

My life story is the story of many lives

by Charles Denby, Editor

I knew in my mind and my heart that my new book, **Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal**, was more than just the story of my life, and that it was the story of many lives.

Just how true this is was shown very clearly when I went back home to Lowndes County in Alabama on my Christmas vacation. My book had just come off the press, and I decided to take a few copies along with me to sell to some of my friends who I thought would be interested in what I had written. I took 20 copies, and felt sure I'd bring some back with me.

I got to my sister's house about 2 a.m. on Sunday morning, and slept for a while. Later in the day, the son of one of the people I had written about in the book, a storekeeper named Cosby, came to the house. I gave him a copy of the book, and told him to give it to his father and that I'd be over the next day to get the money for it.

WAITED ALL MORNING

At about noon on Monday, I went to Cosby's store and there were several people there. I thought they were customers, and stood behind them so I wouldn't interfere with the business. And then Cosby saw me and started yelling. "This is the most exciting book that I have ever read. I have not finished it, but I haven't been able to put it down since I started reading it. These people here have been waiting for you all morning. How many copies of the book do you have? They all want one. There's so much about this county . . . and every word is true."

One young woman there, when she got her copy, clasped it tightly to her and started to run home with it. She was the granddaughter of Rose Steel, the Black storekeeper who became the target of white harassment when she allowed the Selma civil rights marchers to sleep on her land during their march to Montgomery. I had written about her bravery, and of how others like Cosby came to her aid and forced the white store suppliers to serve her by threatening to stop buying anything until Mrs. Steel got her supplies. I was sorry to hear that Mrs. Steel had died.

Cosby said what he liked best of what he had read was showing that people had their own thoughts and act on their own instincts. He referred to the part in the book where the Black bellhop in the Mississippi hotel challenged me when I and my wife were about to leave
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NEWS & LETTERS

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While U.S. imperialism eyes Mexican oil

REVOLT GROWS IN LATIN AMERICA

by Eugene Walker



Latin American women—like these electrical workers marching in Mexico City—are a vital part of the growing revolutionary ferment.

As the Middle East, particularly Iran, slips out of direct U.S. control, Mexico, with its newly discovered oil and natural gas resources is about to become a renewed focal point for United States rulers. By 1990 Mexico can be the second or third largest oil producer in the world. For the U.S. colossus, the hope is for a source of oil unencumbered by super-tankers, narrow gulfs and long pipelines; freed from the threats of regional and global power politics, and most especially from the possibility of full social revolution which is developing in Iran.

For U.S. imperialism, the route from Mexico would be short and direct. In the visions of Energy Chief Schlesinger, the only question is one of price. Already there has been a breakdown on negotiations over the rate Mexico wishes to charge for natural gas, and there is sure to be concern also over the price for oil, which is expected to match the Organization of Oil Exporting Countries' (OPEC) price.

From the side of the Mexican government there is, as well, the attempt to reduce all to the question of availability and price, with discussion as to how much oil should be left for development of the Mexican economy.

TWO TYPES OF NATIONALIZATION: 1938, 1978

Oil in Mexico is nationalized, controlled by the government-created company, PEMEX. As against this present nationalization, President Cardenas' action against the U.S. oil companies over 40 years ago, when Mexico became the first to nationalize its oil, was a revolutionary act. It was so because that nationalization was unseparated from the attempt to deepen the Mexican Revolution by involving, at the same time, the peasantry in a redistribution of the land, and the working class in the formation of labor unions, which meant, for a brief period, that the working class could express itself.

Today's "independence" of the Mexican government vis-a-vis the United States, on the question of amount and price of oil and gas, has no such revolutionary content. This nationalism has, within, neither genuine independence from the U.S. colossus, nor a pathway toward a different society for itself. Rather, within Mexico, the government's focus has been, not on releasing the human forces who could challenge the U.S., but on stopping, and indeed crushing, that genuine workers' opposition, which is the true opposite to American imperialism, and would put it under Mexican workers' control.

That genuine opposition is very much present within Mexico, and, indeed, within Latin America as a whole. On my recent visit to Mexico I had the opportunity to

(Continued on Page 10)

An urgent appeal to our readers . . .

We are making an urgent appeal for your help — without which we can not continue with our work. The new address for News & Letters that you see below is the result of a move forced upon us by demands for rent increases we could not possibly pay, coupled with the hardships of an inflation which has sent the costs of printing and postage skyrocketing. All of you, we are sure, know only too well what is involved in the soaring prices and in the expenses of moving. They have hit us very hard. Yet never was the need greater to assure that both the freedom voices from below and the Marxist-Humanist philosophy of liberation be heard.

As 1979 opens, the on-going revolution in Iran has both thrown out the hated Shah and reached a crossroads for its future development. The Latin American struggles from Nicaragua to Peru to Mexico, which intensified through 1978, have posed new challenges to their own rulers and to U.S. imperialism. Throughout East Europe, the movement to free Rudolf Bahro threatens Russia's state capitalist rule. And right here at home, there is both the fear that the recession will grow worse, and with it the conditions of labor, and the undercurrent of the cities, ready to explode. So critical is the task of solidarity for the world-wide freedom movements today that there can be no separation between picket-line activity and working out a total philosophy of revolution that re-establishes Marx's Marxism for our age.

It is for this reason that we ask you to work together with us — by contributing both your ideas and your money. As you read this special issue of News & Letters, consider the new points of departure it raises and the tasks that we have set for the months ahead:

• With the special supplement by Raya Dunayevskaya to this issue, *Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted: The Relation of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation*, we have challenged the entire Left to re-think both the relation of Marx to

Engels and the relation of a philosophy of revolution to the Women's Liberation movement today. It is here especially that we ask your help to assure that this work has the widest and most serious discussion, and that we are able to pay for mailing it to many who do not regularly read N & L.

• Along with our day-to-day activity in the movement for Black liberation and in the rank-and-file workers' struggles, we want to be able to purchase ads to let everyone know about Charles Denby's great new book, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, as a class and race history of America that is also projection of the future.

• And we invite all of you to participate with our committees, when Raya Dunayevskaya gives a new series of lectures on her book, *Philosophy and Revolution*, this April in Detroit. Funds are needed now so that we will be able to professionally tape the talks and make it possible for the rest of the country to participate.

The events with which 1979 has already begun make it essential that our work this year not be interrupted by any questions of finances. We have not one paid functionary. All the funds for which we urgently appeal go to sustain News & Letters and assist our organizational work. They help to pay the mammoth bills for printing and for rent, for postage and supplies. We ask you to contribute as much as you can, as soon as you can. Please fill out the form below and send it to:

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WOMAN AS REASON

Leacock vs. Marx on 'Origins of Women's Oppression'

I recently took part in a meeting in New York City on "The Origins of Women's Oppression," featuring the anthropologist Eleanor Leacock. She began by describing her efforts to prove, using Engels' *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, that it is possible to have societies in which women have equality with men.

Leacock discussed primitive societies in which small collectives share the fruits of their labor, even though men and women have different tasks: for example, a Canadian Indian group where men made the outsiders of snowshoes and women made the insides, whenever anyone needed them. She summarized Engels to the effect that our historic troubles began when the division of labor became complex. The family emerged as an economic unit, and the wife's labor became privatized to her husband when its fruits became alienated from her.

A feminist in the audience attacked Leacock (and another anthropologist who spoke), saying "Marx talked about dead labor dominating living labor, and I feel like the dead are dominating us tonight. I would like to re-

Harriet Tubman as leader

I guess it is some kind of victory that the life of "Harriet Tubman — A Woman Called Moses" was finally shown on TV, after so many years of Black women as leaders being totally ignored. The portrayal by Cicely Tyson of her life as a slave and as an Underground Railway leader was a great one. You really did get a feeling of what that mass movement represented. Sister Tubman's whole life was the struggle to be free — and nothing could stop her, not even a man. Yet as great and strong as woman was shown to be in the film, the weakest link was the relation between Man and Woman. It made me see that the same sexist attitudes that stand in the way of our movement as a people today were with us back then. It is always a problem whether some men will accept the leadership of a woman, even if she is the one who really is needed at that moment.

The film also made me think about the family under slavery, and the whole question of children's relation to parents. For slaves in the freedom movement, family couldn't mean the same restricted thing we experience today. You had to treat every child as though it were your own, because you never knew when your own children would be taken away from you — and you hoped someone else would care about them.

For me, though, the main point was the hundreds and hundreds of people Harriet Tubman helped carry away. She never could have done it if she didn't have a vision of a new world outside slavery. When the movie ends with the escape into Canada, you feel like you were freed yourself. But at the same time I had to ask why the movie ends there. That was nowhere near the end of her life.

The truth is that when the Civil War to end slavery began, she became a leader of a whole regiment of Black men who fought the soldiers of the slavocracy and won. It also doesn't show her as activist for Women's Rights after the Civil War, and the way she continued to fight for the rights of freed slaves — men and women. No partial freedom could satisfy her.

There is a lot more to be told about Harriet Tubman and all the other leaders and thinkers who have been ignored. We will find it out though, because we are not just the past, but the future.

— Tommie Hope

'a woman called moses'

After watching Cicely Tyson as Harriet Tubman on TV

freedom is a powerful i.
dea—yes moses:

i hear you calling in the night in
the dark outside my window.
how the air is cool and
a night much deeper than
my child eyes;
i will come.

the ground is soft and wet;
i don't remember all the days.
a journey through a starry forest;
one night you hold me/while i
try to sleep.

how much longer moses, long?
i toss and waken sudden;
we go on.

dry dirt covers my bare feet,
we are not there yet.

i sit on a rock, and the stars rush
through me, i am weeping
my heart is wild with a hunger for freedom
—Mariana Louise

late the oppression I feel as a woman to history. You haven't spoken about the splits we have in our heads, our spirits and our souls."

I also took the floor, to show that the feminist's ideas were closer to Marx's, than either Engels' or the speaker's. Marx's concept of alienated labor does not lie in having your snowshoes sold away from you. What Marx described over and over was the process of laboring, which alienates us from our natural, creative, wholistic desires. Perhaps the women wanted to work at something besides the insides of snowshoes! The division of labor starts not in the family, but in ourselves, with the division of mental and manual labor.

And why should we limit ourselves to women's fall from economic power thousands of years ago? When I brought up the subject of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*—where he returned toward the end of his life to study the fundamental social relations involving women—and said they were quite different than Engels' book, Leacock denied it vehemently, saying Engels "milked the Notebooks for everything in them." What, after all, is the point of updating Engels, if it's not going to relate to what our present movement for liberation has both to contribute and work out for ourselves?

That is why I am so excited to see a draft chapter from Raya Dunayevskaya's book-in-progress published in this issue of *News & Letters* (pp. 5-8). This is exactly what she is working on, in taking up Rosa Luxemburg as a revolutionary theoretician, whom all women keep disregarding, and today's Women's Liberation Movement in relationship to the totality of Marx's philosophy of revolution, from where he began with man/woman in 1844, to the *Ethnological Notebooks*, which no one yet has paid any attention to.

The conclusion of Leacock's view is that women can become free by regaining spheres of economic independence. This has a lot to do with Communist nations such as Russia having all their women employed. But it has nothing to do with revolutionary feminists' or Marx's vision of totally new human relationships.

—Anne Molly Jackson
WL—News & Letters

Russian women need freedom

Women In Russia, edited by D. Atkinson, A. Dallin, and G. Lapidus (Stanford U. Press, California, 1977), \$18.75.

This collection of 17 essays came out of a conference on "Women In Russia" at Stanford University in 1975. We learn that almost all women in Russia are compelled to work to stay ahead of poverty, and that they are concentrated in the lowest-paying jobs. They must work another 6-8 hours per day on household chores. Birth control information and services are almost non-existent.

These and many more facts tell about the need for Russian women's self-emancipation today. And because it was Russian women and men who made the greatest proletarian revolution, 1917, the subject of women in Russia raises the question of revolution itself. That is why one of the most important essays is Alfred Meyer's "Marxism and the Women's Movement."

Marx's magnificent passage from "Private Property and Communism," 1844, on Man/Woman being the fundamental relationship in any society, could certainly be a starting point for discussing women in state-capitalist Russia. But Meyer reduces it to his own concept of a "Marxist theory of alienation."

Yet what Marx wrote on alienation can't be appreciated without also grasping what Marx developed as a philosophy of total revolution to root out all forms of alienation (see Raya Dunayevskaya's "Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation" in this issue). Further, this passage from Marx's *Humanist Essays* is exactly the place where Marx sums up the "sham universality" of vulgar communism, which holds woman as "the spoils and handmaiden of communal lust," and concludes with the need to transcend in life that first negation of private property.

It turns out that Meyer's main preoccupation is with "Marxist strategy," and not the Marxism of Marx. He concludes that the "most potent" Marxist analysis of women's oppression is to combine Marx with Freud—the very person whose sexist assumptions and conclusions today's Women's Liberation Movement rejected long ago!

Some aspects of male chauvinism within the Movement, such as Lily Braun's experiences with the German Social Democratic Party, come under criticism. But Meyer does not refer to the sexist and anti-Semitic vituperation Rosa Luxemburg faced in that same organization. She is only mentioned long enough to repeat the untruth that she "denied the very existence of the woman question." It's here that Meyer shows his own sexism, for it exposes just how constricting his view of Women's Liberation is.

Of course, we would not think of leaving our liberation in the hands of others. But then why should we leave the Marxism of Marx to others? Just to begin where Marx began, and ended—his vision of a totally new woman and man—would shed much revolutionary light on the wealth of information in this book.

—Mary Holmes

**Women-worldwide**

Thousands of students marched in central Rome Jan. 10 to protest an attack on a leftist radio station which was sponsoring a discussion on birth control. A



fascist group took "credit" for the attack. Three women were shot in the legs and one is in critical condition with a stomach wound. In his weekly address, on Jan. 11, Pope John Paul II called for the protection and promotion of motherhood as "women's eternal vocation."

In a class-action lawsuit by Michigan Welfare Rights Organization and the Underground Railroad shelter for battered women, the Department of Social Services has been ordered to stop releasing addresses of Aid to Dependent Children recipients to abusive husbands the women have been trying to escape. State law still permits releasing names, addresses and amount of grants of other recipients to anyone who requests it.

Twenty-three women have resigned the 38-member National Advisory Committee for Women set up by Pres. Carter to implement the decisions of the 1977 National Women's Conference in Houston. The women quit in protest at the firing of Bella Abzug after the Committee issued a statement critical of Carter's wage controls as being particularly harmful to women, who are already at the bottom of the wage ladder.

Dalila Zeghar, an Algerian woman who was kidnapped by her millionaire brother and returned to Algeria after she had fled to Paris and then Montreal to escape him, has been forcibly married to a Moslem. Women's groups in several countries tried to stop their governments' involvement in denying this young woman a life of her own. Algerian women in Paris have founded a publication, *Algeriennes en Lutte: Pour les Droits Elementaires des Femmes Algeriennes* and an organization to protect their rights.

**WRITE ON!**

Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak, edited by Elizabeth Warnock Fernea and Basima Qattan Bazirgan (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977).

This anthology shows the lives of Muslim women from many countries and different backgrounds: Muslim saint to present day Women Liberationists. Though the editors make an opposition between "the word of God" and tradition—they start by quoting the Koran, showing how "liberal" it is, and also include several male chauvinist articles—when the Muslim women are allowed to speak, their tales are very different. For them, the opposition is between being a whole human being and forces that prevent that: male chauvinism (e.g., in Algeria among the narrow nationalists, or anywhere with tyrant husbands), imperialism, and poverty.

"Labour Focus on Eastern Europe: Special Issue", Bottom Flat, 116 Cazenove Rd., London N. 16, England.

This special issue, written by a British socialist-feminist collective, focuses on the position of women in East Europe. The journal is thorough and informative, encompassing such topics as sexuality, birth rate politics, home and work, the family, and the participation of women in the small but active dissident movement. One general theme rings out loud and clear: in all the "socialist" countries, women not only work eight hours a day for less wages than a man, but the double standard is alive and well, and the already overburdened woman has to come home from her job for wages to her job as housewife extraordinary.

Sexual Shake-Down: The Sexual Harassment of Women on the Job, by Lin Farley (McCraw-Hill, 1978).

This is a sensitive, moving, much needed, muck-raker, dealing with the job loss, sexual job-segregation, low wages, suffering and rage caused by the sexual harassment of working women by male co-workers. Especially powerful are the quotes from women who suffered sexual harassment and who fought back! The book is marred, however, by Lin Farley's false opposition between "patriarchal relations" and capitalism, seeing the former at the "root of working women's problems" rather than both.

On reading Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

Worker's life in the process of becoming

by Felix Martin, West Coast Editor

In the mountains where I grew up, those who couldn't get a job in the mines, and who needed something to eat, sharecropped. They were the really poor, and used the corn raised to buy a few other things and for moonshine. The cropping in our area meant you supplied your labor while the man furnished the land, the tools and the seed. Where I was raised it was only white. There weren't any Blacks.

How much rougher it is when your skin is Black. Charles Denby, my friend and editor of *News & Letters*, has just had his *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* published and one chapter deals with sharecropping. In the deep South, where sharecropping was not white and white, but Black and white, the plantation owner gave only the land. The tools and seed and everything else was for the cropper to supply, and you always wound up in a hole to the plantation owner. Certainly the struggle of Appalachian white and Southern Black is similar, but that struggle is deeper and rougher if you are Black.

All through the first part of *Indignant Heart* I felt this kinship with Denby's life, that part of my life resembled his, and at the same time the depth of experience and struggle which was profoundly Black. For the Black, a run-in with the law was devastating whether guilty or not. Where I was raised we didn't pay attention to the law. We created our own.

When you come to the North, on the surface—for Blacks—it looks free. You can sit where you want. But then Denby explains how he often felt more at home entering through the back door in the South where he knew where they stood, than the front door in the North where there was such hypocrisy. I remember my own mountain accent in the North and how people would think of us as stupid mountain people. In Indiana where I first worked after coming North, my revolt against the conditions of work was immediately answered with the call of being just a dumb hillbilly striking out.

Denby in the North found that his slavery was to the boss and machine in place of the plantation owner. In speaking of Auto in the first part of the book he is profound. Twenty-five and more years ago (the first part of the book was written in the early fifties) he

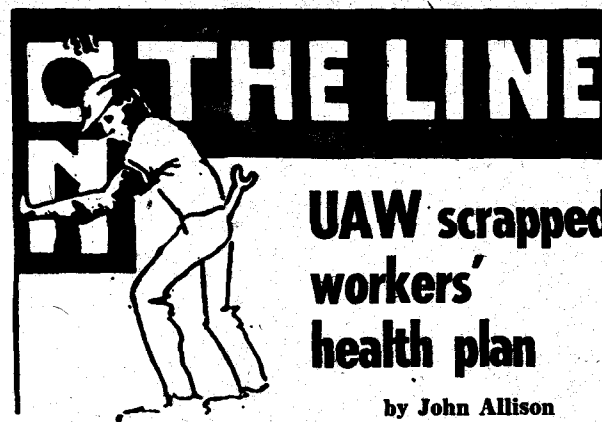
was seeing so much on the question of Black and white, of men and women, and of conditions of labor—all in the plant—that he anticipates so many of the struggles of workers in the 60s and 70s, like the Black caucuses, and women in the plant, and most especially the fight of workers against the machines, speed-up and against the labor bureaucracy.

The second part of the book, which deals with the last twenty-five years of Denby's life is one in which you really see where you are going. It begins with Denby returning South, only it is a very different South. It is a South of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. It is a South of a people on the move. And the North that Denby continues to write of, not alone as observer, but as participant, is now a very different North.

This movement of the Black struggle, of workers against capital, certainly puts the stamp on the second part of the book. It allows a life in the process of becoming to have a certain direction, to find a way to go, and to, in turn, help give a certain direction to the freedom movement.

But it is not the movement alone which did this. The last twenty-five years of Denby's life has been as editor of this newspaper, *News & Letters*, a workers paper. That experience as writer and thinker together with the development of a body of freedom ideas—Marxist-Humanism—puts its stamp on Denby's self-development as a revolutionary. And it is here where my kinship with him is strongest. I have not had his years in association with *News & Letters* Committees. But in the time I have been with them, that self-development of Denby as an individual and as part of these body of freedom ideas, all of which is so forcefully presented in *Indignant Heart*, I have felt within myself. Thus my becoming has taken on a certain pathway toward something very, very different, new and human.

To some of my fellow workers, those who have struggled all their lives and are continuing to struggle, I want to take this book and say, "Look, read this. Here you are." To those who are beginning to struggle and open their eyes I want to say "Here is a book in which you will find some of yourself." Indeed, anyone who has anything human within them will be able to find something of themselves in this book.



UAW scrapped workers' health plan

by John Allison

The UAW gave birth to the Community Health Association (CHA) health plan in the early 1960s. This pre-paid health care plan was supposed to stop Blue Cross-Blue Shield from raising health insurance rates beyond the means of workers to pay.

Workers joined the CHA by the thousands, resulting in the building of several clinics throughout the Detroit area to serve growing needs of workers and their families. CHA really grew.

Then, following the strike against GM which depleted the coffers of the UAW treasury, the UAW cashed in its interest in the CHA. Without warning, the media revealed that Blue Cross and CHA would become one in the health care field, making Blue Cross a bigger giant than it already was.

Now, this giant has kicked the UAW in the pants. Chrysler Corporation notified the UAW through the Free Press, Detroit's morning daily paper, about how they pass on the rate increases in health care costs to the price of their cars. Now the UAW and auto managements are looking at Health Maintenance Organization (HMO) plans, pre-paid sick and accident plans like CHA before Blue Cross consumed it.

In the meantime, Chrysler has been laying workers off and raising production. Workers at Chrysler plants know beyond a shadow of a doubt that Ford's New Idea has come to Chrysler in the form of a shake-up of top management with the hiring of Lee Iacocca after he was fired by Ford. The new team seems to think cutting labor costs is the way to go for new profits.

GM will not be able to guide Chrysler in the negotiations coming up this year. GM made all of the profits, and Ford was next. One or the other of these two, I predict, will be the target for this next set of negotiations.

The new contract won't change very much, if anything, to better the conditions of work on the line. And that's the way it is supposed to be under this system of capitalism. But there's nothing in the Constitution that says workers have to follow the capitalist system. It's long past time for a change, a big change. All the workers I know are more than ready for it.

Uniroyal threatens firings

Detroit, Mich. — The Wednesday before Christmas there was an incident at Uniroyal where an employee walloped the daylights out of Joe Cobb, a general foreman, and two supervisors, Frank Fontana and Charlie Harris. Even though it has given the company an excuse to crack down harder on the rest of us and try to make a rule that wage employees can't go from one department to another, most people got some satisfaction out of it. Cobb is a smart-aleck junior executive who bosses people around and Fontana is so bad that some people in his department won't work day shift for him, or have transferred out.

A while back I was talking to a friend, wondering why the company is getting so much worse. He showed me a news bulletin about how much financial trouble the company is in. Most of their debt is to the pension fund, and it is for almost three-quarters of what the whole company is worth. That is probably why they are trying to get rid of so many workers—to keep them from staying on until retirement. They have been trying right and left to find ways to fire people, especially with the absentee policy and it may also be why they wiped out so many people's seniority a couple of years ago.

The biggest thing, though, is the work pace, because the way it is now, hardly anybody will last long enough to make a "career" here and live to retirement age. Just before Christmas, a young worker in his 30s who looked healthy, died of a heart attack. This is how bad it is.

—Uniroyal worker

FROM THE AUTO STOPS

Dodge Truck

Warren, Mich. — When first shift main building workers came in on Wednesday, Jan. 3, it was so cold inside you could see your breath. All morning, everyone complained to their foremen and called for their chief stewards. But the best anyone could do was wear a coat on the job. When medium and final lines shut down for the second morning break, several workers who had been discussing the problem walked up to the main cafeteria which was warm inside.

About fifty of us there began to shout, "No heat, No work!" We stayed put through the end of the 12-minute rest. Finally, chief stewards Solenberger and Finch came inside to tell us management agreed to set up space heaters by lunchtime, and if we went back to work, no one would be disciplined.

Everyone returned to their job, after they hadn't been able to start the line for 15 minutes. The heaters were set up by lunchtime, but 75 workers, many of them women from the motor station which gets blasts of cold air from an open service door, met up at the cafeteria at lunchtime to protest again, since the heaters didn't help much.

—Main Building worker

Ford Rouge

Dearborn, Mich. — Years ago one of the biggest things that people fought for was the eight-hour day. Now there's no such thing. Mandatory overtime is written right into the contract, to the point where the company can make overtime mandatory during a lay-off.

Some people talk about how you make "all that money" by working overtime. With inflation, people who are raising families are still having trouble making ends meet, and the Credit Union has changed its policy so that you have to have five years seniority before they'll give you a loan for a substantial amount.

Working overtime might give you enough money to afford a decent standard of living, but if you have to work 10 hours a day and eight on Saturday, when do you have time to take care of your personal business or to enjoy what you've earned? All you have time for is eat, sleep, and go back to work.

—Rouge worker

GM South Gate

South Gate, Cal. — In an effort to stop senseless overtime and hold the company to their contract, four workers, three of whom were women, walked off their jobs in Paint after 9 hours, though the line continued to run. Almost two years ago in Body Shop, the struggle against "over 9 overtime" began in the exact same way.

The way foremen asked and the way workers responded was very telling. Some foremen said, "We're going to run the line after 1:12 (9 hours), are you going to work?" Some workers replied, "You can run the line all night long, but a minute after 9 I'll be walking out the door." Many workers just laughed in their foreman's face.

But workers here will no longer tolerate even one hour over 8. This is contract year for Auto and getting rid of the overtime clause so that all overtime over 8 is voluntary should be a prime issue. Here, it has already been made an issue. As one of the workers in Paint put it, "Our walkout was just the beginning."

—South Gate worker

Fleetwood

Detroit, Mich. — Some of the 10 workers who were fired after the 1976 walkout have now gotten their jobs back. Others quit and took a settlement, \$10,000 or something, and a couple are suing for complete back pay. But even if they do win, and a couple of workers get \$45,000 or so, the situation in the plant has become much worse over the time the International helped the company keep them out.

The International has stepped in and settled all the jobs in the plant, with as little manpower as possible. Even the local bargaining committee had nothing to say about how jobs were settled.

All through the plant people are not satisfied. Some people take off two or three days a week. One reason they haven't been laying off recently is that there is so much absenteeism. We need to find some way to stop this, or we will be right back into the sweatshops of the 1930s. It is fast becoming a company union—the foremen call committeemen on us now! We have to tear down the structure of the UAW and most other unions and rebuild them.

—Dept. 21 worker

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EDITORIAL**The real struggle in Iran now begins**

The departure of the Shah on Jan. 16, after a full year of increasingly massive revolt against his brutal, 37-year rule, brought jubilant throngs into the streets of Iran, as the ever-swelling cries of "Down with the Shah" were replaced with shouts of "Victory is ours." The smashing defeat of the Shah was an even greater defeat for American imperialism—which had chosen the Shah for the key role in the Middle East, "the Guarantor of the Gulf and the Indian Oceans," had armed him with billions in weapons, and was determined to keep a revolution in this oil-rich, critically strategic land from toppling him.

The truth is, however, that just as this victory by the Iranian masses is not the end of the revolution, but only the beginning—so this defeat of American imperialism will not mean an end to its counter-revolutionary role in Iran, but an intensification of it.

ALL EYES ARE ON IRAN

Thus, the Carter Administration's present embrace of Shahpur Bakhtiar, under the pious claim that his so-called "civilian government" is Iran's only protection against a feared military coup by the Right-wing Army, is the sheerest hypocrisy. Not only does the whole world know that American imperialism has no aversion to military coups, and has a full stable of outright butcher fascists it has given support to throughout the entire world—from Chile to the Philippines to the Shah, himself—but everyone in Iran knows that Bakhtiar is nothing more than an agent of the Shah.

Nor do the Iranian masses have to be convinced how brutal are the terror machines of the Army and SAVAK. The simultaneous sacking of the hated SAVAK prison and attack on the American Embassy in Shiraz, the week before the Shah's final ousting, gave ringing testimony to how fully the masses know exactly who their enemies are.

It is not a military coup but those masses in motion that Carter and all the world rulers fear. While there is scarcely a spot on the globe that has not erupted with a new crisis to greet 1979, it is Iran that grips the super-powers more than even the Vietnam-Cambodia events, because what all of them—the U.S., Russia, China and all the smaller powers alike—fear most is a genuine social revolution anywhere on the earth. Clearly, Carter has no intention of letting the Iranian revolution win. Indeed, the only reason the ships he ordered from the Philippines toward Iran were stopped when they reached the South China Sea was because it became clear that their arrival would only heighten the revolution, not stop it.

WORKERS, NOT KHOMENI, ARE THE KEY

That the departure of the Shah is only the beginning of the real struggle is nowhere more clear than in relation to the contending forces inside Iran. While all the headlines play up the exiled Ayatollah Kho-

meini as the most important opposition to the Shah and his stand-in, Bakhtiar—and while nobody can underestimate the following that Khomeini has within Iran—it is not true that Khomeini is the opposite of the present regime. The absolute opposite is the power of the



Iranian people, and above all, the Iranian workers. The real key to what lies ahead rests on what they will do in the coming days.

Nothing is more significant in the recent events than the response of the oil workers to the mission led by Mehdi Bazargan, former head of the National Iranian Oil Company, and a much-respected religious opposition leader in his own right, when he was sent by Khomeini to Iran's oil fields during the first days of January, with urgent instructions to get striking workers to produce enough to meet domestic needs. The message Bazargan sent back, after having been soundly booed at meetings of strikers, was a terse: "They do not respect religion."

"All Iran" is not "divided into three oppositions—the Religious Leadership, the Military, and the National Front"—contrary to what the New York Times (Jan. 14, 1979) would have us believe. It is not only that it is fantastic to overlook the Tudeh (Communist) Party, when, though long outlawed, it has surely gained considerably during the current actual revolution, and its ambivalent role cannot be ignored in its future.

It is that differences between a Khomeini, a Bakhtiar, and the Tudeh are but the tip of an iceberg. From below, during the past year, have appeared all kinds of new forms of organization—from informal groups both inside and outside of the mosques, to brand new trade unions, student organizations and women's groups—

that will first now have to face the question of how the workers, students and women can finally gain control over their own lives.

Nothing in Iran can ever be the same again, no matter what comes next, after the past year that has seen ever deeper and newer sections of the population drawn into the struggles.

SOLIDARITY NEEDED FROM STUDENTS AND WORKERS

What is crucial in Iran is that the workers, the peasants, the students and the women, who have been not only the force but the Reason of this revolution, continue to rely only on their own strength, and look for their support, not from any other state power, but from the workers, the students, the women in other lands who are all fighting their own rulers, and have been, demonstrating their solidarity with the Iranian revolution throughout the world.

What is crucial for American revolutionaries is that we make sure the Iranian students in the U.S. do not demonstrate alone. It was, indeed, the massive demonstrations of the Iranian and American students in Washington, D.C. in November, 1977, when the Shah still appeared to be firmly at the height of his power, that helped give strength to the revolution-in-the-making, when Iranians saw the spectacle of the Shah and his host, President Carter, wiping tear-gas from their eyes and were enabled to measure the intensity of the protest thereby. The solidarity that is needed today must be precisely that alive and actual and more than just words. And it is needed not only from American students but even more urgently from American workers.

At this critical point in its development, our first demand must be for U.S. imperialism to keep its already blood-stained hands off the Iranian Revolution!

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BLACK-RED VIEW Critique of 'The Declining Significance of Race'

by John Alan

The Declining Significance of Race, a recently published book by William Julius Wilson, Black professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, can be added to the growing number of books and articles currently dealing with the obvious schism that now exists between an "upwardly mobile" Black middle class and what is now being called the "Black underclass."

Wilson has set out to show, among other things, that the great occupational gains accomplished by the American Black middle class, over the last three decades, have divided Black people along class lines to such an extent that it is "difficult to speak of a uniform Black experience." And he further says that this crystallization of Black Americans along class lines is the result of the declining significance of race in the employment of the educated and professionally trained members of the Black middle class by industry and government.

According to Professor Wilson, class determines whether a Black person is employed or not; and this substitution of class for race is due to the economic and technological changes which have taken place in U.S. production since World War II and the political

desire of the government to intervene and mediate race and class conflicts.

These technological changes in the growth of "corporate industries" — Professor Wilson's words as he describes capitalist production—are revealed when "The growth of production depends more on technical progress and increases in physical capital per worker than on the growth of employment" (p. 96).

It is on his foundation of lack of growth in employment, caused by the great growth of technology in production, that Professor Wilson builds one of the three legs upon which the emerging Black middle class stands. The other two are: the politics of government intervention into traditional Black/white relationships, as expressed in equal employment laws and affirmative action; and the employment of large numbers of Blacks in the management of the welfare functions of the government bureaucracy.

Wilson defines the present period of capitalist production as "modern industrial." The characteristics of this period, as it pertains to African-Americans, is that the development of technology, i.e. automation, has not only created an army of unemployed and underemployed Blacks, but has also opened the doors of employment to those trained members of the Black middle class who can cope with this type of production. For Wilson, the impact of affirmative action and equal employment laws has sent corporations such as IBM, Standard Oil, etc. to vigorously recruit college-trained Blacks. He gives lots of statistics to support this.

While The Declining Significance of Race is a serious attempt to understand, both the rise of the Black middle class and the history of race relations in the U.S., it is a very one-sided book. There is no attempt to analyze automation or to deal with workers' opposition to this type of production. When Professor Wilson is faced with the tenuous position that middle-class Blacks hold in the world of technology because of the threat of economic crisis, he simply says: "There is little available evidence to suggest that the economic gains of privileged Blacks will be reversed." And, what is even more dangerous to ignore is that automated technology, by its very nature, demands as its toll ever less workers.

Nowhere does Professor Wilson show workers' opposition to industrial technology. Yet since the birth of

automation in the 1940s through today, we have witnessed innumerable wildcat strikes and protests. Wilson paints a picture of higher wages, good working conditions, and many fringe benefits for a small elite section of the working class, and at the same time does not see the introduction of greater work discipline as demanded by machines, speed-up, overtime, and absence of safety and health needs—the very things that put workers in opposition, not only to the capitalists, but to their unions and the government.

The failure to grasp the human opposition to automation has made it easy for Wilson to treat the "Black under-class" as a shadow, without the possibility of doing anything to change their lives in an automated world.

Wilson does not envision any kind of mass action, and is of the opinion that present racial tensions are centered in what he calls "the sociopolitical order"—competition for residential areas, school desegregation and municipal political systems. These are the same aims the Black middle class had during the Civil Rights Movement, but in 1968 it was the Black masses who went beyond these aims, and it is hardly possible that they will start from this position when the struggles resume again.

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**Relationship of Philosophy and
Revolution to Women's Liberation:**

Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted
by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA
(see pp. 5-8 in this issue)

presentation by Michael Connolly

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Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted

Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation

by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA, author of *Marxism and Freedom* and *Philosophy and Revolution*

I. Why A Century to Publish Marx?

BECAUSE MARX HAD DISCOVERED a new continent of thought as well as revolution, and because both concept and fact have ever been rigorously tied together in Marx's Marxism, his works carry a special urgency for our age. More relevant than the ceaseless question of private vs. collective (or state property that calls itself Communism) is Marx's articulation of Man/Woman as the fundamental relationship, at the very moment (1844) when he first laid the philosophic foundation for what became known as Historical Materialism. The new continent of thought Marx discovered soon issued its indictment of the past—"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles"—and its call for a new world, new human relations, a class-less society.

What has an imperativeness for today is the fact that, at the very end of his life (1880-1882)—after the French edition of his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, which was published after the defeat of the greatest revolution he had witnessed, the Paris Commune—Marx returned to the pivotal Man/Woman relationship, as, at one and the same time, he excerpted Lewis H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*,¹ and wrote to Vera Zasulich about the needed Russian Revolution.

It has taken nothing short of a series of revolutions to bring out the unpublished writings of Marx.² The 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts* were not published until after the Russian Revolution. The 1857-58 *Grundrisse* was not published until after the Chinese Revolution. Unfortunately, Women's Liberationists of the mid-1960s to mid-1970s exercised no revolutionary prod to wrest Marx's notes on anthropology from the Archives, much less dialectically work out, on that ground, all the new from the ongoing Movement. Quite the contrary. The Women's Liberation Movement, which had helped create a new interest in Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, only served to provide new loopholes for Marxists, "orthodox" and so-called independent alike, to rush in and try to have that work be the ground, the direction the Movement would take.

Though there had always been a Party, and, indeed, an International (the Second) that laid claim to the heritage of Marx, the truth is that it took the Russian Revolution of November, 1917 to prod even Marxist scholars to discover the now-famous 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*. And once the early workers' state became transformed into its opposite—a state-capitalist society—these continued to gather dust until the 1956 Hungarian Revolution brought them onto the historic stage.

To bring about a serious study of the next unpublished work, the *Grundrisse*,³ in the 1950s, it took nothing short of the Chinese Revolution of 1949. It took still another decade before even the single most discussed chapter of that work—"Forms Which Precede Capitalist Production"—was published in English as *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*. Because, however, the discussion was focused mainly on feudalism, or rather, the transition from feudalism to capitalism, many lacunae gaped open as to its relationship to Engels' *The Origin of the Family*, with all Marxists, Eric Hobsbawm included, claiming: "This was a work which Marx wanted to write, and for which he had prepared voluminous notes, on which Engels based himself so far as possible."⁴ Was that really so?

¹ In 1972, Marx's Notebooks, under the title, *The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx* (Van Gorcum, Assen, 1972), were finally transcribed by Lawrence Krader, painstakingly footnoted and with quite a profound, 90-page Introduction. It is necessary to emphasize the word, transcribed. It is not a translation. The Notebooks were written by Marx in English but include many phrases and full sentences in French, German, Latin and Greek.

² Not all have been brought out even now! There is no dearth of scholars who are happy to jump at such an excuse in order not to grapple seriously with that which is available, especially on *Capital*. See Ernest Mandel's Introduction to the Pelican edition of Vol. I of Karl Marx's *Capital*, p. 29 and again p. 944. And see my critique of Mandel, "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's Capital," in *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* (News & Letters, 1978).

³ The *Grundrisse* was not published in full in English until 1973, when the Pelican Marx Library published it in London.

⁴ Karl Marx, *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, with an Introduction by Eric J. Hobsbawm (International Publishers, 1965), p. 51, fn. 2. There is no indication anywhere that Hobsbawm had seen these "voluminous notes", which dealt with Morgan, Phear, Maine and Lubbock.

The year which finally saw the publication of Lawrence Krader's transcription of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, 1972, was the year also when Eleanor Burke Leacock wrote a new Introduction "updating" Engels' work. She perpetuated the myth that *The Origin of the Family* is a product of Marx as well as Engels.⁵ In 1974, Charnie Guettel, in her pamphlet *Marxism and Feminism*, makes Leacock's Introduction "mandatory reading for any serious Marxist."⁶

1972 is also the year that saw the publication of a most serious independent work on the history of women's resistance from the 17th century to the present, *Women, Resistance and Revolution*, by Sheila Rowbotham, who likewise not only acts as if Marx and Engels were one, but singles out Hal Draper's "Marx and Engels on Women's Liberation" thusly: "This is a very useful summary of what Marx and Engels wrote about women."⁷ While she is independent enough of Marx to call Marx and Engels "a couple of bourgeois men in the 19th century,"⁸ she has but one criticism of Draper's "summary": "It doesn't really point out problems and inadequacies of what they wrote."

Hal Draper, the author of the article Rowbotham recommends, was then (1970) working on a book pretentiously⁹ entitled *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution*. It is first now (1978) seeing the light of day, and still not in toto. Clearly, however, eight years back, Draper was so very anxious to bring his views to bear on the Women's Liberation Movement, subjected to "less-than-knowledgeable summaries that have seen the light recently," that he chose that chapter for separate publication.¹⁰ Neither then, nor now, has he shown any knowledge of the finally available *Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx*.

⁵ Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (International Publishers, New York, 1972, 1975). In her 66-page Introduction, Leacock writes: "The book was written after Marx's death, but was drawn from Marx's as well as Engels' own notes" (p. 7). Neither the 1972 nor 1975 edition has any reference to the *Ethnological Notebooks*, nor does Leacock show any awareness of the fact that Marx's notes on Morgan had been available in Russia since 1941.

⁶ Charnie Guettel, *Marxism and Feminism* (The Women's Press, Toronto, copyright 1974): "Leacock's introduction is the most valuable current study of Engels available and mandatory reading for any serious Marxist" (p. 14, fn. 8).

As for Evelyn Reed's *Woman's Evolution*—the pretentious "product of over 20 years of research," glorifying a "matriarchal age" "comprising more than 99 percent of human existence"—its emptiness of any revolutionary socialism is seen in the studied elimination of any and all reference to Marx. This is further emphasized by the fact that none of Marx's works are listed in the bibliography. Consider the fact that Evelyn Reed's subject is "woman's evolution," and both Morgan's and Engels' studies do play an acknowledged, important part in her analysis, but there is not one word about the *Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx*. Whether that is out of sheer ignorance or out of studied omission, one must question what is her purpose. A little bit of dialectics, of course, would have gone a long way to soften her complaint that the "wealth of data on the question of anthropology and archeology has not been matched by an equivalent expansion in theoretical insight" (p. xvi). Evelyn Reed explains her methodology to be "evolutionary and materialist." All one can say about that is that it certainly isn't revolutionary or historical.

⁷ Sheila Rowbotham, *Women's Liberation and Revolution* (Falling Wall Press, Bristol, England, March 1972, expanded in 1973) p. 6. This is the "extensive, descriptive bibliography" to which Rowbotham refers in *Women, Resistance and Revolution*.

⁸ Sheila Rowbotham, *Women, Resistance and Revolution* (Pantheon Press, New York, 1972).

⁹ Draper explains his goal to have been "a full and definitive treatment of Marx's political theory, policies, and practice," but since that was "unattainable", since politics has come to have a narrow meaning, and since there is a need to go "beyond the indispensable 'grand theory' . . . It is to bend the stick the other way that this work is titled *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution* rather than *Political Theory*, which might be interpreted too narrowly" (pp. 11, 12), Hal Draper, *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution* (Monthly Review Press, New York and London, copyright 1977).

¹⁰ Hal Draper, "Marx and Engels on Women's Liberation" (*International Socialism*, July/August 1970). All pagination in the text is to this article.

The pretentious scholar who so heavily roots himself in Engels' *The Origin of the Family*—not only in the chapter on "Women's Liberation" but throughout his projected six-volume work—should surely have known about these Notebooks, and I'm not referring only to 1972, when they were finally transcribed in their original English, but to the first mention of them in the early 1920s when Ryazanov discovered them and had them photographed.¹¹ In 1941, the Marx-Engels Institute published a Russian translation.¹² And therein lies a tale.

IT IS TRUE THAT ENGELS did think he was carrying out a "bequest" of Marx in writing *The Origin of the Family*. It is also true that his enthusiasm in discovering Marx's Notebook on Morgan, which led him to get his own copy of Morgan's *Ancient Society*, and which inspired him to write the book, made him believe that he was expressing Marx's views in a coherent form rather than the polyglot marginalia Marx was using for himself alone as he was excerpting Morgan. But Engels was not Marx, as he, himself, was the first to admit, and *The Origin of the Family* was his version, in which the select quotations from Marx gave the impression that he was reproducing Marx's "Abstract."

Far from that being true, we now know that not only is the "Abstract"—that is to say, Marx's actual Notebook on Morgan—148 pages long, but also that it is not the whole of Marx's Notebooks on anthropology. The whole is 254 pages—and even that is not the whole.* This is not the place to try to come to grips with this great mass of material (although I do hope to return to the question at a later date). Here I'm concerned only with the way modern Marxists who are interested in today's Women's Liberation Movement were influenced by *The Origin of the Family*, without ever bothering to find out what Marx had actually written, and then acting

"It took nothing short of a series of revolutions to bring out the unpublished writings of Marx."

as though Marx and Engels were one on the question. For this purpose, it will be sufficient to focus first on a fairly minor matter—how important even a mere excerpt is in Marx's hands, through the way in which he emphasized certain words that were not emphasized in Morgan. Here is one excerpt on women of the Iroquois:

"The women allowed to express their wishes and opinions through an orator of their own selection. Decision given by the Council. Unanimity was a fundamental law of its action among the Iroquois. Military questions usually left to the action of the voluntary principle."¹³

Secondly, and this is the critical point, the Russians took liberties when they, in 1941, did translate the Marx text on Morgan. Engels, naturally, cannot be blamed for this mis-translation. Nor can the Russians excuse themselves on the basis that the inspiration for using the words "private" and "hallowed" came from Engels. Here is how Marx excerpted a part of Morgan:

"When field culture bewiesen hatte, dass d(ie) ganze Oberflaeche der Erde could be made the subject of property owned by individuals in severalty u(nd) (das) Familienhaupt became the natural center of accumulation, the new property career of mankind inaugurated, fully done before the close of the Later Period of Barbarism, uebte einen grossen Einfluss auf (the) human mind, reif new elements of character wach . . ." (*Ethnological Notebooks*, p. 135.)

Here is how the Russian translation reads:
"When field agriculture had demonstrated that
(Continued on Page 6)

¹¹ Ryazanov's first brief account was published on Nov. 20, 1923 in *Vestnik Sotsialisticheskoi Akademii*, No. 6.

¹² *Arkhiv Marksa y Engelsa*, Vol. 9, 1941 (Leningrad).

¹³ In the edition of *Ancient Society* I am using (the reproduction by Kerr, Chicago, of the 1877 edition) this appears on p. 118. Not only is there no underlining in Morgan, but in Marx the role of the women is not limited by "even", nor is the word "decision" limited by a "but" as in Morgan: "Even the women were allowed to express their wishes and opinions through an orator of their own selection. But the decision was made by the council . . ."

* Marx's notes on Kovalevsky, which the Russians published in 1958, were reproduced by Lawrence Krader in *The Asiatic Mode of Production*, Van Gorcum, 1975, available from Humanities Press.

Relationship of Philosophy and

(Continued from Page 5)

the whole surface of the earth could be made the object of property of separate individuals and the head of the family became the natural center of accumulation of wealth, mankind entered the new hallowed path of private property. It was already fully done before the later period of barbarism came to an end. Private property exercised a powerful influence on the human mind, awakening new elements of character . . ." (Arkiv Marksa y Engelsa, Vol. 9, p. 52. Emphasis is mine to stress what was neither in Morgan nor in Marx's excerpt.)

[Here is the original Morgan excerpt: "When field agriculture had demonstrated that the whole surface of

the earth could be made the subject of property owned by individuals in severalty, and it was found that the head of the family became the natural center of accumulation, the new property career of mankind was inaugurated. It was fully done before the close of the Later Period of barbarism. A little reflection must convince any one of the powerful influence property would now begin to exercise upon the human mind, and of the great awakening of new elements of character it was calculated to produce . . ."]

Now the Russians have very concrete, class—state-capitalist class—interests that inspire them to translate "the career of property" as "private property" and repeat the word twice. But why should independent Marxists who are not statist-Communists likewise narrow

the subject to collective vs. private property, when Marx's point is that the "property career", i.e. accumulation of wealth, is that which contains the antagonisms of the development of patriarchy and later class divisions?

If we are to grapple with that seriously, we must, first, appreciate the totality of Marx's philosophy of revolution sufficiently to want to unearth what Marx had said from under all the debris of what was attributed to him from the time of his death in 1883 until the 1970s, especially so on women's liberation; and secondly, maintain a finger on the pulse of today's Women's Liberation Movement. It's in this context that we turn to one of the recent "summaries" of what Marx was supposed to have thought on the question, Hal Draper's "Marx and Engels on Women's Liberation."

II. Hal Draper Misconstrues

Hal Draper no sooner opens his chapter on women's liberation than he at once starts sniping at today's Women's Liberationists' "social psychology and attitude (like 'male chauvinism')", contrasting it to the views of "Marx and Engels" who, he claims, rooted the "Woman Question" in the "primordial division of labor" between the sexes, and warning us that since that preceded "capitalism, or the state, or the division between town and country, or even private property . . . this division of labor will be most resistant to uprooting" (p. 20, col. 2).

To help us in this tortuous task, it would seem he would at once plunge into Marx's whole new continent of thought. No, Draper, instead, chooses to roll Marx's views back to his "presocialist" days. This at once makes it clear that the "Woman Question" is not the only theme of which Draper is oppressively aware; the other apparition is Hegel. He blames Marx for casting his views "in typically Hegelian-idealist terms" (p. 21, col. 1). By no accident, what then manifests itself is that these two preoccupations, in turn, take second place to the overwhelming drive to do nothing short of transforming into opposite Marx's concept of that most fundamental relationship of Man/Woman as measure of just how deep a revolution is needed to uproot this exploitative alienating social order.

BENT ON THAT GOAL, Draper begins his task by trying to reduce Marx's concept to that of Fourier, frothing at the mouth about the first "lucubrations of this newfledged socialist, his 'Paris manuscripts.'" He is talking about the epochal Humanist Essays of Marx, holding that they are a product of the fact that Marx's view that the Man/Woman relationship is a measure of humanity's development is only due to the fact that Marx "enthusiastically" adopted Fourier's view.¹⁴

So anxious is Draper to force Marx's Promethean concept of the Man/Woman relationship into the Procrustean attitude of Draper's view of Fourier that he embarks on yet another bold leap downward to his *reductio ad absurdum* thesis by skipping the years between 1844 and 1868, though he is still dealing with the first section, "Marx's Early Views (1842-1846)". Obviously not all that confident that he has succeeded in obfuscating the year before Marx broke with bourgeois society (1842) with the year after (1844), as he presents the years 1842 to 1846 as a single unit, Draper now decides to devise a different scenario in jumping to 1868. First he refers to Engels in *Anti-Duhring* (1878) as again paying "homage to Fourier".¹⁵ Then Draper divines that Marx is also paying homage to Fourier in 1868. Proof? It takes strange ears to hear it in Marx's Letter to Kugelmann (Dec. 12, 1868): "Great progress was evident in the last Congress of the American 'Labour Union' in that, among other things, it treated working women with complete equality . . . Anybody who knows anything of history knows that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex (the ugly ones included)."

If you failed to hear that "echo" of enthusiasm for Fourier in Marx's 1868 letter, you are obviously not as adept as Draper in "the exercise in excavation".¹⁶ To hear it where it isn't, you need the presumptuousness of Draper's divinations that Marx, "perhaps without think-

ing of the source" (p. 21, col. 2), nevertheless achieved that "echo".

Please remember that Draper is not at this point writing about "the lucubrations of the new fledged socialist." No, the Marx he is talking about here is the Marx who, the year before, finally published his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*. Two decades have elapsed since Marx had issued the world-shaking *Communist Manifesto* and plunged directly into the 1848 Revolutions. It is the Marx who is the head of the First International Working Men's Association, writing about a new stage in working class development in the U.S. following the Civil War and the struggle for the shortening of the working day.

The establishment of the National Labor Union with its call for the equality of women (indeed, it was electing them to decision-making positions¹⁷) is what inspired Marx's letter to Dr. Kugelmann. Marx had devoted no less than 80 pages of *Capital* to the struggles for the shortening of the working day, and the bulk of that chapter dealt with the oppression of women and children.¹⁸ Now Marx sees something happening across the ocean on the subject and he calls Dr. Kugelmann's attention to the women being invited to join the First International. That letter does have another sentence Draper chose to leave for later. Marx was stressing that they had elected Madame Harriet Law to the highest ranking body, the General Council. Wouldn't that have been something to shout to the skies about, that in mid-19th century Victorian England, Marx organized the First International Working Men's Association which had women not only as members but in decision-making positions?

There was an expression in that letter to Dr. Kugelmann which showed that even a Marx hadn't fully escaped the marks of the age, and thus, though he measured "social progress" by the "special position of the fair sex", he nevertheless added the phrase, "(the ugly ones included.)" But far from taking issue with that phrase, Draper lets it go as he returns hurriedly to the "early years" once again, and then is off to the question—"The Sexual Revolution of the Past" and "Monogamy and/or Love: The Future of the Family", which he roots in Engels' *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*.

WE WILL FIRST NOW SEE the reason why Draper had held that this work was not just Engels' but Marx's — it "should be considered the joint work of both men" (p. 23, col. 2)—and how that inaccuracy has helped to disorient the socialist women's liberation movement.

The question of sexual relations, forms of marriage, the family, are certainly pivotal, and even if one, like Draper, wishes he could skip over the 1844 *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*, especially so on the question of that fundamental relationship of Man/Woman, there nevertheless has been plenty of other evidence about Marx's disgust with bourgeois monogamy and its double standard, all of which needed total uprooting in any new society. After all, the very next year, 1845, there was the joint work of Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*, which is recognized as the first statement of Historical Materialism, and which Draper quotes at length on these questions. And in that famous year, there is Marx's *Theses on Feuerbach* that again Draper quotes, even calling attention to the fact that where Marx wrote that "the family" had to be "destroyed in theory and in practice", Engels had edited it to read that the family "must be criticised in theory

and revolutionized in practice." Nor did one have to search for heretofore unpublished documents, since the most famous of all of Marx's works—the *Communist Manifesto*—made no bones about the fact that it was "self-evident" that with the "abolition of private property" would come "the abolition of the family".

What, then, could possibly have produced such great new enthusiasm, four decades later, for Morgan's *Ancient Society*, as analyzed by Engels in *The Origin of the Family*? Surely it couldn't have been just the question that not only had the monogamous family not always been the form of marriage, but neither could it be considered the highest form of love.¹⁹ For Engels, it was a matter of finding, in Marx's posthumous papers, Marx's Notebooks on Morgan. Draper, instead, chooses to footnote that year, 1883, as the year in which Kautsky had written some stupid articles on "loose" monogamy having always characterized mankind's development, and that this so incensed Engels that he "wrote and published his *Origin of the Family* a year later" (p. 25, col. 1).

What was Draper doing in all these "excavations" not to have found any of the letters that Engels wrote on his discovery of Marx's notes on Morgan, or in Bernstein's description in his *My Years of Exile* of how Engels had read to him from Marx's Notebook and from Engels' own synopsis?²⁰

Whether it's out of Draper's sheer ignorance of Marx's Notebooks (he refers only to an "Abstract" that Engels supposedly reproduced more or less in full), or because the erudite Draper decided to invent new categories of his own, one thing his footnote to Kautsky does disclose is the smug attitude of Draper on Women's Liberation. He clings to Engels' designation about "the world historic defeat of the female sex", which, in turn, he is always relating, with great emphasis, to the "primordial division of labor between the sexes." And, of course, both are deeply rooted in the transition from matriarchy, or at least matrilineal descent, to patriarchy. No matter how hard Draper tries to insinuate that the "world historic defeat of the female sex" is a view that Marx shares with Engels, that is no expression of Marx's. What is true of both Marx and Engels is that they were constantly driving at the "etymology" of the word, family. Far from the word bearing a reference to a married couple and their children, it was the word for slaves. *Famulus* meant domestic slave, *familia* referred to the total number of slaves one man owned. (See *The Origin of the Family*, p. 121.) And Marx's stress is on the social and not only the "sexual division of labor."

Of course, Marx strongly opposed patriarchy, calling for the "abolition" of the patriarchal family. He held that: "The modern family contains in embryo not only slavery (*servitus*) but serfdom also, since from the very beginning it is connected with agricultural service. It contains within itself, in miniature, all the antagonisms which later develop on a wide scale within society and its state."²¹ And "all the antagonisms" extended from "ranks" that begin in communal life and lead to

¹⁹Indeed, love, in Marx's eye, was not only a great sensuous experience, but a universal, since it is "love which first really teaches man to believe in the objective world outside himself, which not only makes man an object, but the object of man!" (*The Holy Family*, p. 32).

²⁰A list of the letters as well as a quote from Bernstein's work appears on pp. 388 to 390 of *Ethnological Notebooks*.

²¹Quoted by Engels in *The Origin of the Family*, pp. 121-122. Incidentally, and not so incidentally, Engels omitted the sentence that preceded this paragraph. It reads: "Fourier characterizes the Epoch of Civilization by Monogamy and private Property in land." (See *Ethnological Notebooks*, p. 120.) From the manner in which Engels had worked the omitted single sentence into an entire paragraph that he placed prominently in a note at the very end of his work (p. 236) on how we find already in Fourier "the profound recognition that in all societies which are imperfect and split into antagonisms, single families (les familles incoherentes) are the economic unit", Draper would have learned a great deal about the difference between Marx and Engels on the "acceptance" of Fourier's

¹⁴Contrast this to Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, where she shows that Fourier "confused the emancipation of women with the rehabilitation of the flesh, demanding for every individual the right to yield to the call of passion and wishing to replace marriage with love; he considered woman not as a person but only in her amorous function" (p. 103, Bantam Book edition). As total opposite to Fourierism, the penultimate paragraph of de Beauvoir's entire work is that very paragraph from Marx on the Man/Woman relationship.

¹⁵What is especially telling about all these references to Fourier and the homage paid to him is that the bulk of the quotations are from *The Holy Family*. This happens to be the work where Marx and Engels defended Flora Tristan's "Union Ouvriere" as against the bourgeois philistine, Eugene Sue, who attacked her in his best-selling novel, *The Mysteries of Paris*. There is not a single reference to that in Draper's article, although one would think that anyone writing on Women's Liberation in 1970 would know that would hold great interest for the movement.

¹⁶The phrase Draper uses here is what appears in his *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution* as the method that will govern the whole work. See pp. 20 to 23 of that work.

¹⁷Two of the best known were Kate Mullaney, president of the Troy Collar Laundry Workers, who was appointed assistant secretary and national organizer for women, and Augusta Lewis, a leader in the typographical union. See Joyce Maupin's *Working Women and Their Organizations and Labor Heroines*, both published in 1974 by Union WAGE, Berkeley, Cal.

¹⁸See the section on "The Working Day and the Break with the Concept of Theory" in my *Marxism and Freedom* (Pluto Press, London; available from News & Letters, Detroit).

Evolution to Women's Liberation

the division between the chieftain and the masses, class divisions in embryo, "in miniature."

It is not true, as Draper would have it, that Engels devoted "one" chapter to "The Family," so entitled; in truth, very nearly one-third of the book is devoted to that subject. Engels appears to have a unilateral instead of a multilateral attitude to the question of the development of Man/Woman. It is true it was great, in 1884, to stress the manner in which woman has always been oppressed since her "world historic defeat," how different it had been in "matriarchal" society, and how socialism would be the re-establishment of primitive communism on a higher scale. Or, as Engels italicized Morgan's judgment as the very final sentence of his whole book, "It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality and fraternity of the ancient gentes." But the fact is that Engels' writing there is neither very dialectical nor comprehensive when it gets fixed on the Family.

MARX, ON THE CONTRARY, showed that the elements of oppression in general, and of woman in particular, arose from within primitive communism; and not only related to change from "matriarchy," but beginning with establishment of ranks — relationship of chief to mass — and the economic interests that accompanied it. Indeed, in Volume III of *Capital*, as Marx probed in his chapter, "Genesis of Capitalist Ground Rent," "the economic conditions at the basis" of class "individuality" you can see the actual dialectical foundation for his stress, in the Notebooks on anthropology, on property as the material base for changing social relations. He was not using Morgan's phrase, "career of property," as if it were a synonym for historical materialism.

Engels' uncritical acclaim of Morgan notwithstanding, Morgan had not "discovered afresh in America the materialist conception of history discovered by Marx 40 years ago."²²

Marx emphasized Morgan's great contribution on the theory of the gens and its early egalitarian society, but he certainly didn't tie it, alone, to the precedence of matriarchy over patriarchy as did Engels in the Preface to the Fourth Edition, 1891. "This rediscovery of the primitive matriarchal gens as the earlier stage of the patriarchal gens of civilized peoples has the same importance for anthropology as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology and Marx's theory of surplus value for political economy."

Marx didn't take issue with Morgan's findings about the Iroquois society and especially singled out the role of women in it. But he did not stop there. In calling attention to other societies and other analyses, he brought in, first, new illumination to the writings of Plutarch:

"The expression by Plutarch, that 'the lowly and poor readily followed the bidding of Theseus' and the statement from Aristotle cited by him, that Theseus 'was inclined toward the people' appear, however, despite Morgan, to indicate that the chiefs of the gentes etc. already entered into conflict of interest with the mass of the gentes, which is inevitably connected with the monogamous family through private property in houses, lands, herds."²³

Then, Marx demonstrates that, long before the dissolution of the primitive commune, there emerged the question of ranks within the egalitarian commune. It was the beginning of a transformation into opposite — gens into caste. That is to say, within the egalitarian communal form arose the elements of its opposite — caste, aristocracy, different material interests. Moreover, these weren't successive stages, but co-extensive with the communal form. Or as Marx put it when they began changing the names of the children to assure paternal rather than maternal rights (a paragraph Engels did reproduce in *The Origin of the Family*): "Innate casuistry! To change things by changing their names! And to find loopholes for violating tradition while maintaining tradition, when direct interest supplied sufficient impulse."

In a word, though Marx surely connects the monogamous family with private property, what is pivotal to him is the antagonistic relationship between the Chief and the masses.

Marx's historic originality in internalizing new data, whether that be in anthropology or "pure" science, was a never-ending confrontation with what Marx called "history and its process."²⁴ That was concrete. That was

ever-changing. And that ever-changing concrete was inexorably bound to the universal, because, precisely because, the determining concrete was the ever-developing Subject — self-developing men and women.

The whole question of transitions is what is at stake between Marx's and Engels' views. Marx is showing that it is during the transition period that you see the duality, the beginnings of antagonisms, whereas Engels always seems to have it only at the end, as if class society came in very nearly full blown after the communal form was destroyed and private property was established. Moreover, where, to Marx, the dialectical development from one stage to another is related to new revolutionary upsurge, Engels sees it as a unilateral development.

In the 1850s, for example, what inspired Marx to return to the study of pre-capitalist formations and gave new appreciation of ancient society and its craftsmen was the Taiping Revolution.* It opened so many new doors on "history and its process" that "materialistically" a stage of production wasn't just a stage of production — be it the Western or the Asiatic mode of production — but a question of revolutionary relations. Whether that concerned the communal form or the despotic form of property, the development of the individual to society and to the state was crucial. It was no accident, on the other hand, that Engels, who certainly agreed with Marx's singling out the Asiatic mode of production, nevertheless happened to skip over the question of the Oriental commune in his analysis of primitive communism in *The Origin of the Family*.

Hal Draper, on the other hand, not only continues to act as though Engels' *The Origin of the Family* was written also by Marx, but as if he, Draper, is speaking for them, as he reaches the last part of his chapter, entitled, "Problems of Women's Liberation." Thus, in returning to Marx's Dec. 12, 1868 Letter to Kugelmann, this time citing that the First International had elected "Madame Law to be a member of the General Council,"

"Engels' 'world historic defeat of the female sex' is no expression of Marx's."

Draper presents the fact with the same attitude that he has towards the statement of Engels that became such a favorite of Clara Zetkin and the whole Social Democratic women's movement: "In the family, he (man) is the bourgeois; the wife represents the proletariat." Draper's comment was that it was meant "as a strong metaphor, of course" (p. 24, col. 2).

NO WONDER THAT THE STRESS, as he goes to the actual women's movement, is on Engels' and Bebel's role in encouraging the establishment of women's organizations with their own "autonomous leadership" (p. 27, col. 1), rather than the women's autonomous leadership itself. No wonder Clara Zetkin rates hardly more than a couple of paragraphs, and whereas he does say she was the head of the movement, whose organ, *Gleichheit*, reached a circulation of 100,000, he acts as if all they discussed was the "Woman Question." Not a word comes into it about the fact that women played the greatest revolutionary role in opposing the First World War.

Why should Eleanor Marx, who is finally recognized "as a revolutionary organizer and agitator" as well as "extraordinarily effective political activist" be listed only as "the ablest woman trade union organizer in the New Unionism," when, in fact, it wasn't only "as a woman" that she was a great organizer. She was the one who took seriously Marx's urging, after the fall of the Paris Commune, that revolutionaries should go "lower and deeper"²⁵ into the proletariat, away from the skilled toward the unskilled and the most exploited, not to mention the newly arrived peasants and the doubly exploited Jew of London's East End. Draper does give her credit for playing "an active role in the building of the new-type Gas Workers' and General Laborers Union" (p. 27, col. 1) and says she "co-authored a pamphlet for England on *The Woman Question*." But he doesn't single this out as something significantly new both for her, and the Movement.

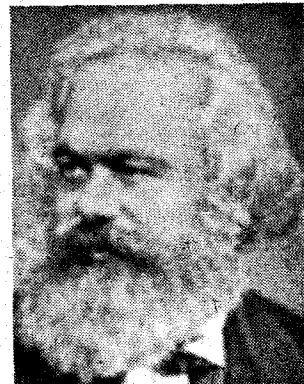
The most important and relevant for our age, however, is not what Engels wrote in 1884, much less whether there was or wasn't a matriarchal stage. Nor is it "the woman question" as Bebel saw it at the beginning of the 20th century, though both men's writings had a great influence on the development of the socialist women's movement, which was likewise way ahead of the times, not just theoretically, but in the actual mass organization of working women. What is cogent today

*It is not clear whether Engels knew Marx's *Grundrisse*, but he did know the articles in *The New York Tribune* on the Taiping Revolution.

²⁵It took World War I before Lenin found that phrase of Marx, made to the 1871 Congress of the International Working Men's Association, and first then made a category of it. See Chapter X, "The Collapse of the Second International and the Break in Lenin's



Frederick Engels



Karl Marx

is whether the ground laid helps or doesn't help today's Women's Liberation Movement. Draper's doesn't.

Thus, when he starts with the Paris Commune, which is certainly a very high point of women's activities as revolutionaries, as workers, as thinkers — Marx speaks not only of "bleeding," but of "thinking Paris" — Draper focuses on Marx pointing to the fact that the Commune made no distinction "between legitimate and so-called illegitimate wives . . . with regard to the indemnity of 75 centimes." Draper finds no need to mention the *Women Incendiaries*,²⁶ although that work has a vast amount of new material and actual documents, contemporary to 1871, of the activities and writings of the women revolutionaries. While Draper notes the fact that Marx had followed up the concern with women in the Paris Commune by proposing a motion in the First International that women's branches be organized, there is not a single mention of a single woman who actually participated in the Paris Commune.

Even without knowing (or perhaps just not caring) about Edith Thomas' *Women Incendiaries*, there was no way of him not knowing the most famous woman revolutionary, Louise Michel, and about the young woman Marx advised to go to Paris, Elizabeth Dmitrieva, to organize a women's section of the International. What was necessary, to make the women's participation in the Paris Commune, as both force and reason, come alive, required more space than the single paragraph Draper devoted to it. Let us see what he does when he finally reaches the culmination of his subject with the thunderous: "Social Revolution Comes First."

It focuses on counter-revolution, with the apex of the whole — the very, very final sentence — narrowing the question to the "division of labor between the sexes": "But in the last analysis the historic forms of the divisions of labor between the sexes could be uprooted for good and all only by as profound an upheaval as it had originally taken to impose 'the world-historic defeat of the female sex' of which Engels had written."

The nonsense of talking about the "division of labor between the sexes" as if that "primordial" state is the burning question of the day, when even for the primitive stage it was part of the social division of labor, is not only forgetting what was at stake, but what is pivotal and underlies all class societies — the division between mental and manual labor. There is not a whiff of that Great Divide, and that is of the essence for our age.

Is the totality of that "primordial" counter-revolution the ground for Women's Liberation today? And can we possibly disregard Draper's cynicism as he feels compelled to add, parenthetically, of course, that the totality of the change needed in the Man/Woman relationship holds under "all" circumstances: "(That would be so even without the Pill.)"? Does he consider it mod to keep stressing, when he refers to "the world-historic defeat of the female sex," that it "cannot be changed basically simply by ideological (including psychiatric) exhortation" (p. 24, col. 2)? What idiocy, first to reduce today's fight for total liberation to the merely "ideological," and then further to reduce ideology to "psychiatric exhortation"!

Whether or not Draper, in his projected six-volume work (of which this article is a chapter), intends to reach our age, or just limit himself to presenting what he considers to be the views of "Marx and Engels"; whether or not he considers that basis sufficient for the Women's Liberation Movement "itself" to work out today's problematic, the point is that his misinterpretation of the views of Marx, the lacunae that gape out from his presentation of the present as well as the past, not to mention his superciliousness (if not outright cynicism) cannot possibly lay new foundations for what is relevant and most urgent for our day.

(Continued on Page 8)

²⁶Draper published, edited and wrote a Foreword to a whole book, *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Writings on the Paris Commune* (Monthly Review Press, 1971), which likewise failed to take into account any of the material on what actually happened, uncovered by this magnificent book, *Women Incendiaries*, written by Edith Thomas and published in France in 1963, and

²²Engels' Preface to the First Edition of *The Origin of the Family*.

²³I'm using Krader's translation in his article, "The Works of Marx and Engels in Ethnology Compared," (*International Review of Social History*, Vol. XVIII, 1973, Part 2, Van Gorcum, Assen). This is really an extension of his magnificent transcription and editing of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, and I am greatly indebted to the seminal Introduction he wrote for it.

²⁴*Capital*, Vol. I, p. 406 fn. 2 (Kerr edition): "The weak points in the abstract materialism of natural science, a materialism that excludes history and its process, are at once evident from the abstract and ideological conceptions of its spokesmen, whenever they venture beyond the bounds of their own speciality." See also Chapter 2, "A New Continent of Thought", in my *Philosophy and Revolution* (Delacorte, New York, 1972).

III. Marx's Notebooks: Then and Now

(Continued from Page 7)

Marx died before he could write up his Notebooks on anthropology either as a separate work, or as part of Vol. III of *Capital*. There is no way for us to know what Marx intended to do with this intensive study, much less the concrete manner in which he would have dialectically related the external to the internal factors in the dissolution of the primitive commune. What is clear, however, is that the decline of the primitive commune was not due just to external factors, nor due only to "the world historic defeat of the female sex." (That was Engels' phrase, not Marx's.) Just as there was conquest, even when the commune was at its height, and the beginning of slavery when one tribe defeated another, so there was the beginning of commodity exchange between the communes as well as emergence of conflict within the commune, within the family, and not only between the family and the gens. All these conflicts coalesced during the dissolution, which is why Marx's Notebooks keep stressing the duality in primitive communism.

Take, for example, the question of the division of labor. Though, in 1845, in *The German Ideology*, he called attention to the fact that the first division of labor was sexual, he now stresses the two-fold nature in the division of labor: 1) physiological as well as intertribal conflict; 2) the social division of labor based both on exchange of surplus products between communities and on the mode of labor. As the family develops as an economic unit, and gets separated out of the gens, the focus changes again to the different material interests that are developing both internally and externally, including development of technology and agriculture. Which was why, in the paragraph that Engels did quote in *The Origin of the Family*, Marx emphasized that not only slavery, but also serfdom was latent in the family; indeed, that all conflicts that were developing in the transition to class society were present in the family "in miniature."

Finally, what Marx called "the excrescence of the state" in class-divided society—and he uses that in his reference to a period during the dissolution of the commune—is introduced into the question of transition from primitive communism to a political society. The point at all times is to stress a differentiation in the family, both when that is part of the gens or as they separate out of the gens to another society, at which point Marx again differentiates between the family that is in a society that already has a state and the family before the state emerged. The point at all times is to have a critical attitude both to biologism and uncritical evolutionism.

IT WAS BY NO MEANS SIMPLE, unitary development, and it cannot under any circumstances be attributed to a single cause like patriarchy winning over matriarchy and establishing thereby nothing less than some sort of "world historic defeat of the female sex." Marx, by taking as the point of departure, not the counter-revolution, but new stages of revolution, was enabled to see, even in the Asiatic mode of production, the great resistance to Western imperial encroachments, contrasting China to India, where British imperialism won.

Throughout Marx's Notebooks, his attack on colonialism, racism, as well as discrimination against women, is relentless, as he refers to the British historians, jurists, anthropologists and lawyers as "blockheads" who definitely didn't appreciate what discoveries were being made and therefore often skipped over whole historic periods of humanity. Listen to the criticisms included in Marx's Notebooks on Maine: "Herr Maine als block-headed Englishman geht nicht von gens aus, sondern von Patriarch, der spaeter Chief wird etc."²⁷ And a little later: "Nach dem Ancient Irish Law women had some power of dealing with their own property without the consent of their husbands, and this was one of the institutions expressly declared by the English block-headed Judges to be illegal at the beginning of the 17th century."²⁸

As against Engels, who was so overwhelmed with all the new data on forms of marriage and the development of a family, in and out of the gens, that it very nearly subsumed the question of property, i.e. economics, Marx, in assembling new data, never fails to criticize the major writers he is excerpting. He does this, not just "politically", i.e. calling attention to the fact that they are bourgeois writers, but calling attention to the fact that their method is empiric and nowhere is empiricism as method as vacuous as when gathering new facts. What Marx was doing, instead, was following the empiric facts dialectically, relating them not only to other historic facts, but tracing the development of each fact, its petrification and transformation into opposite, caste. Which is why he kept his eye on the differences in rank in the gens, emergence of conflict within it, both in changing material interests and in relations between Chief and ranks. And yet, Marx drew no such unbridgeable gulf between primitive and civilized as Engels had. As he was to write to Zaslitch, in the year he was working most intensively on Morgan's *Ancient Society*, the pivotal point was that everything "depends on the historical environment in which it occurs."

While there was no difference between Marx and

²⁷*Ethnological Notebooks*, p. 292: "Mr. Maine, as a block-headed Englishman, doesn't proceed from gens, but rather from Patriarch, which later becomes Chief, etc."
²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 323.

Engels on such a conclusion—indeed, the expression "Historical Materialism" was Engels', not Marx's—the relationship of concrete to universal always remains, with Engels, in two totally separate compartments. Put differently, "knowing" Historical Materialism, and having that always at the back of his mind, and recognizing Marx as "genius" whereas he and the others were "at best, talented", did not impart to Engels' writings after Marx's death, the totality of Marx's new continent of thought. Engels' *The Origin of the Family*, as his first major work after the death of Marx, proves that fact most glaringly today, because Women's Liberation is an Idea whose time has come, and for that, *The Origin of the Family* sheds little direction.

As Marx, in the last years of his life was turning to anthropology, it was neither as the philosophic anthropology which ran through his 1844 *Essays*, nor just as the latest empiric data in the 1880s. Rather, whether it's a question of the description of the equality of women during primitive communism, or the question of Morgan's theory of the gens, what Marx was focusing on was the self-development of humanity from primitive communism to the period in which he lived, though revolutionary praxis. That is what kept him enthralled as he dug deep into the latest in anthropology, in archeology, in early history, technology and agriculture, craftsmanship and primitive human relations. Truly, we see here that no greater empiricist ever lived than the great dialectician, Karl Marx. And Marx wasn't hurrying to make easy generalizations, such as Engels' on the future being just a "higher stage" than primitive communism. No, Marx envisioned a totally new man, a totally new woman, a totally new life form (and by no means only for marriage); in a word, a totally new society.

"No greater empiricist ever lived than the great dialectician, Karl Marx."

Suddenly, Marx found it difficult to answer a simple question from Vera Zaslitch on the future of the Russian commune, in the manner in which it was debated between the Narodniks and the Marxists—that is to say, whether it could lead to communism without needing to go through capitalism and evidently without a revolution! He wrote no less than four different versions of his answer, the first of which was fully ten pages long. From that first draft until the very much abbreviated one that he finally sent, what is clear is that his preoccupation is not "the commune" but the "needed Russian Revolution": "In order to save the Russian commune a revolution is needed."²⁹

The second draft manifests also what he had developed with the Asiatic mode of production: "The archaic or primary formation of our globe contains a number of strata of different ages, one superimposed on the other . . . (isolation) permits the emergence of a central despotism above the communities . . . I now come to the crux of the question. We cannot overlook the fact that the archaic type to which the Russian commune belongs, conceals an internal dualism."³⁰

The third draft, which in part was quoted above on the question of the historical environment being the crucial point, was a conclusion Marx reached as he emphasized "the dualism within it (the commune) permits of an alternative: either the property element in it will overcome the collective element, or the other way."

THIS IS ALWAYS THE KEY TO THE WHOLE. We must remember that just as, in 1844, Marx was projecting not just the overthrow of the old but stressing that a new society must change human relationships totally, actually as well as philosophically, so, once the 1848 Revolutions were defeated, Marx developed a new concept—the "revolution in permanence." In a word, it was in the 1850 Address to the Communist League that Marx first projected both the deepening of the concrete revolution as well as the world revolution, the inter-relatedness of both.

As we saw, it was the Taiping Revolution in the 1850s which led, at one and the same time, to his probing of pre-capitalist forms of society, and seeing the Chinese Revolution as "encouraging" the West European proletariat, which was quiescent at the moment, to revolt. The *Grundrisse*, which contained that most

²⁹The 1970 edition of the three-volume *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Selected Works* (Progress Publishers, Moscow) finally published the first draft of Marx's reply, pp. 152-163. Peculiarly enough, the explanatory note (fn. 113, p. 522) refers to the fact that Marx was working on the third volume of *Capital* at this time without referring to the fact that he was then studying Morgan's *Ancient Society*, though Marx himself refers to it, and they have to footnote the actual title of Morgan's book.

³⁰Excerpts from the second and third draft (March 8, 1881) are included in *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*. All four drafts are included in full in *Arkhiw Marksa y Engelsa*, Vol. I. They are also included in the *Russian Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. 19. Actually, Marx wrote all the drafts in French.

brilliant chapter on pre-capitalist formations, also contained the projection of a totally new society wherein man, wrote Marx, "does not seek to remain something formed by the past, but is in the absolute movement of becoming."

And here — after the great "scientific-economic" work, *Capital* (which, however, likewise projected "human power is its own end"³¹), after the defeat of the Paris Commune; and after four full decades from the start of Marx's discovery of a whole new continent of thought, first articulated in 1844—we see that Marx returns to probe "the origin" of humanity, not for purposes of discovering "new" origins but for perceiving new revolutionary forces, their reason, or as Marx called it in emphasizing a sentence of Morgan, "powers of the mind." How total, continuous, global must the concept of revolution be now? One culminating point in this intensive study of primitive communism and in the answer to Vera Zaslitch,³² can be seen in the Introduction Marx and Engels wrote for the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto*, which, without changing a word in the *Manifesto* itself³³, projected the idea that Russia could be the first to have a proletarian revolution: "If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting for a communist development."

The Introduction was dated January 1882. Marx continued his work in ethnological studies for the rest of the year. The last writer he excerpted—Lubbock—was studied but four months before his death. He did not abate his criticism of either the writers or their reports. Thus, in excerpting Lubbock's statement, "Among many of the lower races relationship through females is the prevalent custom . . ." and noting that Lubbock still continues to talk of "a man's heirs", Marx contemptuously noted "but then they are not the man's heirs; these civilized asses cannot free themselves of their own conventionalities."³⁴

How can anyone consider that what Engels was writing in *The Origin of the Family* was the equivalent of Marx's accumulated depth and breadth of thought and revolutionary experience? The dialectic of all the developments, subjective and objective, in Marx's day (1843-1883) has a great deal to tell us, but we will not get it from Draper's "summation" of what "Marx and Engels" wrote on women's liberation, or from the socialist women who accept that summation.

I began this chapter by focusing on the fact that, though Marx's discovery of a new continent of thought signalled, as well, an epoch of revolution, it nevertheless took a whole series of revolutions to bring out his unpublished works. The fact that the mid-1960s also gave birth to a new Women's Liberation Movement, as both force and reason, makes it necessary to study the finally published notebooks of Marx on Morgan, Maine, Phear and Lubbock³⁵. As theoretic preparation for the American Revolution, it is of more than passing interest that what preoccupied Marx in his last years was a study by an American anthropologist, Morgan, centering on the Iroquois Confederacy. Of course, each generation of Marxists must work out its own problems. But Marx's philosophy of revolution is so total a concept that it cannot be just heritage. Rather, it is the type of past that is proof of the continuity of Marx's philosophy for our age. We will continue to grapple with it throughout this projected work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Today's Women's Liberation Movement and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

³¹*Capital*, Vol. III, p. 954. One erudite anthropologist, who is certainly no Marxist, Sir Raymond Firth, also focuses on the fact that *Capital* is not so much an economic work as "a dramatic history designed to involve its readers in the events described." (See "The Sceptical Anthropologist? Social Anthropology and Marxist Views on Society," by Raymond Firth in *Marxist Analyses and Social Anthropology* (Malaby Press, London, 1975).)

³²Her letter to Marx is included in *The Russian Menace to Europe*, edited by Paul W. Blackstock and Bert F. Hoselitz (Free Press, Illinois 1952), but the liberties they take by trying to create a one-page composite of the four drafts of Marx's answer leave a great deal to be desired.

³³In that 1882 Introduction, signed by both Marx and Engels, Marx saw no reason for making any changes, although he was then intensively studying primitive communism, something they knew little about in 1847 when the *Manifesto* was first written. Engels, on the other hand, in the 1888 English edition, felt called upon to offer a demurrer to the epoch-making statement: "All history is a history of class struggles." He claimed in a footnote, that this meant all "written" history but that, since the publication of Morgan's *Ancient Society*, much more had been learned about primitive communism. To this writer, Engels thereby modified the dialectic structure of Marx's historic call to revolution.

³⁴*Ethnological Notebooks*, p. 340.

³⁵Marx's Notebooks include his studies of Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society*, John Budd Phear's *The Aryan Village*, Henry Sumner Maine's *Lectures on the Early History of Institutions*, and John Lubbock's *The Origin of Civilization*.

Readers' Views

THE ONGOING IRANIAN REVOLUTION

The history Raya Dunayevskaya gave in her letter printed in the *Two Worlds* column on Iran last issue was tremendous. The most important part to me was that although she showed the whole evolutionary legacy of Iran all the way back to the links with the Russian Revolution, she always presents what is new for our age. And as she says so well, the 1970s are not like the '50s. When the spontaneous movement emerges it can shift the entire balance of power.

**Black Student
Los Angeles**

Ed. Note: Raya Dunayevskaya's letter on Iran has been translated into Farsi by Iranian students, and copies are available from *News & Letters* on request. Please include 15c for postage.)

Revolution is the best stimulus to thought. The terrible attitude of the Muslim religion to women will receive setback in the Iranian revolution.

**Correspondent
Britain**

Despite the U.S. government's support of the Shah regime, the striking workers in Iran have the support of their co-workers around the world. The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union has voiced its opposition to the military government's brutal attacks on the 38,000 Iranian oil workers and has written to the Iranian Mission to the UN demanding the release of all the arrested oil workers and their leaders who are facing military court. Just as it was the workers who gave the real strength to the movement in Iran, so it is workers like these who can make the support movement here really powerful.

**CAIFI*Activist
New York, N.Y.**

Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran

The Iranians are no more fighting against "modernization" when they are fighting the Shah's regime, than the American workers are fighting "modernization" when they fight Automation.

**Artist
Detroit**

What is needed today is mass opposition to U.S. support of the Shah's bloody regime and solidarity with the Iranian freedom fighters, particularly those Iranian students here in the U.S. Student-sparked protests were strong enough here only a few years ago to stay Nixon's hand in Cambodia. Surely something effective could be done on Iran. The Trotskyists continue to intervene in the struggle only to narrow it. What is needed is revolutionary experience and philosophy committed to broadening it, Marxist-Humanist initiative.

**Supporter
Connecticut**

For me, Iran is Carter's Watergate.

**Correspondent
New York**

THE BLACK REVOLT

It made me feel really sick when I heard that Carter was going to be given the Martin Luther King award for non-violence. When you consider that he has cut every social advance that King fought and died for—and all in order to expand the military budget and the support of people like the Shah, Somoza, Pinochet and every other murderous game around the world—it is really a scene for Black leaders to hand such an award to a man like that. It makes me who had participated in the Civil Rights movement, as I did, appreciate all the more the pamphlet on Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* and *American Black Thought*, in which those deep divisions within the movement are so clearly revealed.

**Activist
Detroit**

Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal is the only book I have ever found that tells the true story of the birth of the CIO.

**Labor Educator
Indiana**

I read Charles Denby's autobiography over the holidays at one sitting. It was such a beautiful Christmas present that I am ordering another copy to mail to an old friend of mine. It is strong and delicious food for thought.

**Long-time Reader
Missouri**



I have been informed that I am being transferred to a Federal Prison at Leavenworth, Kansas. This is undoubtedly the result of the legal/political offensive I and my supporters have waged on my behalf. I consider it a great victory. Please inform everyone you can of this change, and thank everyone in *News & Letters* Committees for helping to make it possible.

**Lorenzo Komboa Ervin
#15759-175
P.O. Box 1000
Marion, IL 62959**

A group of prisoners known as the "August 8th Brigade" is being framed on felony charges for the Aug. 8, 1977 rebellion at Eastern Correctional Facility in Napanoch, N.Y. Eight are Latin, one Black, one Indian. The state is trying to blame the rebellion on a small handful of "agitators" instead of the racism, repression and exploitation the prisoners face daily. If found guilty, seven to 15 years will be added to their sentences.

An important part of their struggle is the fight against racist KKK terror inside the New York State prison system. At the time of the rebellion 35 guards were known members of the KKK and Klan guards openly wore hoods while on duty. A cross was burned on a hill above the prison just before the rebellion broke out. They are being held at Sing Sing awaiting trial and face daily harassment there for their political activity. They need help. Readers can write for further information to:

**August 8th Brigade Defense Com.
P. O. Box 524
New York, N.Y. 10036**

LA LUCHA LATINA

The fishermen and people of the island of Vieques are continuing their fight against the U.S. Navy's use of their island for bombing practice. The people of Vieques are poor, and many have been forced to move away because they can't make a living under the U.S. Navy's military occupation of their island. The Navy claims to dictate, through memorandums and schedules, the day, the hour and the place where Viequesenos may fish—regardless of where the fish are. The best waters are denied them. Breaking the rules or making a mistake means getting your fishing nets cut by the Navy, and going to jail if you refuse to leave. There is also the constant danger of unexploded bombs. This struggle has become a major issue in all of Puerto Rico, with even the bourgeois parties sending delegations to protest.

**Visitor
Puerto Rico**

Mexican-American relations have just taken a sudden turn due to the large oil deposits in Mexico. This change is going to have a dramatic impact on the Southwest and the Mexican population here, as the government will not want to jeopardize the chances of the U.S. getting a large cut of the oil. As recently as October, the papers here devoted many

articles to illegal Mexican workers and the custom officials' plans for erecting a wall on the Mexican-U.S. border at key locations. That talk has definitely and dramatically stopped now.

**Observer
Texas**

When Rupert Murdoch's *N.Y. Post* has the gall to attack, in an editorial, an entire continent by calling Puerto Ricans and undocumented workers ("illegal aliens") "parasites" of the welfare and municipal hospital systems, it is time to picket that racist rag, which is what is happening at noon starting Jan. 10. Except for Native Americans, Chicanos, and Afro-Americans, everyone here is an "illegal alien"—especially Rupert Murdoch.

**2nd Generation European
New York**

GAY RIGHTS

The events in Illinois around John Gacy may well be used as one more excuse to fight against gay rights. In no way can anyone defend John Gacy, but a psychological profile should be developed on this man and others like him. Such a publication should draw a clear dichotomy between Gacy and the average well-adjusted gay person. We are no more nor less capable of psychopathic behavior than anyone else.

**John Fraleigh
Michigan**

THE EUROPEAN SCENE

There are activities in almost all German university cities around the case of Rudy Bahro. Now there is a government campaign here in West Germany against Peter Bruckner, one of our university-teachers, a sympathetic and very open-minded radical. He has become a symbol for the repression against radical thought. We are also preparing for an upcoming battle at Gorleben, the site of a planned nuclear waste factory, and for conflicts around the new budgets of Niedersachsen and Hannover, where the government is cutting down financial support of independent and progressive projects. Two examples are: an alternative school with an international reputation for its experiments in non-repressive education; and the youth center which the left won after a long struggle and which is our main place for meetings and parties. The center was a symbol for solidarity, struggle and fun, or as we say, "Leben, Lernen, Kaempfen!" It is clear the government is afraid of radical politics as soon as they get practical.

**Student
West Germany**

As we prepare for the oblivion of the annual Christian excuse to get fat and drunk and spend unwanted money, we see riots in Taiwan, class war in Nicaragua, revolution in Iran, 30 people arrested in London protesting Labour Government support of the Shah. And as Iranian oil dries up, OPEC meets. Five

policemen are charged in North Ireland with kidnapping a priest and murdering others. Three British troops are charged with bank robbery. Six English cities are bombed by the IRA, and 300 men in the Maze concentration camp are lying in their own excrement because they want political prisoner status.

Student London

WOMEN'S LIBERATION

When the film "Babies and Banners" was shown here by the Mid-Atlantic Radical Historians' Organization, a heated discussion took place afterwards. First, several male historians took the floor and criticized the film for not mentioning what they termed "the leading role of the Communist Party" in the Flint sit-down strikes. The audience of several hundred, about half women, was growing somewhat annoyed with such efforts to downgrade the independent activity of the women.

At this point Angela Terrano took the floor and, to the applause of much of the audience, castigated both the Left and the labor bureaucracy for burying the history of the Women's Emergency Brigade. She stated that *N&L*, alone among the Left, had tried to preserve this history, pointing to her *Working Women for Freedom*, but she credited the Women's Liberation Movement with the real impetus for bringing this women's labor history to the light of day in the 1970's. She then read aloud General Johnson's sharp attack on the way the UAW bureaucrats had refused to allow the film to be shown to union locals, that was printed in *N&L*.

I hope the radical historians learned something from these new voices.

**Feminist
New York**

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

News & Letters' Marxist-Humanism seeks to realize the critical negation that is also a positive affirmation in every historical moment—from the Camp David summit to the River Rouge assembly line. But you seem hamstrung by the tendency, perhaps the necessity, to approach issues through painfully short articles. . . . What about printing some of the dialogue that goes into making *N&L's* "Perspectives" and explaining how these perspectives differ from trendy publications like *In These Times* or doctrinaire papers like the *Guardian* or the *Militant*? I hope *N&L* will strive for greater depth of analysis and breadth of reporting even if this means raising the price. Most of us, I think, would gladly pay it.

**Subscriber
Boston**

Ed. Note: It has been our principle, since our birth in 1955, not to raise our subscription price. What makes possible the three 12 pagers we now publish yearly — and will help us reach our goal of a regular 12 page issue monthly — is the response of our readers to our financial appeals for help. See page 1 and please give generously!

Who We Are

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery, Ala. Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signalled new movements from practice, which were themselves forms of theory. *News & Letters* was created so that the voices from below could be heard, and the unity of worker and intellectual, philosophy and revolution, could be worked out for our age. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, is the editor.

The paper is the monthly publication of *News and Letters* Committees, an organization of Marxist-Humanists that stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private form as in the U.S., or in its state form calling itself Communist, as in Russia and China. The National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya, is the author of *Philosophy and Revolution* and *Marxism and Freedom* which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism for our age internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene. In opposing the capitalistic, exploitative, racist, sexist society, we participate in all freedom struggles and do not separate the mass activities of workers, Blacks, women and youth from the activity of thinking. We invite you to join with us both in the freedom struggles and in working out a theory of liberation for our age.

Revolutionary ferment grows in Latin America

(Continued from Page 1)

see this tremendous revolutionary ferment and to talk to a number of these forces—of women, youth, workers, exiles from other Latin American countries—who do represent a very different alternative for Mexico, for Latin America, and a point of departure for the freedom movement in the United States, as well.

NEW REVOLUTIONARY FORCES

While I was in Mexico there were the activities of groups such as the Front for the Defense of National Resources, which is raising questions on this wholesale export of oil and gas to the United States. And there were activists who do not want to separate that protest from the necessity to transform Mexico itself.

Thus, in Mexico City, a hunger strike was in progress, trying to force the government, especially in the state of Guerrero, to give an accounting of the 360 people who have disappeared in Guerrero since 1974. This movement has expanded to include a defense of prisoners, of persecuted, and of exiles for political motives. It is thus a movement which brings together activists from different states in Mexico, activists in the movements of students, of peasants and of workers.

Within the Women's Liberation Movement in Mexico, I found a seriousness of discussion about the direction, not only of women's liberation, but of its relation to the transformation of the totality of Mexican society. The movement is trying to understand what should be its relation to peasant and working women in Mexico.

Some within the Women's Movement have aligned with working women, either helping to organize them into unions, or working with unions that have many women. They face such obstacles as male union officials who refuse to let them work with women workers, unless men who are union officials are present. At the same time, the women are trying to define their relation to the Mexican Left and to the necessity of a totality of view for transforming Mexico.

One of the most exciting glimpses of the profound desire for a thoroughgoing change within Mexico was my participation in a meeting with high school students. Some 200 came to a meeting on their campus to discuss

revolution in the 20th century, in this case, the Russian Revolution. But the topic was not "historical." The students transformed the discussion into one concerning revolutionary change in Mexico for today.

And one sees this same searching with university students, and those who were students in the recent past who are trying to figure out what should be their relationship to the Mexican working class. In the last decade, the working class has been finding new avenues to express itself in opposition to the party-state-controlled trade unions. Independent trade unions have been formed; strikes in opposition to the union bureaucracy have taken place. Now these movements by workers have been joined by students who see that their opposition to the government needs to be linked with that of the workers. They also wanted to know about the movement of workers in the United States, and read with interest the Spanish translation of our article on the mineworkers in *La Lucha Latina Para la Libertad y la Filosofia Marxista-Humanista de Liberacion*.

This past fall, which was the tenth anniversary of the government's massacre of several hundred in Mexico City in 1968, saw a demonstration of tens of thousands in Mexico City. That commemoration became a new point of departure.

THE NEEDED SOLIDARITY WITH LATIN AMERICAN STRUGGLES

Mexico is a center for political exiles from many other Latin American countries. Here, too, I had an opportunity to meet with exiles from Colombia, Chile, Argentina and most especially Nicaragua. These exiles wanted very much to know about and to appeal to the "second" United States of workers and women, of youth and minorities. They wanted to speak to them about U.S. policies in Latin America.

Nicaragua was the focal point. It is not alone that they felt all should know the U.S. role in creating the Somoza dynasty and keeping it in power for decades. They wanted to appeal to the United States masses to do something about the U.S. government's actions right now. The Nicaraguan Civil War of last September was held at bay by the use of U.S. arms. And today, when the opposition to the Somoza regime is total, and he hangs on only through force of arms, the U.S. strategy is one of "stability", with or without Somoza.

The Latin Americans are saying, the Nicaraguans are saying, that the thousands upon thousands who fought did so not alone for a new government, but for a new society. This is why they oppose the U.S. "mediation" efforts, as well as those of the Organization of American States (OAS), which is a way of diluting what they fought for, and imposing, once again, a U.S. solution. They are asking for our help.

What the Latin Americans are saying in particular for Nicaragua, is true for United States relations with the other Latin American countries such as the military dictatorships of Chile and Brazil. Despite a few phrases about human rights, the flow of military aid and economic support to these regimes continues.

Presently, AFL-CIO President George Meany has said they are instituting a boycott of Chilean shipping. Such a policy would mark a beginning for the working class solidarity with Latin America which is much needed. It would certainly mark a new image for the AFL-CIO, whose anti-working class activities supporting various "anti-Communist" military dictatorships in a purely American imperialistic way have given it the name AFL-CIA.

Our solidarity with Mexico and with all of Latin America can begin right here at home—especially on the anti-human rights proposals the supposedly "Human Rights" President, Carter, has put forth for immigrant workers from Mexico and the rest of Latin America. Each year some million undocumented workers are arrested and shipped out. Most often this occurs without the most elementary rights of a hearing. And the newest proposal to surface is for the construction of a border "fence" which comes equipped with spikes that would impale human beings trying to scale it. Such solutions make all of Carter's human rights declarations ring hollow.

While the U.S. powers-that-be and the Mexican government may have their conceptions of the new oil relationship, the Mexican people and Latins within the U.S. have not yet had their say. Their language will not be that of the governments of these two nation-states, but may well be in unity with the language of the Iranian masses.

NATIVE AMERICAN SPEAKS

Navajos fight rape of land

by Shainape Shcapwe

Recently a friend told me that the federal government had cancelled payments due members of his tribe (almost \$1,800 each) from its sale of their reservation lands two years ago. Many folks had invested similar payments to help keep a small arms factory open on the reservations.

Now the factory is projecting immediate layoffs and even a shutdown by next year. The people have become very depressed. "The backlash is hitting," he said.

I've been reading in *Akwesasne Notes* about a very quiet takeover of the Windowrock, N.M. Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) office on Nov. 13 by the Dine Bi ("people's") Coalition, known now as the "Windowrock 77", protesting misconduct of Navajo elections and the threat of destruction of their land and people from strip mining. Though the men had surrendered and no one was hurt, all are now in custody of the FBI on counts of kidnapping and assault.

That little-known demonstration sparked a boycott of tribal elections reinforced by 400 demonstrators at Shiprock, N.M. Traditional Navajos know that their land with only six inches of rainfall a year, can never be reclaimed from stripmining. Huge corporations like Exxon, Mobil, Gulf, Continental Oil (Consolidated Coal), Peabody Coal, G.E., and the T.V.A. have leased much reservation land already (at very low rates) and are eyeing the rest.

Peabody Coal stripmines with a 20-story tall machine that gouges 250 feet of land in one scrape. A traditional woman said, "Giving up my land is like giving up my heart and soul. If I approve the gasification, I am less than human."

More than 200 Navajos, including traditional elders initiated a "mini-Longest Walk" to Windowrock to try to talk to the Tribal Council. Tribal police met them with mace and tear gas and arrested 20, including 11 elders. I know there will be more demonstrations.

I thought how the Navajo, who face total destruction, are discussing their problem organizing themselves and letting it out to the press. I can't believe our people have become so excited over something like a small business award, which is including us in a system we don't belong to and shouldn't want to. We can be watching and learning from Shiprock.

Cops beat Hostos students for helping injured woman

New York, N.Y.—The police beat and arrested two Hostos College students in the South Bronx on Jan. 2 for trying to help a woman who had been hit by a car.

For more than half an hour the police did nothing while she lay there in the street. So students started trying to help her—to at least get some identification or get her out from under the car. The cops told them it was none of their business. One Puerto Rican student said, "It is our business. Maybe she's a fellow student. Anyway, she's a human being, and it concerns us." The cops repeated it was none of their business if she died and started to shove people around.

The cops pushed a Puerto Rican woman's child, and after an exchange of insults the woman was arrested. Her arms were twisted so badly that one was dislocated. The other student was also badly beaten by four cops and arrested on four charges, including disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. When they were released the next day, they both had to go to Lincoln Hospital for treatment.

Hostos students held a mass meeting and they will be there with a picket line when the two students have to appear in court, to protest this latest example of the continual harassment and mistreatment that student here and the Latin and Black community face.

—Hostos student

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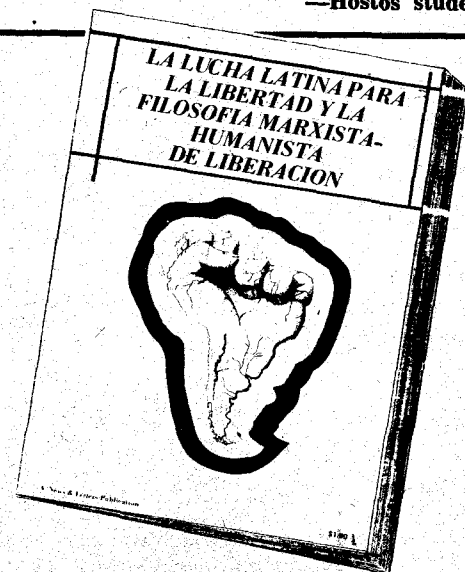
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Carter's student 'witch-hunt'

LA Iranians demonstrate, discuss revolution

Los Angeles, Cal.—Our demonstration of over 2,000 Iranian students on Jan. 2 started quietly and peacefully at a public square in Beverly Hills and moved to the house of the Shah's sister. As we were about to reach the house, the police stopped us. So we had to react and began throwing rocks. We pushed open the gates to the house and turned over a Cadillac that was there.

The police then shot tear gas at us, and we couldn't see anywhere. So we had to start a fire in order to eliminate the tear gas. At that point the police started shooting in the air. But later, I heard that one student was shot in the chest by a rifle. Then a police car drove at 50 miles-per-hour through the demonstration. They hit a young woman. Her head was broken, and doctors say she might be blind.

The U.S. allows the Shah's sister to live in this country. If the students burn that house, the reason is that the CIA and the Shah have been burning our people for 50 years now. This is not violence. Violence is what the U.S. is doing in Iran right now by supporting the Shah and the military.

Following the demonstration, President Carter and Attorney General Bell's talk of deporting Iranians has begun to make it very difficult for us. I heard that they have arrested eight or more students because the immigration office had them send in their visas, which means the students didn't have the visas on them when the police came. The officers knew this and arrested them anyway. The police arrested two of my friends, and the bail was set at \$3,000.

They are also arresting people who were involved in the demonstration back in September, in Los Angeles (see N&L, Oct., 1978). Two students they arrested following the Beverly Hills demonstration have their bail set at \$40,000.

—Iranian student

Los Angeles, Cal.—A magnificent new year began in Los Angeles with the demonstration by Iranian students in Beverly Hills at the mansion of the Shah's sister (see article above), and in the same week, the 20th Convention of the Confederation of Iranian Students.

Six hundred students and activists from all over the U.S. and Europe participated in the conference which began on Dec. 30. For the conference, the Iranian students dropped the masks many used to protect their identity during demonstrations. All dropped their last names and took on the name "Azad"—Freedom.

NEW DEVELOPMENTS, OLD VANGUARDISM

Among the new developments, 70 officers of the Shah's own Royal Army have been killed and 150 officers injured in attacks by enlisted men. The Hyatt

Youth in Revolt

A rally was held in early December in support of 17-year-old Terrance Johnson, a Black youth accused of slaying two Prince Georges County, Md. policemen. Speakers included a member of the Tupelo, Mississippi United League, formed to resist the KKK, which has expressed hostility toward Johnson's case. Johnson's attempts to resist being tortured by police inside the Hyattsville station resulted in the policemen's deaths last June 26.

Contributions can be sent to: Terrance Johnson Defense Fund, P.O. Box 916, College Park, MD. 20740.

Four months after the Nicaraguan masses initiated civil war against the hated Somoza regime, armed organizers in Leon and Granada attacked army patrols on Jan. 2, while other youths staged demonstrations. Even young people were killed in violent protests in Managua.

Michigan State University trustees voted Dec. 8 to withdraw \$8.5 million of its investment portfolio from companies doing business in apartheid South Africa. This action, spurred by a national youth movement against U.S. support of apartheid, drew reaction from U.S. corporations in South Africa, especially Dow Chemical which threatens to end educational gifts to all colleges which agree with student demands to divest.

Nineteen anti-nuclear demonstrators from the Chicago Radioactivists, Bailly Alliance, and Madison Radioactivists went on trial Dec. 18 in Waukegan, Ill. on criminal trespass charges stemming from the Oct. 7 blockade of the Commonwealth-Edison nuclear power station at Zion, Ill. The Zion plant has one of the worst safety records of any power plant in the nation.

Wayne State students —

Come and discuss Marxist-Humanist ideas with us at our literature tables . . .

Mondays and Thursdays, 4:30-6 p.m.

State Hall, north Cass door
WSU News & Letters Youth Committee

Regency Hotel in Tabriz has been turned into a hospital. And the city of Amol was taken over for a week, with a People's Council established and the defense of the city organized, it is said, by the Organization of Iranian People Fedayeen ("Freedom Fighter") Guerrillas, the main organization within the Confederation of Iranian Students.

Those at the conference calling themselves "Marxist-Leninist" oppose the counter-revolutionary role of Russia and China in Iran, but still think they are socialist, though presently under revisionist regimes. The vanguard party looms so big for them in the U.S. that it's hard to see the self-development of the masses in Iran. Thus, admitting that workers in oil refineries, steel, etc. have created their own forms of organization, and have issued their own demands, the students told us a vanguard party must tell the workers what to do next!

We distributed the December News & Letters with Raya Dunayevskaya's "Two Worlds" column on "Iran's revolutionary past—and present", and the leaflet with the Persian translation of that column; all were gone within ten minutes. Our basic works on Marxism, Philosophy and Revolution and Marxism and Freedom, generated tremendous interest. Many expressed a desire to know more about the Black struggle, and bought American Civilization on Trial and Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought.

OPENNESS TO IDEAS

Despite some factionalism, we found an openness to ideas and a desire to establish relations with some of the American Left. Unfortunately, News and Letters was the only U.S. Left organization there—until the fourth night when one Maoist group came, with nothing better to do than to try to have us ousted. The Iranian students, nonetheless, welcomed us as Marxist-Humanists, independent Marxists.

Since the Beverly Hills demonstration, President Carter and Attorney General Bell's statements encouraging deportation for Iranians who "break the law" have resulted in a witch-hunt against Iranian students. In fact, state officials did attempt to evict the Iranians from the conference site.

Officials, police, immigration and others have been visiting TV stations to get their footage on the demonstrations, visiting college campuses to obtain files on Iranian students, and even raiding the homes of Iranian students who have been active in previous demonstrations. Now the question of American solidarity with the Iranian Revolution has the concrete necessity of stopping this persecution of Iranian students here in the U.S.

—Lou Turner

Kent State's purged profs

Kent, O.—During the whole 69-year history of Kent State University, only two tenured professors have ever been dismissed for cause. Both men are active socialists. Both at the time of their dismissal were nationally and internationally renowned scholars.

Dr. Joseph Smith was a tenured associate professor of music. When he was dismissed in 1973 he had already earned an international reputation as a musicologist, composer, pianist, organist, and co-editor of a journal called "Music and Man" which he helped create. Dr. Smith was officially dismissed for "misconduct," but the real reasons were his involvement in organizing the professors union of the university and exposing the academic fraud and misuse of funds by the Director of the School of Music.

After his dismissal, Dr. Smith was not able to get any full-time professional employment in his field in the whole U.S. He now has a suit against Kent State in the federal courts for violation of his Constitutional rights. After six years of unemployment he and his family have been forced to leave the U.S.

Dr. Robert M. Frumkin, was dismissed in 1975. Dr. Frumkin was a tenured associate professor of rehabilitation counseling. He was not only an outstanding behavioral scientist and scholar but also an artist, founder of the Middle East Friendship League (1972), deeply involved in the anti-Vietnam War movement, and the struggle for the rights of Blacks, American Indians, and other minorities.

Dr. Frumkin was also officially dismissed for "misconduct". But the real reasons were his involvement in social activist causes and his exposing the plagiarism and misuse of funds by some of his colleagues. Banned from employment in Ohio, he was fortunate enough to get professional employment in the Detroit area after 15 months of unemployment. In the state of Ohio, both men were denied unemployment compensation after their dismissals.

The Kent State Econometric Associates is a profit-making, private business, run by six KSU business professors who used campus facilities and personnel and development funds of Ohio taxpayers free of charge. In contrast to the witchhunt and purging of socialists, nothing whatever happened to these professors except an auditor reported that there had been some evidence of "conflict of interest" (a euphemism for embezzlement and fraud), and they were politely requested to move their offices off the campus.

—Eric Blair II



Auto rebellions to mark '79

by Jim Mills

I discovered that my UAW local union has a youth committee, when a young worker who was organizing for it complained to me that no one ever showed up at the meetings. Yet it was no wonder, since the activity of the youth in our plant, as he saw it, should be working to re-elect the local union president.

This incident underscores a question hounding the UAW leaders now more than ever, from UAW President Fraser on down. That is, even when given means for expression, young workers still reject outright the union's kind of bureaucratic organization when it conflicts with their own.

In the current auto contract period, young men and women in auto have been challenging the ineffective grievance procedure by turning to their own methods — especially wildcat strikes. Trenton Engine, Romeo Tractor, Ford Wixom, and Lynch Road were just a few plants with unauthorized strikes around Detroit alone. And this self-activity by young workers foreshadows difficult passage for the 1979 auto contracts.

I hear young workers frequently comment on how local union officers never go back into production. And they talk about how duties which foremen used to perform are now done by the union steward, like administering overtime canvasses and requisitioning protective clothing. No wonder the stewards aren't around when you need them!

During an "unauthorized" work stoppage in my plant, one radical demanded that the two top local officers come down where we were and show who they stood with. Another worker shot back that he didn't want the officers to show their faces, because they would order everyone back to work. The worker knew where they stood in relation to a genuine self-organization of young workers.

This opposition to the stifling union bureaucracy is rooted in what labor experts now call youth's profoundly "bad attitudes to work." These experts are worried because they can't get out enough production.

Charles Denby, in *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, describes a situation in his plant, when time-study men loaded more work on everybody before the introduction of automation: "You were coordinating the movements of your body to match that of the machines and the speed of the line. The machines were running the workers."

Now we do have automation, but Denby provides an uncanny description of what is happening in our plant. The company speeded up hundreds of jobs after change-over last summer, and they plan to install Unimation — robots — to do the kind of work that young workers refuse to do. Denby also devotes part of a chapter to Unimation, recognizing it as a last attempt by capitalists to eliminate workers' rebellions.

Yet those future measures, plus the crisis measures already taken in the company's escalating drive for profits, insure more shop revolts. A sit-down against cold winter temperatures inside the factory marked the first week of 1979 in my plant. Since the last contract, there have been many of these work stoppages. And there will be many more.

Detroit students protest IDs

After three years of continuous city-wide student opposition to ID badges as a means of control rather than "security," hundreds of Cass Tech High School students walked out of classes on Jan. 4 in protest against the Detroit Public School policy of sending students home who can't present a picture ID card on demand. Below, a Chadsey High School student discusses the student opposition in her school.—Ed.

Detroit, Mich.—Whenever you don't have an ID you get a "ticket." Three tickets and you get excluded from classes. Even if you come back with your parents to see a counselor, you can't come back to school for five days.

You have to have your ID card for every class. If three teachers in three classes on one day check for your ID, and you don't have it, you're excluded from school. When I forgot mine, I couldn't have a temporary ID; I had to buy a new one for one dollar. Most kids don't have that one dollar, and a lot will be out for four or five days just getting up a buck for the ID badge.

IDs aren't the only thing we're against. If a security guard doesn't like you, he'll always stop you, hoping he can ticket you. And the bathrooms are locked-up, not only during classes, but between classes. Often, we use them to study or do homework in when it's too noisy in study hall, or you can't go home.

We submitted petitions to the Detroit Public School Board. We stated that students should not be forced to miss school if we lose or forget ID badges, and that we want the current ID exclusion policy abolished and replaced by one which doesn't keep students from classes.

One teacher exposed the true purpose of the whole ID policy when she told us, "When you go to work in the factory, you'll have to do this." The students want school for education, not preparation for the factory!

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Peter Mallory and Ron Brokmeyer

The International Congress For and About Rudolf Bahro

The latest—and most important—event in the campaign to free East German “systemcritic” Rudolf Bahro from the prison in which he has been held ever since the August, 1977 publication of his book, *The Alternative, A Contribution to the Critique of Socialism as it Actually Exists*, took place Nov. 16-19 in West Berlin. During those four days, thousands of students and workers, from a wide variety of Left organizations in West Europe and from East European dissident organizations in exile, came together at the “International Congress For and About Rudolf Bahro.” By titling the conference “for and about” Bahro, the organizers stressed their refusal to separate the demands for his release from the discussion of the questions *The Alternative* raises.

The atmosphere of the conference was especially charged by the participation of East European activists and thinkers, through messages and in person, including those inside East Germany. One such message declared: “The socialist opposition that is rising up everywhere in the GDR, and of which we are a part, has gladly taken up Bahro’s ideas, discussed them, and is ready to spread them.”

Other messages reached the congress from the KOR group in Poland, from Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia, and from Russian dissidents now in prison. Exiles from all of these countries, as well as others in East Europe, took the floor at the plenary sessions and the workshops, many meeting each other for the first time.

The discussions in those sessions ranged over Russia 1917 and East Germany 1953, the relation of workers to intellectuals in the struggle, and especially on the questions of Women’s Liberation in the states where “actually existing socialism” rules. The important discussion on women included a speech by Sybille Plogstedt, one of the editors of *Courage*, the mass circulation Women’s Lib-

eration magazine published in West Berlin.

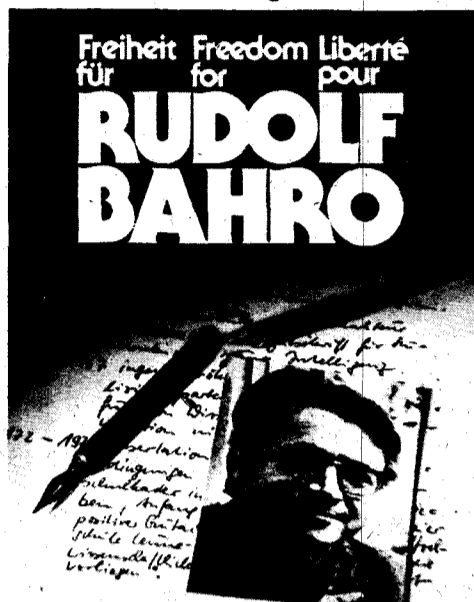
We print below excerpts from the resolution adopted by the Congress, in the hope that here in the USA, the demand for Bahro’s release and the discussion of the ideas of freedom East and West for which Bahro calls can go forward.

“Bahro has attempted to apply Marxist methods and categories to the study of societies in Eastern Europe and to point the way toward a socialist transformation. Regardless of whether one

because we are for socialism. Socialism and democracy are inseparable. Solidarity with Rudolf Bahro to us means solidarity with all political prisoners and people persecuted for their political or religious convictions in the countries of Eastern Europe. However, as is shown by the many cases of Berufsverbot (blacklisting) and other restrictions on democratic rights in West Germany and West Berlin, people who think like Bahro in these places have difficulty in disseminating and explaining, without interference, their ideas and proposals for alternative social development. Therefore it is natural that we also fight against all forms of political repression, for the realization of social and civil rights, and for a general amnesty of political prisoners throughout the world.

“The participants in this international congress . . . have debated over Bahro’s work for the past three days in an open dialogue. Regardless of differences in day-to-day political work, we have tried to set an example with this congress. We affirm our intention to continue this discussion in our various countries by further exchanging our experiences, and to strengthen the work of solidarity. Rudolf Bahro hopes for a critical reception and discussion of his book. We can only inform others of this hope and appeal to the political and moral sense of responsibility of all Left organizations.

“We call on democratic public opinion throughout the world, and especially the various political, religious and trade-union organizations in the labor movement, as well as youth and student organizations, to do everything in their power to increase the pressure on the GDR authorities to free Rudolf Bahro. This will be possible only if further international initiatives follow this congress. In this regard the international trade-union movement has a special role to play.”



agrees with Bahro’s theses and particular statements, his book is a significant contribution by a critical Marxist and Communist. . . .

“We demonstrate for and discuss Rudolf Bahro

prisoners jailed in Mexico City, Cuernavaca and Oaxaca, as well as from the relatives and friends of the missing men and women. Copies of the report are available in English, French and Spanish from the League Office, 236 E. 46 St. N.Y., NY.

Eritrea

With Ethiopia’s self-proclaimed dictator, Colonel Mengistu, off in Russia and East Germany making new pledges of friendship, the Ethiopian army launched an offensive against the Eritrean national liberation movement. The Ethiopians were newly armed with massive doses of military hardware from Russia, and enlisted the help of Cuban and Russian advisers in their offensive.

More than 100,000 people fled for the northern mountains near Sudan as Keren, the stronghold of the Eritrean movement, came under siege. Artillery strikes killed over 5,000 fleeing Eritreans. There are already over 250,000 Eritrean refugees

living in Sudan.

The fact that the Eritreans call themselves Marxists, had been supported by both Russia and Cuba, and had in the last two years reached a point where they controlled most of their country, didn’t stop the Russians and Cubans from betraying them. Indeed, the Russians turned against the regime in Somalia, which had been their closest friend in Africa, in order to get a foothold in Ethiopia which borders on the strategic oil shipping lanes in the Red Sea.

Colonel Mengistu, whose road to power included the murder of countless Ethiopian revolutionaries, has visions of keeping Haile Selassie’s empire together by defeating, with Russian and Cuban help, the movements that helped bring Selassie down. However, as an Ethiopian defector from Mengistu’s government announced recently in Kerya, “The Ethiopians will never defeat the Eritreans . . . (whose) cause is backed by the entire population.”

Mexico

The International League for Human Rights has just released a 32-page report on its investigation of the disappearance of political activists in Mexico, and illegal detention and torture of prisoners by the Mexican authorities.

For several years the existence of the “Brigada Blanca” has been denied by the Mexican government. Investigation shows that this group—a clandestine, loosely-organized group composed of agents of the armed forces and various state and municipal police—has been seizing people; keeping them in their own detention centers; torturing them, and holding them without trial indefinitely. The League has documented the disappearance of 301 political activists, of which the Mexican government claims no knowledge.

Facts were obtained through visits to political

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(Continued from Page 1)

the hotel when the clerk said there was no vacancy. Because of what that bellhop said, we stayed there, got a room and also got an example of how individual Blacks in the South were acting on their own to move the Black Civil Rights movement forward.

I had been invited to dinner by a friend in Lowndesboro, and there four books were bought — including a hard cover copy which sells for \$12. The woman who bought it said she wanted her children to read it, and her children’s children. “This book,” she said, “will be in this family as long as there is a family. And just think, I know the person who wrote it.”

CHANGED ATTITUDE

The same kind of reaction came from people I visited in Montgomery. I was especially impressed by the response of a school teacher about whom I had written in *News & Letters* during the 1960s, reporting on how dilapidated her school was and that it should be torn down and replaced. At that time, she was very frightened and feared for her job.

“I was going to write you a letter really telling you off for putting that article in the paper,” she said. “I was afraid I’d be fired on account of it.”

But now she’s not afraid, and is proud of what happened. This tells a lot about how much of a change has been brought about by the Black revolt in the South. At this point, I had only four books left, and wanted to keep them for a Lowndes County meeting that was coming up. At that meeting not only were those four sold, but 24 others ordered a copy.

A Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) member who had been active in Lowndes County and the whole South during the 1960s also bought

a copy, and I’m eager to hear his reaction to the book.

By a coincidence, a Black women activist living in Detroit who had been with SNCC was also in Lowndes County at the same time I was, and bought a copy of the book. When I got back to Detroit, she also returned and said some people in Lowndes County were critical of my references to Stokely Carmichael and to John Hulet, the first Black sheriff elected in Lowndes County as a result of the Black Revolt, but who later came out in public support of Alabama Governor George Wallace, one of the most vicious racists this country has ever seen.

My own feeling is that she was expressing her own criticisms of the book. Interestingly enough, she has ordered three additional copies of the book here in Detroit.

In the meantime, I’m waiting to hear from Hulet myself. I also sold him a copy when I was down home.

Indignant Heart:
A Black Worker’s Journal

by Charles Denby
Editor, *News & Letters*

From Jim Crow South to northern auto plants,
from Montgomery to Black caucuses in the unions.

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