumberjacks joined the IWW and organized themselves into the Brotherhood of Timber Workers in 1910. Rejecting racial divisiveness, thousands of Black, white and Cajun workers stood together and fought a violent "lumber war" against not only the big capitalists but their "home-spun storm-troopers" as well.

IN AUTO AND TOBACCO

While the Flint sitdown strike of 1937 is known to all, the fact is that GM workers "sat down" for three months in Atlanta in December, 1936 and prepared the way for workers in Flint.

Winston-Salem, N. Carolina in the 1940s was controlled by Reynolds Tobacco. In '43, Black workers, who did the hardest dirtiest jobs for the lowest pay, took the initiative and actually led the CIO organizers in a strike which won a contract in December, 1943.

The story of these and many other struggles form the fabric of this book. It is labor history with a special vitality in that many of the accounts are in the form of the recollections of actual participants in these struggles.

Working Lives shatters the common stereotype that sees all Southern workers as passive, racist and anti-union. In spite of the presence of such attitudes in the South, we are reminded of the militant struggle against racism and for real freedom that is also a part of the South's history.

—Rick Flores

FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

Unemployment in auto

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

On March 13 the workers at the Ford Motor River Rouge Plant voted overwhelmingly to take an average 84 cent an hour pay cut, in the name of saving 3,200 jobs. Ford threatened to close its coke and blast furnace operation on April 1 unless the workers agreed to share incentive wages.

In Maumee, Ohio, March 3, 15,000 workers, many of them laid off auto workers lined up to take applications for 90 jobs.

I was talking to a young auto worker who has been laid off work for 20 months. He has run out of unemployment and SUB benefits and has nearly exhausted his TRA benefits. He was telling me: "Every day I am given references for possible employment by friends, agencies, union and newspapers. While persuing these leads, all I got was a high gas bill, hand cramps from filling out applications, many interviews for positions not yet available and frustrated hopes. So I decided to use the telephone first and now every day I wear that phone out only to be told time and time again, 'We are laying off,' or 'We are phasing out operations.' But when I call down to casual labor at the unemployment office, there are a number of jobs available for \$3 to \$5 per hour. This tells me that one, a poor person with little or no money, doesn't have the means to get out and look for a job and two, that the only jobs available are those that no one can live on."

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — The Fleetwood plant will be closing down again for a week or two in April, first the day shift and then the afternoon shift. We are expecting the plant to shut down again in May. More lay-offs, not callbacks and new hiring, are on the way.

Reagan has it already set up for the young people who will not be going into the factories — they will be pushed into the military. Foreign adventures, and the threat of more, have increased at an extreme rate. It is like when I went into the service, at a time when Detroit plants did no hiring from 1957 till 1963. Britain was just pulling back from "east of the Suez," and the U.S. stepped in to replace it, expanding the armed forces with both draftees and jobless youth forced to join up.

Now Reagan has promised to replace the Shah in the Persian Gulf. Even if registration doesn't become a new draft, youth will be forced into the expanding army just as much by finding no job in the next few years.

Many older workers have been out of work so long that they would now settle for a minimum-wage McDonalds job, they have been pressed that hard. Under the proposed sub-minimum wage for teenagers, no young people will get into the factories anyway — they will only be picked over older workers for the McDonalds-type jobs. But mostly, the next generation of workers won't find work.

— Fleetwood worker

Transit worker on Poland

New York, N.Y. — Right now people are pretty demoralized since getting our pay deducted for the Taylor Law. The union made concessions and still we're in trouble. There are also a lot of new workers now who are scared to speak out until they become permanent.

The trains are getting really bad. I believe the TA tries to put its worst cars into the ghetto areas. They always put cars back into service before they're ready. You're lucky if a car has headlights, brakes and wheels. They don't even worry about heat, inside lights or doors any more.

The union movement in the U.S. is not worth anything over the last 10 or 15 years. You cannot find one honest union leader. The AFL-CIO is garbage.

Look at how the newspapers first supported the Polish workers. Walesa was a hero. Now he's considered a trouble-maker. If you tell the truth in any country, you're in trouble. Now our press is afraid of another Poland happening over here, so they back off.

Freedom has become a dirty word the whole world over. Neither system, East or West (I've lived in both) can exist without preparing for war. Eventually the Russians will have to rewrite Marx completely.

Look at the life of a Polish worker like Walesa: two rooms for a family of six. If you live like that, then you don't care whether you risk your life to change it. Both systems, East and West, are in deep trouble.

—Transit worker, 207th Street

EDITORIAL**Angry miners challenge UMWA President Church**

Thousands of angry coal miners, cursing UMWA President Sam Church for betraying them and their union, flocked to their local union halls on Tuesday, March 31, to overwhelmingly reject the national contract negotiated by Church and industry bargainers.

What Church agreed to that miners totally rejected included the following: a probationary period of 45 days for miners before they would have any union protection; the right of mine owners to close union mines down for two years and then re-open them as scab operations; giving the anti-union National Arbitration Board the right to rule on grievances for 90 days after the contract, with their rulings to be in effect for the entire life of the three year contract.

There were other critical union principles that Church violated that make up the life-blood of every coal miner. Miners knew rejection of the contract meant a long strike because of the 110-day coal stocks above ground. They nevertheless refused to compromise their proud heritage of struggle.

On Tuesday, March 17, negotiations bogged down and Church sent the UMWA's bargaining council back home from Washington where they had been summoned when agreement seemed near. The main points of dispute were reported to be the industry's demand for dismantling the industry-wide pension plan supported by \$1.90 per ton royalty payments by coal operators and replacing it with individual mine plans administered by private insurance companies, plus the industry's demand for Sunday work.

SURPRISE AGREEMENT

To the surprise of everyone, and especially rank-and-file miners, on Monday morning, March 23, Church announced a tentative agreement had been reached over the weekend.

Reports of all the miners had gained were nearly unbelievable, and included: 31 percent wage increase over three years, plus a quarterly adjustment not tied to any government price index; no Sunday work; no change in the pension plan, except to increase pension payments of miners, plus, agreement to pay pensions to miners' widows; a dental plan; an optional instead of a mandatory national work absentee control plan; and

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Schwinn intimidates workers

Chicago, Ill.—Every day Schwinn comes up with new rules to intimidate the workers. They are just waiting for you to do something wrong, even telling people there's no talking during work. They won't let anyone in the plant any earlier than one-half hour before starting time because they don't want people talking to each other in the lunchroom before work. When I come home now, I'm not tired from work but from the strained atmosphere in there. It is like a prison.

This attack is directed from the top—Medar and Swag—because everytime a foreman has a problem he calls them to decide what to do. Some union people still think they can work with those guys, but there's no way. Their main purpose now isn't to see that bikes are made, but to fight the union. Every grievance, no matter how simple, like the right to go to the bathroom, is automatically denied and has to be taken to step three.

There are so many grievances because they're acting like there is no contract at all. They're not calling people back by seniority like they're supposed to and instead of there being plant-wide seniority, people are just being juggled all over the place. A union steward was even switched to a plant away from the people he's supposed to represent. Women have been put on the dock loading whole bikes in cartons on to boxcars. If workers complain, the company blames the union.

They have become so nasty, you can be sure there isn't going to be any quality in Schwinn bikes anymore. I heard that on one line 1,800 frames were put out with the wrong bridges. It was the company's mistake and normally the workers would have told them about it.

If we just keep our solidarity, we will win.

—Woman worker, Schwinn

getting rid of the anti-union Central Arbitration Review Board which consistently ruled against miners in grievance proceedings.

It was just too good, and miners were asking: so what did the operators get in return? The first inkling of something wrong came when the vote of the UMWA bargaining committee was disclosed to be 21 for and 16 against, reflecting a very serious division.

And then it came out: Church had agreed to allow the coal operators to buy scab coal, non-union coal for resale and, moreover, without even paying the \$1.90 royalty on this coal!

The miners were stunned, because one of their long-time principles has been to refuse to allow union operators to process scab coal over union tipples, let alone allowing operators to buy scab coal and sell it to fill their contracts.

SCAB COAL CONTROL

In short, as one Pennsylvania miner heatedly yelled at a contract informational meeting over the weekend at his local union, "Sam Church has agreed to let scab coal control this union and our lives. There won't even be a UMW when this contract ends!"

The fact is that within the past 20 years, the amount of union coal mined in the U.S. has plunged from 95 percent to less than 47 percent today. In terms of union membership, almost all miners 20 years ago were UMW members, whereas today only 166,000 of the nation's 210,000 miners belong to the UMW.

This is the record of scab coal's rise when the UMW fought it tooth and nail. Now, with the green light Church's contract gave to the coal operators to buy and sell non-union coal, coal that is more cheaply produced in the first place and would have been even more prof-

Working Life

What really got me angry when the company man came over to my department with a stopwatch, was when he said "Don't worry, I'm not timing you, I'm timing the machine." How the heck can he time the machine when it is the man who operates it? We do the work, not the machines. And everytime we see a company man with a stopwatch on us we slow down, or we break down the machine.

—Worker, USA

Conviction of Plowshares 8

Norristown, Pa.—The Plowshares Eight—a group of pacifists who walked into a GE weapons plant and damaged two nuclear warhead nose cones in what they call "the first act of disarmament in 35 years"—have been found guilty. The charges were burglary, criminal conspiracy, and criminal mischief.

Throughout their two week trial, the Eight used every possible tactic to make one specific legal point: that nuclear weapons are inherently illegal in any country. International law (including Nuremberg) bans genocide and sanctions civilian complicity with genocide. The Eight were ready to bolster this argument with testimony from international lawyers, physicists who helped design the bomb, and experts on the genocidal effects of radiation on civilian populations and the populations of non-combatant countries.

But the judge, Samuel Salus, who had initially agreed that "justification of action" could be part of the defense, threatened to gag the defendants, abruptly took over the process of questioning potential jurors, and disallowed all defense witnesses except a handful of character witnesses.

Finally, humiliating interruptions drove the defendants to the belief that co-operation with the proceedings was futile. So those of the defendants who had posted bail simply left and went back to the weapons plant to hold a vigil. After bench warrants were issued and they were brought back to court in squad cars, the defendants stood in non-compliance with their backs turned to the judge—a judge who had told them "any criticism of the bench . . . is blasphemy."

After seven and one-half hours of deliberation, the jurors threw out five of the eight initial charges. Several jurors have recently gone on record in an interview with *The Boston Globe* to complain of being instructed not to listen to their consciences and of being threatened with sequestration.

The trial was not confined to the courthouse. Supporters maintained a presence outside, draping the marble steps with banners, and establishing dialog with Norristown Blacks and workers. At one point police charged, using dogs and riot sticks, and arrested ten, including two defendants who lay down in front of squad cars in solidarity with their supporters.

Sentencing will be in April. An appeal is possible, if support can be sustained.

East Coast support information: Plowshares 8
c/o 168 W. 100th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10025. (212) 222-7045.

—Activist, N.Y.

itably if the \$1.90 per ton royalty were not paid, he literally gave operators the power to destroy the union—and even put in writing in the contract. No wonder the operators were so happy to agree to all other demands; they are nothing compared to what Church gave.

CHURCH NEEDS EDUCATION

Union mines that are only marginally profitable would be closed, throwing thousands more miners out of work to join the 20,000 already unemployed. The operators could buy non-union coal to fill their coal orders. It means untold millions more in coal operator profits. Every new mine opened would have tremendous economic incentive to resist unionization, while present union mines would have equally powerful pressures to try to cancel their UMW contracts now, as well as oppose participation as a union mine in future contract negotiations.

These were among the direct economic implications. But far more important to the rank-and-file miners is the principle of unionism that their own president is now demanding that they throw aside, a principle of unity and solidarity based on unionized coal production that made the UMW the greatest union in this nation, a union that has been characterized rightly as "the shock troops of American industry."

The rank-and-file miners know this history, and know how many lives were lost and are still being lost to protect themselves, their families and their fellow miners against attacks from the coal operators. But now the attack was also from their own president. The vote should give Church a dramatic education about what it means to be the head of their union, a union that has consistently been the cutting edge of the American working class.

Raya Dunayevskaya on Tour**LOS ANGELES AREA**

•Sun., April 12, 7 p.m., "Marx: His Philosophy of Human Liberation and its Organizational Expression," at People's College of Law, 660 S. Bonnie Brae

•Tues., April 14, 3 p.m., "Women's Liberation: Then and Now," at U. of Cal. at Santa Barbara, Girvetz Hall 1004

•Wed., April 15, 12 noon, "El Salvador, Reagan's Militarism, and the Unfinished Latin American Revolutions," at Cal State U., Los Angeles, Music Hall

SAN FRANCISCO AREA

•Sun., April 19, 7 p.m., "The Relation of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to Organization," at Union WAGE Hall, 37A 29th St. nr. Mission, San Francisco

•Tues., April 21, 1 p.m., "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution," at San Francisco State U., Student Union Bldg., Conf. Rm. a-e

•Wed., April 22, 4 p.m., "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution," at U. of Cal. at Berkeley, Women's Center Lounge, Bldg. T-9

NEW YORK AREA

•Sun., April 26, 7 p.m., "The Relation of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to Organization," Workmen's Circle, 369 Eighth Ave. (at 29th St.)

•Tues., April 28, 7 p.m., "Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution," CUNY Graduate Center Auditorium, 33 West 42nd Street

•Wed., April 29, 7 p.m., "Relationship of Marx's Philosophy of Revolution to Women's Liberation," SUNY at Purchase Campus (Westchester County).

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THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of **PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION**
and **Marxism and Freedom**

Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts from a Political-Philosophic Letter written by Raya Dunayevskaya shortly after the takeover of the American Embassy in Iran, when much of the Left called the act an "anti-imperialist" one. The drive for political power on the basis of religion or on a narrow vanguardist grounds, and not on the basis of a philosophy of revolution, is within the world of the 1980s. The full text is included in the Political-Philosophic Letters of Raya Dunayevskaya, Vol. II, which contains as well, "The Carter/Brzezinski-Ordered Imperialist Intrusion Into Iran—and What About Khomeini/Bani-Sadr's 'Holy War' Against the Left?"; "Grave Contradictions in Iranian Revolution"; "Iran: Unfoldment of, and Contradictions in, Revolution"; "Special Introduction to Iranian Edition of Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays." The volume is available from News & Letters for \$1.50.

It sounds so abstract, so easy to say, with Hegel, that philosophy is the "thinking study of things". (para. 2). It surely sounds oversimplified to say, at one and the same time, that "Nature has given everyone a faculty of thought. But thought is all that philosophy claims as the form proper to her process . . ." (para. 5). When, however, you realize that this is the Introduction to *Encyclopaedia of Philosophical Sciences*; that it was written after the French Revolution, which made popular an actual "permanent revolution"—no revolution is ever its first act alone—you can begin, just begin to grasp the meaning of Hegel's expression, "second negativity."

Furthermore, Hegel had not found articulation that easy until after Phenomenology of Mind, until after he tried to summarize all of his works, including the 2,500-year history of philosophy. Then, of course, you realize why, when Hegel is speaking of philosophy, it is not an abstraction, that even though he limits it to thought and not activity, he can conclude in that very same Introduction:



"This divorce between idea and reality is a favorite device of the analytic understanding in particular. Yet strangely in contrast with this separatist tendency, its own dreams, half-truths though they are, appear to the understanding something true and real; it prides itself on the imperative 'ought' which it takes especial pleasure in prescribing on the field of politics. As if the world had waited on it to learn how it ought to be, and was not!" (para. 6).

WHEN A NEW OBJECTIVE stage arose in 1844-1848 which was proletarian, and not just semi-proletarian as with the enrages of the French Revolution, the young, new, revolutionary philosopher and activist, Marx, practiced Hegel's Idea of freedom by realizing it in an outright revolution. He had told his young Hegelian friends who were becoming materialists: You cannot become a true new Humanist by turning your back on Hegel because he was both bourgeois and idealist and because he limited the revolution to a revolution in thought. The truth is that Hegel's dialectic was not just any idea, but the Idea of freedom, and must, therefore, first be realized in an actual material way. . . . I say that in issuing the challenge that will cause the whole capitalist world to tremble, we need to unfurl a totally new banner of philosophy as well as of revolution. And the philosophy of revolution now—that is, after the bourgeoisie has betrayed us in this 1848-9 Revolution, and it is necessary to depend only on our own forces—must be "Revolution in Permanence." (Address to the Communist League, 1850) . . .

In very nearly the last work of Marx—the 1881 Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*—that permanent revolution gets spelled out on a still higher level—that is, internationally as well as nationally. It is there that it is concretized as the relationship between technologically advanced and technologically backward countries—i.e. that backward Russia could have its revolution ahead of "West Europe"—provided: 1) the revolution is accomplished within the context of European revolutions; and 2) the new forces, in this case the peasant communities, are never out of context of both internationalism and dialectics of liberation. The idea is the power because it is concrete; it is

What is philosophy? What is revolution?

total; it is multi-dimensional; and at no time is the Individual made just to tail-end the State or "committee." Rather, let us never forget the principle: the Individual is the social entity", and society must never again be counter-posed to the Individual.

MARX HAD SPENT something like 45 volumes in expressing his thoughts, in participating in revolutions, in leaving a legacy that was the very opposite of an heirloom.

Comes World War I, and the shock of the simultaneity of imperialist war and socialist betrayal is so overwhelming that one and only one—Lenin—says, if I could have been so misled and consid-

ered that betrayer, Kautsky, my teacher, something is altogether wrong with my way of thinking. And while I will not stop shouting "down with the war—turn the imperialist war into civil war." I will never again be satisfied with the "correct analysis" of a political situation without first digging into Hegelian dialectics. It could not have possibly been an accident that Marx, Marx's Marxism, was rooted in Hegel . . .

Trotsky counterposed his slogan "peace without annexations" and "mobilizing the proletariat for a struggle for peace" to Lenin's slogan "turn the imperialist war into civil war" which Trotsky rejected. What was even worse was Trotsky's rejection of Lenin's statement that the defeat of your own country is the lesser evil . . .

Listen to Trotsky on the Russian Internationalists trying to achieve a unity, first under his peace slogan which Lenin rejected, and then on Lenin's slogan which Trotsky rejected. Here is what he said:

"Under no condition can I agree with your opinion, which is emphasized by a resolution, that Russia's defeat would be a 'lesser evil'. This opinion represents a fundamental connivance with the political methodology of social patriotism, a connivance for which there is no reason or justification and which substitutes an orientation (extremely arbitrary under present conditions) along the line of a 'lesser evil' for the revolutionary struggle against war and the conditions which generated this war."

Trotsky's specific article from which I quote this was dated Paris, Oct. 14, 1915. That article was part of what was written by those Marxists who had not betrayed and who tried to reconstitute themselves internationally—but not on the basis of Lenin's revolutionary struggle of "turn the imperialist war into civil war", but on Trotsky's "Struggle for Peace" . . . In his 1919 Introduction to *War and Revolution*, The Fall of the Second International and the Preparation of the Third, Trotsky stressed the internationalism and repeated that: "The March revolution liquidated these differences."

But that is not true. Theoretical differences are not "liquidated" just because, in fact, you are a revolutionary. Quite the contrary. Once the heat of the battle dies, the deviations from Marxism first come to plague you.

The truth is that the theoretical difference reappears in a most horrible form exactly when the next new, objective situation arises. You must then dig for new philosophical depth on the basis of the highest theoretic as well as practical point last reached. If, instead, you remain without a philosophic rudder, the supposedly "correct" political analysis becomes, if not outright counter-revolution, definitely no more than tail-endism.

PERHAPS, I SHOULDN'T have asked only what is philosophy?, what is revolution?, but also what is anti-imperialism? . . . Calling oneself a "follower of the Imam" does not constitute a revolutionary act, no matter how many times one repeats that this is anti-imperialism . . . That kind of pseudo anti-imperialism, such as the taking of hostages, opens no new stage of revolution. Rather, it initiates a retreat from the original revolutionary perspective . . . The hardships on the masses intensify. The unemployment is greater. And so is inflation. As the Sheng Wu-lien found out, during Mao's Cultural Revolution which they at first heartily endorsed because they thought it meant the displacement of the bureaucracy: "The more things change, the more they remain the same" . . .

Lenin had to begin separating himself, not just from betrayers of the workers but from revolutionaries who would not see the new concrete, whether that was a new revolutionary force in another country or his own. What he had learned from the Hegelian dialectic that made him so sharp against his own Bolshevik

colleagues was that overthrow, first negativity, was not enough; that you must now see that counter-revolution can arise from within the revolution itself.

This and this alone made it possible not to stay at overthrow of Tsarism and bourgeois democracy calling itself "socialist", though headed by a so-called socialist, Kerensky and even supported by genuine revolutionaries . . .

It becomes imperative, therefore, to take a second look at these stages: February to April; April to June; July-August full counter-revolution; October. As soon as the overthrow of the Tsar occurs, and while this great, historic, spontaneous outburst achieved what no Party — Bolshevik or otherwise — could achieve, and though it was unanticipated by Lenin, he by no means let euphoria overrule him. Quite the contrary. He had already grappled with the Hegelian dialectic; he had already analyzed the new stage of imperialism not just economically but seeing new forces of revolution; and he already began to work out what became **State and Revolution**, that is to say, have the perspective of not only overthrow but the total uprooting, so that only when production and the state would be in the hands of the whole population "to a man, woman, and child" would it be a new society.

Once that became the basis for all the activities of the Party, there was no separating the revolution from the philosophy of revolution. But the masses wanted to go still further, directly to the conquest of power; they underestimated the forces still in power, and it was the beginning of all the counter-revolutionary moves that still passed themselves off as revolution, accusing Lenin of being a German spy and saying that is why he called for the end of the war. The relevant point for us today is that when outright counter-revolution was initiated by Kornilov so that one still had to defend Kerensky, the manner in which it was done has all the answers against tail-endism. It was at that point that whether it was the creation of a revolutionary military committee, which permitted no transfer of guns to the front unless they approved it, or whether it was such slogans as "All power to the Soviets," or whether it was "Land, Bread and Peace", there was no way whatever to confuse that Party with any other.

Contrast this to what everyone from Trotskyist to Qaddafi is saying to blur those new grave contradictions within Iran . . . Qaddafi and Khomeini and General Zia may think the Middle East as they define it will be the graveyard of U.S. imperialism. Nothing could be further from the truth . . . Qaddafi takes advantage of the fact that supposedly there is no government in Libya because there is no Parliament, and supposedly it's a collectivist society because it calls itself **Jamahi-riya**, which means "a command of the people." Is it they who decide everything? No, even the word, committee, unless it's revolutionary—and unless the word revolutionary means total uprooting—is not the equivalent of destiny being in the hands of the people; that is to say, with control of production in the hands of the workers. And so must the state be in their hands.

What new retrogressive stage are we in now, when religion usurps also political power? First it was the Little Red Book of Mao. And now it's the Little Green Book of Qaddafi. And what part of the Koran will Khomeini embody in some brief sayings that all must repeat?

It is not a question that a leader must write fifty books, like Marx or Lenin. It is a question of being serious about revolution and therefore the philosophy of revolution, and being responsible to history, which means men and women shaping history. You cannot throw out philosophy, and indulge in sloganeering. Even a good bourgeois philosopher, at least in the stage when the bourgeoisie achieved its revolution, a good Lutheran like Hegel, who insisted all his life that he believed, had to submit to the dialectic drive of philosophy and subordinate religion to it. All his protestations notwithstanding—and "revealed religion" is pretty high in the sphere of the Absolute; nothing can change the fact that it isn't the highest; that philosophy is. Needless to say, that revolution in thought initiated by Hegelian dialectics was transformed by Marx's new continent of thought into reality. Ever since then no revolution was successful that wasn't grounded in a philosophy of revolution.

THE OPPOSITION CONTINUES — TO REAGANOMICS . . .

Reaganomics, as the article in the last N&L described it, seems to me a very great change from capitalist policies over the last 50 years since the Great Depression. If all the Reagan changes in state-corporate programs were enacted, the sum effect is a very important and very dangerous discontinuity. It is a sign that the leaders of this corrupt society have grown increasingly desperate in their inability to deal with the economy's failure to grow since the recession of 1974-76.

Does Reagan really believe that he can reverse state-capitalism?

Watching closely
Detroit

Some say we should give Reagan a chance. But he's already messed up enough in his first few weeks. The only way he will get out of the economic crisis is to start a war. And the way he's talking, that's just what he wants to do.

Older Black worker
New York

Did you know that leading Reagan administration officials are successfully lobbying for a "laser anti-ballistic missile system" in outer space? The 1982 budget request includes \$263 million for that purpose. The 1972 ABM Treaty bans such systems from outer space, but Defense Secretary Weinberger has called for a re-examination of that ban.

We support the peaceful uses of space technology for the benefit of humanity and are concerned that weapons systems are increasingly dominating the U.S. and Soviet space efforts . . . For a copy of our publication, *Space for all People*, write to:

Citizens for Space Demilitarization
1476 California, #9
San Francisco, CA 94109

I was glad that the "Reaganomics" article in the March N&L also brought in the \$622 million in concessions on wages and COLA that Chrysler got from the UAW. One of the reasons that Uniroyal closed the Detroit plant was that we refused to accept any such concessions. Were we to throw away years of hard-won gains?

Discarded Uniroyal worker
Detroit

When I heard what programs Reagan was going to cut, I felt like he was kicking the little children, cutting out their summer and daycare lunches, cutting college loans for children of disabled workers—all to give to the rich. I feel Reagan will split this country in two like during the Vietnam war years.

Ready to fight
New York

People in our federal government office building have been quite politicized by the election and the first months of the Reagan administration. The issue is by no means limited to jobs. One woman summed it up very well: "It's not what he will do with government programs that scares me. What does scare me is what his election unleashes on this country. Groups like the KKK will believe that they are part of the mainstream, and that is frightening." Will the period ahead end up not with a revolution, but a civil war? I don't know.

Federal government worker
Chicago

That Reagan is giving \$60 million more in aid to the El Salvadoran junta, and only \$1.5 million to help find the killer of 20 Black children in Atlanta, shows how degenerate this society is. He's giving 50 times more money to help killers of the poor than to finding and arresting one killer of the poor.

Autoworker
Los Angeles

The first recorded incident of inflation in history took place in the 13th century China. When Kublai Khan could no longer pay his troops in coin, he had made up a wood block from which he printed his promise to pay.

History is repeating itself, with the war budget of the United States the largest single item contributing to inflation. A country that is about to spend \$222 billion next year on its war machine, support a bureaucracy of over four million people, use hundreds of thousands of machines to produce nothing useful, is not acting in the best interests of the people. Rather, it is sowing the seeds of its own destruction—hopefully very rapidly.

Observer
Boston

. . . TO THATCHERISM

The British government has had to compromise its hard-line monetarist stance by pumping enough money into nationalized British Leyland and British Steel to keep them open. Closure would have serious economic effects on the whole economic base of the country. When the miners recently struck against pit closures, the Tory government, fearing the same sort of confrontation that brought down Edward Heath's government in 1974, gave in.

In an effort to "cut public spending", the Thatcher government has cut social services and sacked workers all over the country. But the fact is that public spending as a percent of the GNP has increased, due to arms spending. Thatcher's joint sabre-rattling with Reagan is becoming increasingly less confident as it becomes obvious that Britain can't afford the arms the warmongers say it needs, without (they say) more cuts in social services.

Dave Black
London, England

What is happening in Scotland on militarism is very important. I got the Glasgow Trades Council to suspend standing orders and oppose the military policy of the government. There were 200 delegates present and they agreed to oppose the Tories—unanimously.

What is more important still is the decision of the Scottish Labour Party this past weekend to demand withdrawal from NATO. Every party in Parliament supports NOTA, but the Scottish M.P.'s have been given something to disturb them. I have written to the Scotsman expressing surprise that the financial contribution to NATO was not raised in the discussions on the budget.

On the unemployment question there is much activity also. The Glasgow demonstration against unemployment was very large. Many came from over the English border to take part. But at the same time the Trades Union Congress (T.U.C.) is asking for cooperation from an employers' organization on unemployment. The T.U.C. leaders seem to have gone mad.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

. . . AND TO KOREA'S GEN. CHON

The visit of General Chon of South Korea here to see President Reagan is very bad, for Chon is known by every Korean I know to be a terrible dictator. It must mean the U.S. is planning to help him even more. It will be hard to overthrow Chon, but I think the kind of work N&L did in reporting on Kwangju revolt (see Nov. 1980 N&L) is very important, for most people in South Korea do not even know what happened because of the news blackout there.

Korean woman
Los Angeles

Readers' Views

'THE POLISH DILEMMA'

I agree wholeheartedly with the revolution taking place in Poland. It has now become very clear that our so-called leaders do not have the capacity to lead any more. Therefore the solutions to the problems of the world's poor must come from the poor of Poland, the United States and the Third World countries.

I believe also that the strike that is taking place in Poland will make the rest of the oppressed people of Communist countries wake up and take note that if it can be done in a small country such as Poland, it can be done anywhere else.

Black student
New York

The "Polish dilemma," the way the U.S. conservatives see it, is how to appear that they are the opposite of Russia but at the same time stop the "anarchy" in Poland. Thus there is talk of extending IMF credit to Poland in return for "curbing imports, stopping subsidies, raising worker productivity and tightening the belt generally." Which is, of course, the Russian and Polish CP's dream. At the same time Wall Street Journal admits that "Solidarity's militancy and frequent uncontrollability are due . . . to its highly decentralized and democratic structure."

That it is precisely this workers' democracy which U.S. leaders oppose is crystal clear from the non-coverage of miners' wildcats in the U.S.A., while Poland's workers continue to make headlines. Since the beginning of February, 4,500 miners have closed down mines in Logan and Boone counties in West Virginia. That strike is one of the best kept secrets in this free-press.

Not fooled
Illinois

WOMEN'S IDEAS
IN THE FIGHT
FOR FREEDOM

At a celebration of International Women's Day in Los Angeles, a Somalian panelist cited a song sung by women in her country:

"I don't want to be the earth because I am tired of people walking all over me
I don't want to be a flower because I am being picked so young

I don't want to be everything in your life because you are the master of everything in your life

I don't want to be beautiful . . .
You can't provide for me don't die for me . . ."

Feminist
Los Angeles

When I say "society will never change", I don't mean forever. I mean that it will never change overnight. If I truly believed it would never change, I would not be the active feminist I am. I agree with Women's Liberation, News and Letters, that revolutionary change is neither fantastic nor utopian, but immediate and urgent. However, I also believe that the local organizing, in which I am involved, is equally important to women gaining control of their own lives.

I can't wait for society to change. I can't stay inside my apartment night after night, despite the fears that I have of being raped. This is why I'm determined to alleviate those fears now . . . I refuse to allow an unjust society to control my life, feelings or actions.

Feminist activist
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Women held perhaps the largest march anywhere in Western Europe on International Women's Day, when 10,000 marched in Rome. Earlier, on February 14, thousands more had demonstrated against the government's attempt to roll back the liberalized 1977 abortion law.

In other mass actions outside the control of the major political parties, Communists included, workers have engaged increasingly in wildcat strikes. One such strike tied up the Rome transit system late in February. These new strikes came in the wake of last October's mass strikes and occupations of the Fiat auto plants in Turin to protest layoffs.

As a young woman worker put it then: "In 1977, we got abortion legalized; today it is called into question. In 1978, we got the equal rights law covering women on the job. But we are the first affected by the list Fiat has of workers to be laid-off." Eventually, the Communist Party sold out the Fiat workers and thousands were indeed laid-off.

Observer
New York

LABOR BATTLES—
AND CONTRADICTIONS

The two-year-old strike at Sanderson Farms in Laurel, Miss. is over, with only a few of the strikers electing to return to the plant. Many had been forced to find other jobs over the two years, while others did not want to go back without some protection.

One who returned, vowing to organize again, was Gloria Jordan, vice-president of Local 882 of the International Chemical Workers Union. (See interview, March, 1981 N&L.) After returning she commented on how conditions both inside and outside the plant have worsened.

Outside, the KKK has been marching in Laurel, including children wearing hoods passing out literature. They did so on March 21, and Black people driving past the march were harassed.

New machinery has been introduced into the plant, replacing workers. Ms. Jordan said that now she works at packing and grading the chickens, and was forced to get her own gloves after the company refused to supply them.

Those who returned to work from the struggle are trying to reorganize. They don't have a contract, but they are not giving up the fight.

Strike supporter
Detroit

On March 9, I attended a rally and march of some 3,000 coal miners in Washington, who were protesting Reagan's proposed cut-back of the Black Lung Program. It was an impressive demonstration and the mood was militant. But in some ways it was a very controlled demonstration. Almost all of the picket signs were printed; I saw only one or two hand-made ones.

Several radical groups were there to distribute their literature, but were threatened by a group of toughs, who seemed to be "specialists" to keep radical ideas out. Piles of radical newspapers and leaflets were burned. We were aware of the hostility sometimes shown "outsiders" in mining communities. But we were not prepared for the red-baiting and threats from a group of super-patriotic UMW members.

Across the street, many miners and miner family members took the paper. Ex-UMW president Arnold Miller also took a copy of N&L and was reading it. A young El Salvadoran who was observing the rally took the paper and talked about the situation there, protesting the U.S. imperialist intervention.

Bernie Gardner
Detroit

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

I first read Raya Dunayevskaya's writings in her book *Marxism and Freedom*. I was very interested in her account of what had happened to Marx's writings over the years. Also, the importance of Hegel was interesting to me. My first introduction to Dunayevskaya's writings was the debate on the Russian revision of Marx's theory of value in the *American Economic Review* in 1944-45. The *Economic Review* articles made me look again at the position of the countries in Eastern Europe. Clarification today is important especially after the recent Polish happenings.

I would be interested to hear Dunayevskaya's views on the problems facing Lenin at the end of his life. I have always felt that his realization of the failure of the Russian Revolution in his last years must have affected his life and caused his breakdown. Maybe I am wrong . . . I am interested in the history of the Marxist classics, especially what happened and what was written in the early 1920s in Russia. What happened to Ryazanov, and what did he produce when he was in charge of the Institute in Moscow? Here in Victoria I have been connected with an attempt to develop a grass-roots movement in the factories around where I live.

New reader
Victoria, Australia

You ask what I think of N&L. I find several aspects of special interest: the discussions of Marx and feminism, Raya Dunayevskaya's particular line of interpreting Marx, and labor developments in the Detroit area. I enclose a small donation to help continue your work.

Philosophy professor
Delaware, Ohio

I am 19 and got here 16 months ago by way of unemployment. For 15 months I have worked for the city government. I recruited a co-worker last May to help organize our area and today we are organized into a union. I would describe myself as a militant socialist, having gotten my schooling from the SWP and then the DeLeonist SLP, although I never joined either one for numerous reasons.

Perhaps the reason I enjoy N&L is that it addresses issues relevant to me, as opposed to some of our liberal, leftist journals which might as well be writing in outer space. Your expanded format is also a big improvement.

Correspondent
Florida

Ever since I read *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, I have kept it on my night-table for reference. I think of it as my encyclopedia of American Black history. If I hear something on the news or read in another book, about the World War II period, for example, I go back to *Indignant Heart* to see what the period meant in Denby's life. The work is so clear, and brings life to U.S. history.

African woman
Michigan

I do respect, as I separate it, the Marxist Sociology—for its humanism. But I have little information on Marxist Economics in practice in the world, except to observe that huge military budgets unbalance an economy. I do assume Marxists would tell me the sociology and the economics are interdependent or inexorably linked . . . I have not seen anything like a Marxist plan or program for this particular nation—America. What is your current thinking on that?

New reader
Baltimore

I want to congratulate you for the "Marxist Humanist Archives" column. This "new" feature in N&L is long overdue, as proven by the stunning timeliness of the 1954 editorial on Guatemala. I wish that you had been having that fea-

ture all along. It might have provided those of us who don't know everything Marxist-Humanists wrote over the last 25 years with help in understanding current events and with a greater appreciation for your history.

Student
San Francisco



Lettuce

LATINO DIMENSION IN THE UNITED STATES

The United Farm Workers strike against lettuce growers in California is now over two years old. Growers have responded to the workers' strike for better wages and working conditions with a massive importation of strikebreakers from Mexico and Central America, and with violence against the strikers. Even though 19 growers have now signed contracts with the UFW, a group of stubborn growers still resists union contracts. The largest of the remaining growers is Bruce Church, the nation's third largest lettuce producer. The focus of the UFW boycott is on Bruce Church's "Red Coach" label iceberg lettuce.

Don't buy "Red Coach" lettuce! Tell any supermarket that carries it to stop carrying it now!

Farmworker supporter
San Francisco

I do not understand why you Marxist-Humanists continue to criticize Cuba. It is the only country that is standing up to U.S. imperialism in Latin America. You say that Cuba is following Russia. Maybe so. But what choice did it have? I would like to see more discussion in your paper about the achievements that Cuba has made.

Reader
New York

Here in Los Angeles the El Salvadoran community has been very active in opposition to Reagan's attacks on that land. And at every rally, march and "teach-in" (like the recent one at KPFK radio), we have been discussing Marxist-Humanism with young El Salvadorans interested in Marx. The Mexican edition of *Marxismo y Libertad* by Dunayevskaya has a beautiful picture of Marx on the cover. That is what really brings out discussions. Five or six young activists have bought their own copies.

Marxist-Humanist
Los Angeles

A LETTER FROM IRELAND

When the Irish political prisoners in Long Kesh and Armagh women's prison in Northern Ireland ended their protest last December, it was because they were led to believe that the British government would meet their demands. Their fight was, and is, for conditions that implied recognition of the political reasons for their imprisonment. It is now clear that Britain had no intention of implementing their part of the agreement.

On Feb. 18, a H-Blocks/Armagh Committee spokesperson stated "Britain has long-term interests in this country, and because of those interests people who resist end up in prison. While Britain feels she can break those prisoners, she will try to break them into the ground." On March 1, a further hunger strike to the death began.

Massive effort must be redoubled to achieve a meaningful agreement this time. If Britain can "criminalize" Irish political prisoners, they will more easily be able to claim that the so-called "troubles" in Northern Ireland are merely a massive crime wave, rather than a war of liberation against British imperialism. The reality must be exposed.

Eibhlín Ní Sheidhir
Dublin

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

February, 1960

Roots of anti-Semitism

There are reasons why the discrimination against a certain race suddenly bursts forth into the lynching of an individual Negro. There are reasons why discrimination against another race takes the form, in late 19th century France, of a single wronged individual as happened in the military conspiracy against Dreyfus, whereas in another country, like Tsarist Russia, it took the form of anti-Jewish pogroms. Whatever the match that started the conflagration, it seemed never to have reached the fantastic proportions of the extermination of a whole race. Yet, the barbarous insanity of our times—the extermination of 6 million Jews in Nazi Germany—provoked no such unanimous outcry of horror as the single Dreyfus case. Why?

The Depression, which sounded the collapse of the economic system of capitalism, brought to the fore the flowering of the new element that came to life when the imperialist tentacles of monopoly capitalism reached for the spoilation of a whole continent with its belief in the "Superior Race."

Those who wish to forget that at the root of present-day apartheid South Africa was the "civilizing mission" of the white race—which meant, in fact, such horrors as the extermination of the Hottentot tribes by the Boers, of Leopold II's reduction of 20 to 40 million peaceful Congolese to 8 million—are the ones who took the extermination of the Jews in Germany "in stride"—until the Nazi search for "lebensraum" meant a challenge to their own area of exploitation.

AT THE ROOT: CAPITALISM

What the recent anti-Semitic outbreaks show is that it is impossible to destroy Nazism, the most bestial expression of capitalism, where its root, capitalism itself, flourishes. When imperialism first revealed the truth of exploitation—that it is the majority, not the "minority," that is persecuted; when it further took on the additive of color, the "white man's burden" still seemed to be outside of the "civilized, advanced country." But by the time monopoly capitalism was transformed into the totalitarian state form in Germany, it was clear enough that it meant enslavement at home. Simultaneously with the destruction of the Jews went the destruction of the labor movement, reaching its climax in the Nazi concentration camps with their crematories.

Lest an Adenauer be permitted to forget his silence at the extermination of a race at the time it happened: lest an Eisenhower forget his impunity which put Nazi officers at head of a rearmad Germany; lest a Khrushchev be permitted to parade as a staunch lover of freedom and peace and protector of Jews;* let the historic record show:

(1) that all of them and their ilk helped Nazism, and in fact the Nazi-Soviet Pact gave the green light to the unleashing of World War II; (2) all of them and their ilk helped capitalism re-establish itself when Germany lost; and (3) presently all of them march, though not in unison, but rather at opposite poles, toward the same goal—preparations for a nuclear World War III which might spell the end of civilization altogether.

WHAT IS THE ANSWER?

Long before the maturing of the state-capitalist world in which we now live, Lenin watched the appearance of bureaucracy in the workers' state and warned of "returning backwards to capitalism." His warning—that unless production and the state were run by the population "to a man," state capitalism would overtake Russia—fell on as deaf ears as his last fight against Stalin's rudeness toward minority groups.

He wrote prophetically: "Scratch some Bolsheviks and you will find Great Russian chauvinists . . . I am declaring war on Great Russian chauvinism . . . the same Russian apparatus, which was borrowed from Tsarism and only barely annointed with the Soviet chrism."

It remains the most telling commentary not only of present-day Russia but of the whole state-capitalist world in which we now live.

In contrast to genuine Marxists, liberals have never been able to face the fact of the class nature of oppression of minorities, whether that took the individual form of the Dreyfus affair or the outright fascism of our day. When fascism first came to Italy in the 1920s, they said it could never happen in an "advanced" country; the backwardness of Italy was supposed to have produced fascism. When it came to the most technologically advanced European land—Germany—it became a question of "Prussian militarism." When the "non-military" countries by force of arms destroyed Nazi Germany, and neo-Nazism now reappears not only under "democratic" tutelage there, but is spreading to other countries, including America, then we are supposed to blame "juvenile delinquents."

The truth is, however, that the one feature that is truly new is the mass youth demonstrations against fascism, especially in West Germany. The preponderance of youth in these demonstrations shows how deeply-rooted is anti-fascism among the youth, although they had not suffered the physical tortures and crimes and barbarism of the Nazis. It is the present capitalist world which is constantly recreating the conditions for fascism that they are rebelling against.

Far from being rebels without a cause, the youth of today are rejecting this world they never made, and searching for new beginnings of a truly human world.

—Raya Dunayevskaya

* The Russian Communist bureaucracy is so unbiased a "protector" of Jews that the *Greater Russian Encyclopedia* fails to note the Jewish origin of Karl Marx. At the same time *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* which replaces Stalin's *Short Course* on the same subject in present teachings, shows more liberties with the truth on Jewish Marxists than even Stalin did. For example, it fails to include the Jewish Bund as an organization that prepared the first Marxist Congress. Perhaps Khrushchev considers all this "subtle." It certainly isn't the only untruth, or even a large one, compared to the fact that history has been rewritten.

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BLACK-RED VIEW Reagan's California exposed

by John Alan

If President Reagan's Office of Management and Budget (OMB) has its absolute way it will cripple or eliminate dozens of social programs that workers, minorities, the poor, and environmentalists have forced as concessions from the government over the last 25 years. The cold-blooded way that the President and David Stockman have gone about slashing these programs, where even children will be denied nutritional food, indicates how desperate U.S. capitalism is for new capital, and the willingness of Reagan's Administration to disregard all human considerations to obtain this capital.

One of the myths that has been built around Reagan is that he is not beholden to Big Business. This myth began when he was running for governor of California, and went to Washington with him. Yet it is a matter of record that Reagan was picked and groomed by a group of Southern California millionaires: Henry Salvatori, industrialist; A. C. Rubel, head of Union Oil and a leader in the unsuccessful right-to-work campaign of 1958; Holms Tuttle, a wealthy auto dealer.

They selected Reagan and organized the financing of his campaign for governor because of his "philosophy" of the rights of Big Business and his opposition to Medicare, medi-Cal, social security, open housing for minorities, urban renewal, legal aid for the poor, the student movement, the farm workers movement and the Black liberation movement.

While Governor of California, Reagan denounced Medicare as an "unlimited credit card." Attempting to reduce medical care for the poor, he went on television hoping to gain support from the white middle-class and skilled blue collar workers, by holding up the small Medicare identification card and saying: "You are actually being taxed to provide better medical care for these card holders than you can afford for yourself." Reagan's ploy to cut Medicare was declared illegal by the courts, through the efforts of the California Rural Legal Assistance Office, a federally-funded program which at this moment is in jeopardy of being eliminated or made ineffective by Reagan's OMB.

Although Reagan campaigned for governor under the banner of lower taxes and less government, neither of these came to be during his administration. As governor he signed into law a billion dollar tax increase that taxed every revenue source in sight, including personal income, sales, bank corporations, cigarettes and liquor. Reagan and his capitalist backers led the white middle-class down the primrose path into believing that if you just got rid of social programs, then taxes and the state bureaucracy would decrease in size. The reverse happened.

In California Reagan's politics were surrounded by a cloud of implied racism, as was his campaign for the Presidency. He identified the poor — who were often Black, rebellious and on welfare — as the enemy trying to grab the hard-earned savings of the middle-class. He never once concerned himself with why so many Black or Chicano youth were unemployed or why their families were on welfare. Nor did he make any effort to remedy the situation, but instead turned down all proposals for minority youth training for skilled jobs, a policy now being carried out by the OMB plan to eliminate CETA.

Reagan's administration in California was not with-

NY cops 'trigger-crazy'

New York, N.Y.—The New York cops have gone trigger-crazy ever since Police Benevolent Association President McKechnie told them early this year: "Shoot first, and shoot to kill."

In just one week, cops killed a Latino student at Adelphi University who was trying to break up a fight, and two off-duty cops pumped five bullets into 17-year-old Jose Mendez in Brooklyn, for denting their van with the car he was driving. Also, a 25-year-old man was killed by cops when he was supposedly trying to break into his girl friend's window.

All of these victims were unarmed. But cops have desperately tried to "produce" a weapon in each case, especially that of Jose Mendez, where one cop was wounded in the arm—but the police lab has shown that the bullet came from his own partner's gun!

A Puerto Rican worker spoke for the community when he said, "We don't want these cops going around shooting first and asking questions later. What we want is crime prevention, which the cops don't know anything about. Kids grow up big these days. Is any big ten-year-old kid who is running supposed to be a target for a cop's gun?"

A Black worker said, "New York cops should be disarmed, like they are in many other places in the world. With the new gun control laws, off-duty cops are the only ones with guns, and they are a menace." A Black youth added, "If this keeps up, people are going to rebel."

out opposition. The Reagan years in office were marked from the very beginning by the Farm Workers Movement, a movement labeled by Reagan as "professional bleeding hearts."

For the first time in California history, the Chicano Farm Workers Movement established humane working conditions, union recognition, and a living wage for farm workers. Black students, especially at San Francisco and San Jose State Universities, firmly established Black Studies as part of the curriculum, forcing Reagan and the administrators to accept them. Massive demonstrations against the war in Vietnam and the growth of the Civil Rights Movement prevented the Reagan administration from turning California into a state of total reaction.

The myth of Reagan's California needs to be exposed and most important, Reagan's plan for America needs to be stopped.

California court 'legalizes' segregated education

Los Angeles, Cal.—On what civil rights lawyers now call "White Wednesday," (March 11), the California Supreme Court voted not to hear arguments against anti-busing Proposition 1 thereby making segregated education in California the law of the state. Then wasting no time at all, the Los Angeles Board of Education, voted unanimously to halt mandatory busing before the school year has ended. So flagrant was the Board's act of summarily disrupting the school year, that even white parents opposed to busing protested.

JUDGE PAUL EGLY

Indeed, as the outraged responses of not only the lawyers and civil rights groups in the case but of the local judge, Paul Egly, who has heard the case for the past four years, appeared in the media, it sounded as if February's Black History Month had extended into March.

In a speech following the higher court ruling, Judge Egly admitted that: "The answers to these problems are not in the courts. I used to think they were, but I don't anymore." He went on to charge that the anti-busing-dominated Los Angeles Board of Education has not only failed to meet the desegregation standard set by the U.S. Supreme Court ruling of 1954, but "this district has not met the standard of Plessy vs. Ferguson." The reference was to the 1896 case in which the Supreme Court approved "separate but equal" facilities for Blacks and whites. "The minority children in this district are short-changed," the judge declared.

While the anti-busing members on the Board of Education—all but one of the six-member body—openly celebrated the return to total segregated education, one civil rights lawyer from the NAACP commented that "the people on the street are very frustrated. They are going to take direct action in every form possible." Another lawyer for The Integration Project, an intervenor in the case, said, "basically what we have now is 'separate but equal' being the law of the land. This means another generation of violent uprisings." Rita Walters, the only Black Board of Education member, denounced her "colleagues," charging them with a "renaissance of racism."

BLACK OFFICIALS

As shocking as the actual ruling was, more surprising were the responses of leading Black elected officials in the area. Willie Brown, the newly-elected state Assembly Speaker, stated that busing for desegregation is "a waste of everybody's time." Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, who is up for re-election, remarked: "I have always been one to urge we use our judicial process." Black state Superintendent of Schools, Wilson Riles, white-washed the court decision further with the euphemism for continued school segregation—"quality education"—in stating that "minorities will only lose if there is not a commitment in the district to provide good quality schools for their children."

What makes that kind of escapism the sheerest betrayal of any commitment toward educating Black children is the fact that more than anyone else, these Black officials know that under Reagan \$50 million will be cut out of the Los Angeles school district Entitlement Program for improved, integrated education. At the same time, tuition tax credits are being given to white parents who take their children out of public schools under desegregation court orders to put them in segregated private schools.

What has not been lost on anyone is that yet another battleline has been drawn for the 1980s, not as the single-issue politics of the past but as the measure of just how deep the uprooting of this gangrenous society must be. The Black struggle in this country has always been one for freedom and literacy. Clearly, today's illiterates are not the Black masses, but the Black leadership who cannot read the present Black reality. —Lou Turner

WORKER'S JOURNAL

(Continued from Page 1)

I do feel that this Administration, even though the killings started before it came to power, is somewhat to blame. All the cutting off of federal funds, of food stamps from the poor, of cutting back on welfare, is hitting the Black community very hard. I read in a newspaper where the police in Atlanta are going around in Black neighborhoods, asking Black youths would they want to do odd jobs for money. Almost all of them have said yes. This ties in with the fact that many of those who have been murdered were youths willing to carry groceries to earn a little money. They could have been lured to their deaths. And now even today the youth are so desperate that they will take a chance with their lives to make a few dollars. Isn't this situation going to get worse with the cutbacks?

When a Black woman asked Reagan why his administration was slow in supporting the Atlanta Black community, he remarked that his administration was "color-blind." Far from showing that he is not racist, this remark revealed how racist he is. When he announced that he was sending Vice-President Bush to Atlanta and that he was sending a million dollars to help the police task force, it was not an indication of his concern over the killings. It was in response to the pressure from below, the outrage in the Black community, the marches happening or being planned everywhere. Some 5,000 marched in Atlanta; some 20,000 held a vigil in Harlem (see story below).

The very next day after his statement about being "color-blind," when a woman voiced opposition to the cutoff of her food stamps, Reagan responded that he had just seen pages upon pages of want ads for jobs in the N.Y. Times and Washington Post. But what kind of jobs are in those papers? Are they ones where you can walk in off the street and get a job? I have heard of hundreds and even thousands lined up just for a job application.

AMERICAN SOCIETY AND BLACK LIFE

Atlanta only shows how American society looks at Black life — that it is cheap; that it doesn't count for much. When Reagan says he is going to turn all the federal programs back to the states, it only means that Black people who fought for years to escape the states' discrimination through federal protection, are going to be back in the states' hands.

It is hard for me to understand how Reagan can cut off this money from poor people here, and send so much of it to countries all over the world where dictators kill poor people.

What we need in the USA today is not a return to the days of President Johnson and the "Great Society." Those days are gone and will never return. What all poor people and working people want and need now is a complete change, a new kind of human society where the Reagan types will never again be able to bring misery and death throughout this land.

Thousands join Harlem march

Harlem, N.Y.—Tens of thousands of people from all over New York City joined in an emotionally intense candle-light vigil and march here on March 13. The reason for such an outpouring, which also included thousands of others who displayed candles from the windows of their apartments lining the march route, was the still unresolved disappearances and murders of 22 Black children in Atlanta, Ga.

This action was preceded by a week in which everyone, from factory workers in the Bronx to school children riding the subways, wore green ribbons as a reminder of the unsolved murders. The distinguishing mark of the vigil was the intense silence and arm-clasping with even total strangers. But at times the tension mounted to a fever pitch on a strangely windless night where candles had no trouble burning to a stub, and people broke into chants or songs from the Civil Rights Movement.

"I've met people who came up from the South to join relatives and friends in this march," a young woman said. "The times bring together people who never thought they'd be together."

The march included people from all classes, but noticeable to everyone was the large number of youth and the very poor. Several times the silence was broken by a voice or voices denouncing a person trying to sell a ribbon or some other object, with shouts of "that capitalist, look at that capitalist!"

At the rally site, the mother of one of the murdered children cautioned against those who want to put the question only in terms of Black-white relations. "What is responsible is a perversion," she said. "And these perversions come out more and more as American society gets sicker and sicker."

—Participants

YOUTH

U.S. out of El Salvador!

Detroit

There could be no better foundation of opposition against resumption of the military draft and U.S. intervention in El Salvador than the enthusiasm of the teenage men and women who rallied and marched in downtown Detroit, March 23.

The demonstration, called by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, began at Cass Tech High School, where high school and religious speakers struck out against Reagan's militarism and remembered Archbishop Romero, assassinated one year ago, and the ongoing struggles in Central America.



The march, which began with about 150 people led by high school students under their own banner, headed down Woodward Avenue where many people—just getting off work or enjoying the first sunshine of spring—joined in and helped enlarge the protest by the time we got to the City National Building, where the El Salvadoran consulate is located.

Two Black 16-year-olds coming out of a movie joined the march. One said he had thought of enlisting in the army because he couldn't find any work. He changed his mind when Reagan got elected. He wasn't willing to fight a war, he said.

His friend said he wasn't old enough to register. "But they're going to have to catch me when I'm 18," he said, "because I'm not going to register!"

A Puerto Rican high school student on the march said he wanted freedom from U.S. imperialism for his country, but he didn't want to follow the Cuban path. For him, solidarity with El Salvador's freedom fighters meant wanting another theory of revolution.

And a high school student, whose Spanish teacher posted the bilingual Spanish and English rally announcement in class, met students from other schools who promised to help her organize an anti-draft group.

High school students in Detroit will next focus their opposition on military recruitment and instruction in the high schools, April 4-11, a national week of anti-draft activity.

—News and Letters Youth Committee member

Los Angeles

Opposition to Reagan's sabre rattling over El Salvador is so pervasive that when a number of groups in Los Angeles called a rally in response to the latest shipment of arms and advisors to the El Salvadoran junta, 500 people showed up the next day at the Federal Building to protest.

The sponsoring groups, led by the Coalition in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), called the rally for March 4. It attracted young pro-

testers, half of them Latin Americans, the rest North Americans.

People were chanting slogans against both U.S. intervention in El Salvador and the threat of a draft here at home. The United Auto Workers brought a contingent to the rally, the first time this year they have joined an anti-war event. A number of people spoke of how the West Coast longshoremen have refused to load cargo for ships headed for El Salvador as one way people in the U.S. can concretely extend solidarity to the El Salvadoran revolution.

The same week witnessed several other support demonstrations for the El Salvadoran revolution in the LA area, many of them on the campuses.

At Compton College 125 students attended a meeting March 11 on El Salvador, where two speakers from the Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee spoke on the need to extend solidarity with El Salvadoran freedom fighters by laying the groundwork for the revolution here in the U.S.

One young Black woman revealed the depth of consciousness many youth already have of that connection when she said, "What I want to know is how can Reagan think he can get away with cutting our programs here and then turn around and give that money to those terrible regimes like El Salvador."

Youth in Revolt

During strikes called by the National Front of Moroccan Students beginning Feb. 12, police closed down one campus in Fez after they wounded several students and arrested 26 of them. Sporadic student strikes since January have been against cuts in financial aid.

When students at the university in Tizi-Ouzou in the Berber region of Algeria called a strike in March, it soon became a general strike for the whole city. The students are demanding cultural autonomy and the right to use their own Berber language, instead of Arabic, in the schools.

Mailing lists and membership files were missing after someone broke into the Long Island office of the anti-nuclear SHAD Alliance in January. SHAD Alliance was sued that same month for two million dollars in damages by the Long Island Lighting Company after nuclear demonstrations at its Shoreham nuclear plant in 1979 and 1980. The suit also requests an injunction outlawing future protests. SHAD Alliance has not divulged information about members who could be named in the suit. However, in February, a magistrate ordered three members to answer questions about the "core group of organizers." For more information contact: SHAD et al Defense Fund, 333 Terry Road, Smithtown, NY 11787.

Hundreds of students at the University of Witwatersrand in South Africa (Azania), most of them white, shouted down the government's minister in charge of Black affairs, Peiter G. Koornhof, when he tried to speak March 20. The students yelled "Fascist!" and "Sieg heil!" and "Free (Nelson) Mandela!" as they pelted him with paper balls and sang the anthem of the banned African National Congress.

Racism at UCLA

Los Angeles, Cal.—Black and Latino students at UCLA have been confronting racism both on campus and in the university neighborhood. In January, the police beefed up their patrol of fancy, high-priced Westwood Village in response to shop-owners' complaints that an influx of "bad elements" was curbing business.

Minority youth have been feeling the heat, a bluntly-delivered "not welcome" message even for those who attend school a few blocks away. I.D. checks and petty traffic citations have become routine along with no small amount of manhandling.

At a meeting of the Black Students Alliance, 40 of those present told of being harassed in Westwood. One evening last month, after two Blacks in the student choral group were detained for no reason, the students decided they had had enough. A picket was formed on Westwood Blvd. involving more than 50 students with signs reading, "They say democracy, we say hypocrisy," and "Bust loose, fight police abuse."

The atmosphere on campus isn't any sweeter. The student paper, The Daily Bruin, has contributed a large share of its own racial affronts, mainly in cartoons and in articles on the sports page. One story deriding a Black woman on the basketball team pointed out her grade point average and the way she spoke. That slur drew a protest heavy enough to force an apology from the editor.

Yet when other recent racist expressions were brought up, rather than giving a direct account of themselves, the Bruin editors enlisted the services of a sociology professor who took up the question in a front page spread under the headline, "Is the Bruin an example of subliminal racism?" What followed was a textbook-style discussion of racism which concluded that the Bruin writers were not so much consciously racist as "culturally unaware."

Many were disgusted with the gesture. One woman, refusing to let that pass as the last word, wrote to the editor, "What is happening here isn't subliminal or unconscious. It is real. The times haven't changed and things on this campus aren't getting any better."

—UCLA student

Iranians protest harassment

Los Angeles, Cal.—A rally and march against harassment of foreign students was held at Cal State U. Los Angeles March 12, six days after agents from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and campus police pulled an Iranian student out of class and arrested him, supposedly for not having his visa in proper order.

About 400 students attended the rally and march against the right of INS and campus police to harass students in this manner. The idea of the rally originated after dozens of Iranian students, discussing the arrest in the cafeteria, took the initiative of going to a meeting of the Board of Directors to protest the incident. A coalition of campus groups then organized the rally.

What impressed me about the rally was that it was the first time since the hostage crisis that Iranian students have come out at Cal State to protest the daily harassment that foreign students suffer. Before, we were living almost as if underground. Now we are starting to stand up again to make our voices heard.

—Iranian student, Cal State-LA

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ESSAY ARTICLE

by Michael Connolly

The present world crisis, be it as seen in Latin America, or in the USA, in East Asia or West Europe, in Russia or in Southern Africa, demands that we turn seriously, objectively, and with a vision of a new society, to the peasant dimension as subject of revolution, a dimension that has again and again shaken every part of the world in our era. Today it is a subject that is in revolt all over Latin America.

The peasant strikes, demonstrations and land invasions throughout the hemisphere have created an entirely new stage in the freedom struggles, and nowhere more so than in today's Guatemala. The dialectic of events in that movement against the military dictatorship of Gen. Romeo Lucas Garcia and his U.S. imperialist backers reveals what a simple listing of the oppressive realities cannot: the emergence of the peasantry in revolt, en masse, and with the added character of caste and color.

I GUATEMALA: THE DIALECTICS OF EVENTS

Central to the origins of the current uprising is the ferment of what might be called an "Indian consciousness movement," as it thrust itself into the Guatemalan scene in the mid-1970s. It began with a challenge on the part of Indian intellectuals to the racism that divides all aspects of Guatemalan society into "Ladino," or those with Spanish heritage, and "Indio," a term uttered by Ladinos with great contempt. Stressing the recovery of Indian culture at its Mayan roots, writers such as Antonio Pop Caal denounced those who "dreamed of being Ladino," and insisted instead that the 22 Indian nations "take consciousness of their own identity."

By May, 1978, Kekchi people in the town of Panzós protested the seizure of their lands by rich Ladinos. Led by an Indian woman, they presented a petition to the Mayor, only to be met with a hail of automatic weapons fire from the army. In what was called "Guatemala's My Lai," 114 died.

One month later, Lucas Garcia took power in a supposed "reform" move, ruling a country where a two percent elite owns 70 percent of all arable land, while 200,000 peasants own no land at all. For a half-million



Guatemalan Indian fighters in the Guerrilla Army of the Poor

Indian peasants, each year means a migration from their tiny plot on the altiplano to the hot, humid south coast, where from October to February they work huge coffee, sugar cane and cotton plantations at pittance wages.

Now, however, Lucas Garcia's regime was faced with the explosive growth of mass organizations — the Committee for Campesino (Peasant) Unity and the National Committee for Trade Union Unity. Again and again the peasantry challenged the government in new ways, including the January, 1980 seizure of the Spanish embassy by Quiché peasants. The whole world saw how the army burned 39 alive there, including the Spanish hostages. What received far less notice was the response of the peasants laboring on the south coast plantations. They launched a 17-day strike of some 50,000, occupying sugar mills and plantations.

Suddenly, every protest became a threat to the government, every Indian meeting a conspiracy. Ixil Indian women were massacred in the Nebaj town square in March, 1980, forcing the Catholic bishop of El Quiché to denounce the government campaign of terror.

Now, a peasant congress met secretly, and present were representatives of Ixil, Quiché, Cakchiquel, Kekchi and others — 17 nationalities in all. Now, the government was forced to kidnap Indian youth, "conscripting" them into an army two-thirds Indian, yet officered nearly entirely by Ladinos. Now, a flood of Indian peasants began joining the guerrilla forces, especially the Guerrilla Army of the Poor. No other development has so transformed the situation in Guatemala, and sent such shock waves into the war councils of the Lucas Romero regime in Guatemala City and their Pentagon "counter-insurgency" advisors.

The peasant dimension in Latin America: its test of the relation of theory to organization

Despite the fact that the government and its two private ultra-right death squad armies have murdered some 5,000 persons since Lucas Romero took power, no end to the uprising is anywhere in sight. And far from the guerrilla opponents being Left adherents to theories of "focoism,"¹ mostly from the Ladino population, as they had been in the 1960s, now the peasant dimension in arms poses all questions anew.

The peasant as a subject of revolution has, in our age, not only confronted again and again the feudal oligarchy and the capitalist bourgeoisie, but demanded from the revolutionary Left a profound reorganization in thought and action. What 20th century revolution, whether African, as in Algeria or Zimbabwe; Asian, as in China, Vietnam or Iran; or the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917, has not seen the peasantry burst onto the center stage as a principal actor in the drama?

In Latin America especially, every revolution from Mexico through Bolivia to Cuba and Nicaragua, has revealed the peasant dimension in Latin America's quest for liberation, and underscored that dimension's test of Marxists' understanding of the relationship of theory to revolution. Let's return, however briefly, to the beginning, with Marx's own concept of the peasantry as revolutionary subject.

II MARX'S CONCEPT OF THE PEASANTRY

There is hardly any part of Marx's writing on which more debris has been piled, with academics fondly quoting Marx's comment on "rural idiocy" as though that were the beginning and end of the question. Far from Marx's conception of the peasantry being either one of contempt or one of undifferentiated enthusiasm, his work carefully traces the peasant dimension from the 1848 revolutions to his study of the Russian commune in the very last years of his life.

In the midst of the 1848 Revolutions, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* looks to the East for allies, and concludes: "The merit of the Poles lay in the fact that they first recognized and announced that the liberation of all Slavic nations could be achieved only through agrarian democracy." And it is precisely in Marx's greatest "summing up" of 1848, the 1850 Address to the Communist League, that he precedes his call for "revolution in permanence" with the singling out of the "rural proletariat" as the natural allies of the workers.

Out of 1848 and its experience came both Engels' great work on the 16th century Peasant War in Germany, and Marx's own study of the peasantry, not alone in Europe, but extending as well to Asia. In the *Grundrisse*, he dug into pre-capitalist economic formations, while he fixed his eye on the Taiping Rebellion in China. The agrarian question became for him a world question. Nor were these studies ever separated from the question of revolution. As he put it in an 1856 letter to Engels: "The whole matter in Germany will depend on the possibility of supporting the proletarian revolution with a sort of second edition of the peasant war. Then the thing will be excellent."

His expression stands in starkest contrast to that of Lassalle, who, unfortunately, was to anticipate a full century of misunderstanding of the peasant question. Looking back on the German peasant war Lassalle explained: "The peasants killed the nobles and burned their castles, or . . . made them run the gauntlet. However, notwithstanding this revolutionary appearance, the movement was, in substance and principle, reactionary."

Not only was that worlds apart from Marx's view in the 1850s, but it was to the agrarian question that Marx was to return in his last years, in his studies on the Oriental, especially Russian, commune. Here, what is crucial to see, and not alone for Marx's time, is that Marx's elucidation of the sharp duality within the peasant commune and its response to pressures from the capitalist world without, pinpointed the source of its revolutionary potential—a potential that could have an ever greater impact in the future. By Marx's 1882 Preface to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, the Russian commune was seen as a locale for new revolutionary forces, if they were not isolated from the revolutionary forces within capitalism, especially the urban proletariat.

The fact is, however, that what was clear to Marx was not at all clear to Marxists who followed. It was to take two Russian revolutions and the defeat of the German revolution of 1919, before Lenin was to declare: "If not through Berlin, then through Peking," and thus focus attention on the world revolutionary potential of the peasantry in the era of colonial revolutions. For

Lenin, the path to full revolution in the Russian civil war 1918-19 lay in part through the tremendous self-activity of the peasantry, their land invasions, their driving out of the nobles from the rural areas. Bolshevism's slogan was: "Go and take the land for yourselves!"



Miguel A. Sague, Bolivian artist

III THE BOLIVIAN REVOLUTION, 1952-53

Even though the more than 60 years since the Russian Revolution have been marked by the explosive participation of the peasantry in all revolutions, they have been characterized as well by a non-comprehension of that role on the part of Marxists as different as Trotsky and Mao.² Leon Trotsky knew first-hand what the participation of the peasantry on the side of the revolution had meant in the Russian civil war. Yet as late as 1935, writing on China, he was still clinging to his life-long position that the peasantry cannot play "an independent role, and even less a leading one." And in his last year, 1940, he was repeating: "The peasantry is incapable even of formulating its own interests."

In the Bolivian Revolution of 1952-53 — a deep and genuine national and social revolution, both in the mines and on the land—Trotskyism had its chance to participate in a full sense in an ongoing Latin American revolution. The Revolutionary Workers Party (POR) in Bolivia had actually gained wide support before the revolution, not only among miners, but to some extent among peasants, following its Pulacayo Thesis of 1946. That thesis, supported by the mineworkers, called for proletarian revolution in alliance with the peasantry.

Ironically, what allowed the Trotskyists in Latin America to formulate a position like the Pulacayo Thesis was their total concentration on Trotsky's 1938 "Transitional Program of the Fourth International" rather than Trotsky's theory on the non-revolutionary nature of the peasantry. And the fact is that that Program called for a "workers and farmers" government — this at the same period where Trotsky was repeating that the peasantry was "incapable of formulating its own interests."³

The armed insurrection that broke out on April 9, 1952 quickly revealed its difference from Bolivia's scores of coups and counter-coups of the past. In two days of fighting, the rebel troops were joined in the center of La Paz by the Indian market women — who also ventured into the garrisons and seized the weapons from Indian recruits. A detachment of armed miners from Oruro dismantled the batteries on the rim overlooking the capital.

From the moment the revolution succeeded, it became clear how little the categories of "proletarian" and "peasant," in the narrow economist interpretation of the Left, including POR, anticipated the Bolivian revolutionary reality. Miners seized the mines and won their expropriation from the foreign corporations, suddenly entering into the national life in a way that no Indian group had been able to achieve since the conquest of the Inca empire. And since Bolivian miners and peasants are not two different peoples, the self-mobilization of the mining districts quickly challenged the basis of feudal land relations, as the miners and miners' wives talked to their families in their home villages. What

(Continued on page 11)

2. Mao is never charged with "underestimating" the peasantry. Yet what Mao's history in power underlined is the truth that the only peasant he was for, was the peasant Army, under military discipline, and under the direction of Army and Party leadership. For a tracing of Mao's position on the peasantry, see "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" in *Marxism and Freedom*, by Raya Dunayevskaya.

3. In the Peruvian peasant struggles of the late 1950s and early 1960s, Trotskyism again played a major role, even if a revolutionary stage was not reached. For a study of that period by its greatest figure, Hugo Blanco, see the book, *Land or Death: The Peasant Struggle in Peru*. The whole question of Trotskyism's share of the responsibility for the unfinished nature of Latin America's revolutions is best seen in "Latin America's Unfinished Revolutions," a Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya.

1. For a discussion of focoism by a "participant-observer," see "Guerrilla Inflation: the foco theory as a theory for failure" in *Revolution in the Third World*, by Gerard Chaliand. On the tragic death of Che Guevara in Bolivia, see Editorial in *N&L*, November, 1967. Also see Raya Dunayevskaya's critique of Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution* in *N&L*, March and April, 1968.

El Salvador: the Reagan-Haig conspiracy

(Continued from Page 1)

oriented assembly plants at low wages which do nothing for the development of El Salvador's economic infrastructure; of prohibitions against effective labor unions in agriculture and industry; of fraudulent elections in the 1970s when opposition did surface; and finally of outright military repression against not only guerrillas, but the entire population of El Salvador, as a way of allowing a few to maintain power, with the support of the U.S.

ROOTS OF CRISIS

The roots of the crisis lie both within El Salvador and the U.S.'s dominating relationship to El Salvador, and not, as Reagan and Haig wish to claim, across the Caribbean in Cuba, or across the globe in Russia.

The sheer ignorance, as well as total imperialistic nature of Reagan, and Reagan-Haig ambition to establish a new Pax Americana is nowhere more blatant, more bloody, more conspiratorial, more without any foundation for a so-called East-West confrontation, than the present concoction of making El Salvador the proof of East-West conflict. The truth is that the greatest revolt and very nearly victory in El Salvador — if it weren't for the most abject conquistadores propped up by U.S. imperialism — occurred in 1932, when Russia wasn't even recognized by the U.S. That first outright instance of genocide in putting down the revolt has not yet been recognized. Rather, it has continued for a whole half century, and no one has been on the scene but U.S. imperialism, supporting the most reactionary, most oligarchic, most feudal, most militaristic regimes, of such deep-hued nature that today it even includes death squads.

Reagan has chosen his ground carefully. El Salvador is a country which has already suffered tremendous devastation; it is one where the power of the American military even without American troops, can wreak extreme havoc. It is where Reagan will not be directly challenged by the other super-power, Reagan's challenge is to the El Salvadoran masses, the Latin American masses who are in revolt.

FLASH POINT OF CONTINENT

For El Salvador is the flash point of an entire continent under military heel and seething in revolt. The military dictatorships of Guatemala and Bolivia (see Uruguay, page 10), Chile and Argentina, Brazil and Uruguay, are being challenged. And Reagan has not separated his support of El Salvador's junta from his support of Latin America's other dictatorships. A prohibition on financing of exports to Chile by the U.S. government has been lifted. It had been in effect since



Chile refused to extradite three military intelligence officers indicted for the assassination of Chilean exile leader Orlando Letelier and an American co-worker, Ronnie Moffitt. The U.S. Navy is inviting the Chilean Navy to participate in joint exercises in the South Pacific this year. And Gen. Fernando Matthei, commander of the Chilean Air Force and a member of the junta, met in a confidential visit with the Chief of Staff of the United States Air Force.

Indeed a whole series of right-wing military leaders from Latin America is parading through Washington. General Roberto Viola, the next president of Argentina, has just visited Reagan. This, at the very time that Argentina's national police have arrested human rights movement leaders of the Center for Legal and Social Services and seized the files they have compiled on more than 6,000 missing persons.

A Brazilian delegation, including the chiefs of staff of the navy and air force, met with the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs, Gen. David Jones.

Thus what is in evidence is not the propping up of El Salvador's junta but Reagan's whole policy of support for the most reactionary regimes throughout Latin America. And this support for the militarized regimes of Latin America is part and parcel of his militarization of the U.S. economy and society. (see lead article, March, 1981 N&L). To oppose his policies in Latin America is one way we can unite in solidarity with the Latin American masses. We need to act to prevent U.S. intervention in El Salvador. A second solidarity, equally as important, is to move to uproot Reagan's militarization here at home. These two oppositions to Reaganism demand, as well, a full working out of what we stand for—a free, human society worldwide.

ESSAY ARTICLE

(Continued from Page 10)

followed was the most massive peasant self-organization in Latin American history.

While the National Revolutionary Movement (MNR) government and its Left allies (including POR) argued over whether land reform should or shouldn't compensate the hacienda owners, the peasantry began to seize the land. Rapidly, the land invasions spread across the country, involving hundreds of thousands of Indian campesinos. The first response of the MNR government was to send police to stop the land invasions, and arrest POR members who were aiding the peasants. Even then, with only mild criticism, POR supported the government land policies, hardly recognizing the stark divide that was sweeping through the altiplano and the valleys. Indians, only months ago the dominated huge majority, stripped for centuries of their communal lands, now forced the white elite and their functionaries to flee to the cities. Spring, 1953, saw them as masters of much of the land.

By the time the MNR government signed the Agrarian Reform Decree, fifteen months after the Revolution, the land had already been largely seized. 200,000 campesinos, one-third of them with weapons, attended the signing ceremony. The truth is that the Decree was conceived as part of a way to halt the invasions, and re-establish, slowly, the control by the party apparatus over the direction of the peasant struggle. Yet it was to be more than another year before the Trotskyists, then split into several groups, broke with the reformist MNR government. By then, the bureaucratization of the revolution on the land was well advanced, with the re-establishment of a new peasant leader-elite, tied to the party.⁴

By 1964 the bureaucratized revolution was overthrown by the right-wing general Barrientos. What re-

mained, still largely unheard by the Left, were the continually emerging voices from that supposedly "silent enigma." Listen to the Tiahuanacu Manifesto of 1973, "In Bolivia there exists a pyramid of domination, and we have remained at the lowest and most exploited level of that pyramid . . . We refuse to believe in the rhetoric of those parties which, claiming to be Leftist, do not recognize the campesinos as the makers of their own destiny."

* * *

In focusing on the revolutionary dimension of the Latin American peasantry and its test of the relationship of theory to revolution, light is shed also on the "domino theories" of Reagan-Haig, whatever the name under which they are peddling them this week. Their fantastic insistence that the current freedom struggles in El Salvador — and all of Latin America — are Cuban-Russian conspiracies is an attempt to hide the fact that, ever since Guatemala 1954, they have been the ones who played the domino game.

In the "Southern Cone," Reagan and his ultra-right friends ruling Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Uruguay are playing it still. Having now installed the brutal Garcia Meza regime in Bolivia, the Southern Cone juntas are attempting to spread that brand of terror further north on the continent.

What we North Americans have to do now is to begin to see the real revolutionary relationships in Latin America, beginning with the fact that the Latin American peasant has always been a "city person" as well. In today's struggles, that means being a "country and city guerrilla," whether working in the sweatshops, or unemployed in the shantytown barrios, whether on the huge plantations, or toiling to make a living from a tiny plot.

They are opening new roads to solidarity with a second, revolutionary, North America. And we, in turn — and not only because we have Latinos within this country — are learning not to get brainwashed by the U.S. ruling class. Thus we can begin to extend our hand in solidarity, practically as well as theoretically.

El Salvadorans speak

(Continued from Page 1)

wages. We understand that in the U.S. some workers make around \$8 an hour. In El Salvador, workers earn \$4.40 for 8 hours. In addition, the multinational factories are set up in free trade zones like San Bartol, where they have the privilege of not paying taxes for importing raw materials into the country and for exporting the finished product. These corporations don't pay taxes on this and still pay low wages to workers. There is an economic crisis now, with around 56 factories closed, leaving some 20,000 workers unemployed, and still more factories threatening to close.

As to the participation of the U.S. in the problems of El Salvador, this is an old problem. Because the U.S. has maintained its domination of the government of El Salvador, they believe that this makes El Salvador a colony of theirs. They maintain economic aid, military aid, advisors, to this junta government. It wasn't for the aid that the U.S. is giving to this junta government, the people would have already defeated them. There is much intervention, as the Department of Defense is doing. The argument that countries like Russia, Vietnam and Cuba are giving aid is nothing more than a campaign to justify their own intervention in El Salvador.

The lie is told that this junta is a centrist government carrying out agrarian reform. Our people know perfectly well that there is no real agrarian reform because the oligarchy will never permit it to be carried out, not a just reform of their lands. With the intention of finishing off the peasants' organizations, the army mounts operations in the towns, in the villages. They burn peasants' houses, kill their animals, burn their harvests and plots of corn, beans, and rice, with the intent of ending the peasants who are organized. We denounce all this type of repression.

There exists a strong interaction between the peasant masses and the armed revolutionary forces fighting the regime. The people understand they have the right to defend themselves legitimately or else they will be annihilated. There is not a people in the world who would not react against this type of violence. If the U.S. Army launches itself against the people here, there would be a reaction to defend ourselves. Labor and political organizations communicate with the masses by means of leaflets and very rapid meetings. Ours is not a revolutionary machinery without popular backing. Yes, we have popular backing because of the violence that has been imposed upon us. And we have reacted like this after 15,000 deaths.

A GENOCIDAL REGIME

For us it is very hard to accept that the revolutionary process is going to have a very high social cost. But it is necessary to act, because to not act would deepen the problems and absolute misery of the peasantry, the exploitation of all the working class and as well the middle class. For our part we have an advantage, because all sectors of the population are fighting against this genocidal regime which does not respect the human rights of any sector.

Our concept is one of a revolution against economic, political and social structures which are corrupt and outmoded and do not serve the people. The traditional oligarchic domination is what we wish to make over into something new in which all sectors of the population would have a role to play in the political, administrative and economic direction of the state. We believe that only a government with representation from all sectors can eradicate the misery and exploitation. The distribution of riches in El Salvador is unjust because a privileged few families squander all, going against the rights of the vast majority of the country. The change we want will work toward the benefit of all the people, not just the powerful landlords, industrialists and representatives of multinational corporations. Working class participation is very important to make this change.

We are a small country of 20,000 square kilometers which remains underdeveloped. With a democratic government this country could develop itself to the extent of allotting equally the riches which it produces. This doesn't imply that we aren't going to need the technology of the developed countries, but we need to change the traditional mode of economic relations between underdeveloped and developed countries. We say that in our participation we demand respect for the self-determination of the El Salvadoran people, and in that sense we believe that the U.S. should not determine our road.

The greatest help could be from countries qualified by high technology that could help a revolutionary Salvadoran government in its development. We are surely going to need this help, but we can't permit that that help be given according to the traditional modes of domination.

Our visit to the United States is out of the necessity of motivating solidarity from U.S. workers. In our conversations we have told them of the repression against the workers' movement, about the process of liberation in El Salvador, and we have received a response of solidarity.

4. Of the many books on the history of the Bolivian Revolution and Trotskyism's role there, two of the more important are by Robert J. Alexander: *The Bolivian Revolution, and Trotskyism in Latin America*. Alexander's account of the campesino land invasions there, however, should be supplemented by other sources closer to the peasantry.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Kevin A. Barry

Millions of Spaniards oppose coup attempt by right-wing military

On Feb. 23, the fascist Col. Antonio Tejero Molina brought troops in and occupied the Spanish Parliament, while in the Valencia region Gen. Milans del Bosch declared martial law. This very serious and well-organized rightist coup attempt failed only by a hair's breadth when Spanish King and overall military commander Juan Carlos, fearing a civil war, hesitated and then ultimately refused to endorse it. It showed that Franco's fascist structures remain in place in the police and the military over five years after his death and despite Spain's limited "democratization" in the period since then.

A few days later, millions of Spaniards—workers, students, intellectuals, and the middle class—held the largest demonstration ever in Spanish history to oppose the fascist coup attempt. In Madrid, a crowd over one million strong marched, refusing to be intimidated by the four bombs which fascists had set off along the march route. They also ignored "instructions" from the four main political parties—Socialist, Communist, Center and Rightist—and the trade unions who led the march, to

remain silent. Almost immediately the chant "¡Libertad! ¡Libertad!" was seized upon by the vast crowd. In Barcelona, an additional 250,000 marched and other cities also had large demonstrations.

The established political parties all but ignored this mass outpouring. As the *Washington Post* (3-5-81) noted: "A cowed political class is heeding King Juan Carlos' advice not to probe too deeply into the ramifications of the attempted takeover despite increasing evidence that prior knowledge of it was extensive." The political parties and bourgeois commentators are dwelling on the "fact" that "only the King" staved off the fascists.

All are also ignoring the mass outpourings which preceded the coup attempt. The political parties and press acquiesce or remain silent, while a mere handful of officers are arrested and then held under hotel-type conditions in a military prison while awaiting a military trial. Thus, none stress the fact that early in February a general such as Santiago de Mendivil, a supposed "moderate," was writing openly in the neo-fascist paper *El Alcazar*: "The hour has come to take action. The

point of no return has been reached." He and others like him still run the army and police.

In the weeks preceding the coup attempt, strikes had multiplied in industry, while the Basque movement (which the fascist military has always bitterly opposed) gained new strength, despite its frequent terrorist excesses, when huge protests broke out after a Basque militant, Jose Ignacio Arregui, died under police torture while in prison. A general protest strike on Feb. 16 was almost 100 percent effective in the Basque regions, while fully 10,000 marched in Arregui's funeral, chanting revolutionary slogans.

Despite the failure of the coup attempt, the military right remains as strong as before, poised to move again. Even more ominously, the Left parties and trade unions have agreed to help the King's coverup and help stifle mass pressure to thoroughly dismantle the fascist military command left over from Franco. It is very possible that the tragedies of Allende's Chile or Spain's Popular Front of the 1930's might be ready to repeat themselves, unless mass pressure forces an immediate showdown with the fascist military.

West Germany

More than 50,000 young anti-nuclear demonstrators gathered at the site of the Brokdorf nuclear power plant on Feb. 28, in the largest anti-nuclear demonstration ever in West Germany. They marched in force and clashed with police despite bitter cold and a court ruling which had tried to ban the demonstration.

West German youth have also continued their protests against U.S. imperialism in El Salvador, forcing even the right wing Social Democratic Schmidt government to take a critical stance toward U.S. policy there.

Youth are also prominent in the housing movement in the large cities, where squatters have occupied housing to protest exorbitant rents and housing shortages. Unemployment by the end of 1980 approached one million, affecting industrial areas such as the Ruhr, and especially foreign workers.

Japan

Despite racist portraits in the mass media of a docile population which executes every whim of the capitalist rulers, the truth of modern Japan is one of revolt against all aspects of modern capitalism—from its assembly lines, to its universities, to its nuclear power and nuclear weapons. In no country does the anti-nuke, anti-war movement have such a mass base, ever since the Japanese people experienced first-hand the horror of the nuclear age at Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

In recent months, 6,000 anti-nuclear demonstrators from Left and labor groups demonstrated to protest expansion of a nuclear power plant in Kashima, and another mass anti-nuclear demonstration was held in northern Japan.

Japanese women continue to protest against another aspect of Japanese capitalism—the "sex tours" where rich and middle-class Japanese men go to countries whose economies are dependent on Japan, for the sole purpose of purchasing sex. This has made prostitution a major industry in countries such as the Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan and especially Thailand. The Asian Women's Association of Japan has joined with groups in these other countries to try and stop this sexist, imperialist practice.

East Timor

The Australian courts have revealed secret documents that prove without doubt that the U.S. government, under Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, permitted the government of Indonesia to invade the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The 1974 revolution in Portugal that overthrew the fascist dictatorship, centered all attention on what was happening in Portugal itself and in its African colonies, with little attention given to Portugal's Asian colonies. East Timor was such a colony, and the people of that area declared their independence and tried to set up their own government.

The oil rich government of Indonesia had other ideas and invaded East Timor, suppressed the native population, and has closed the island to all outsiders ever since.

R. A. Wolcott, Australia's ambassador to Indonesia at that time, reported to his government that David Newsom, U.S. ambassador to Indonesia, told him he was "under instructions from Kissinger personally not to involve himself in discussions on Timor with the Indo-

nesians on the grounds that the United States is involved in enough problems of greater importance overseas at present." He also remarked that "if Indonesia is to intervene, they would do so quickly and effectively and not use our equipment."

The Indonesian government admits that over 60,000 people died of starvation, which Kissinger could have prevented. But Kissinger was more interested in the oil production of the country, which is governed by a corrupt military dictatorship.

No native Timorese are permitted to leave the island to tell the outside world about the misery and barbarism that they have suffered. The Reagan administration is not expected to improve the situation.

Racism in Britain



The Black revolt reached a new stage here, when 6,000 Black youth marched to protest police and press treatment of the Deptford Massacre in which 13 Black youth died in a fire. Many are convinced that the fire was started by a Nazi petrol bomb. The Nazis have given up all pretense at being respectable. They now operate through gangs of disillusioned white youth.

There are now dozens of Nazis serving prison sentences for violent often murderous attacks against Blacks, and a lot more still on the loose. It is doubtful whether there is a Black person in Britain who doesn't know that he or she lives in a thoroughly racist society. The Labour Party will never recognize this fact but will continue to preach an abstract "unity" whilst turning a blind eye to the racism that exists.

—Dave Black, Britain

Anti-Semitism in Poland

The attack on Solidarity union members in Bydgoszcz has been followed by a threat of a nation-wide protest strike and rushed negotiations between the government and the union. It was the first organized use of force against Solidarity members.

Equally ominous has been the appearance of anti-Semitism. The most recent incident was a public demonstration held to commemorate Polish patriots who "were tortured, sentenced and executed" at the hands of the "Zionist clique." The new "patriots" warned the government to be vigilant against "the next generation of Zionists," in which they include KOR, the Workers' Self-Defense Organization. They demanded that Solidarity be a "Polish organization" of "genuine Polish workers who will care for only Polish interest."

For its part, Solidarity had already called a special

news conference, even before the latest incident, to denounce the rising anti-Semitic campaign. This stand is very much needed in a country which has never owned up to its anti-Semitism, where narrow nationalism has always found its most virulent expression in persecuting the "cosmopolitan" Jews. Anti-Semitism is still used as a unifying action, though today there are almost no Jews left in Poland. Where there were at least 3.5 million Jews 41 years ago, today there is estimated to be only 5,000 to 8,000. For every 7,000 gentiles, there is one Jew.

The anti-Semitic demonstration was held this past March 8, the 13th anniversary of the beginning of a student movement in Poland in 1968. It was during the 1968 demonstration that anti-Semitism was last whipped up by General Moczar to crush the students, the same General Moczar now back in the ruling Politbureau.

A young Polish woman, exiled because of that campaign, recalls the period: "It was in that period, 1968, during the anti-Semitic campaign, that I was shocked into discovering that there is nothing 'natural' about being Jewish. It is not something I was born with or chose to be, it is rather a purely social relationship with a long, long history I was forced to learn through anti-Semitism. In 1968 it meant forced exile of the 300,000 Jews left after the holocaust."

The students today also held their own demonstration on March 8 honoring the students of 13 years ago who resisted the government. This latest demonstration was joined by Solidarity, including Zbigniew Bujak, leader of Warsaw Solidarity, who pledged to take the students under workers' protection. Together they can be a powerful opposition to a renewed, organized attempt to raise anti-Semitism within Poland.

U.S. oil swindle

When President Reagan, by presidential edict, decontrolled the price of domestic oil production a month ago, he cited the great need of the oil companies for funds for exploration. He is a liar.

The oil companies have so much cash on hand that they don't know what to do with it. Sohio (Standard Oil of Ohio) has just completed a secret deal to purchase the Kennecott Copper Corporation for a sum of \$1.8 billion in cash. Sohio is owned 53 percent by British Petroleum Company. They paid \$64 a share for the stock that was selling the same day for \$27 on the New York Stock Exchange.

Standard Oil of California has offered \$4 billion to purchase 80 percent of Amex Inc., a producer of Molybdenum. Some time ago, Mobil Oil purchased Montgomery Ward, while Shell Oil purchased Belridge Oil for \$3.5 billion. None of the above deals has produced a single drop of "new oil."

Under Reagan the price of gasoline is reaching \$1.50 a gallon and could reach \$2.00 with no controls in sight.

Other oil takeovers in the last few years are: Atlantic Richfield bought Anaconda, a metals company in 1977; Gulf Oil bought Pittsburgh and Midway Coal; Occidental Petroleum bought Island Creek Coal; Royal Dutch Shell bought Billiton Metals; Shell Oil bought Seaway Coal; Standard Oil (Indiana) bought Cyprus Mines; Standard Oil of Ohio bought Old Ben Coal Company, and Union Oil bought Molycorp.

None of the above produced a drop of oil, but did bring most of the nation's coal-producing capacity under the control of the oil giants which can use their control to influence oil prices and profits.