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'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Reagan's imperial invasion and conquest of Grenada

The three way drive to war: Grenada, endless militarization, retrogression on Black rights

by Raya Dunayevskaya
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As against Reagan's claim that only when he was awakened early Sunday morning, Oct. 23, with the "urgent request" from some East Caribbean countries for him to participate in an invasion of Grenada did he decide to do so — the record shows that it was the U.S. that had been urging the invasion "for some months."¹ Indeed, the whole truth shows that, from Day One of the bloodless Grenadian revolution of 1979, Reagan had been carrying

1. See *Toronto Globe and Mail*, Oct. 29, 1983. Their report also refers to a *Washington Post* report from Jamaica on Oct. 27 which reveals that U.S. officials had been urging Caribbean nations "for several months" to consider military action against Grenada.

on a non-stop propaganda war against that revolution led by Maurice Bishop.

By 1981, when Reagan was solidly in the White House, he ordered a practice-run invasion and held actual military maneuvers in the waters off Puerto Rico. All through 1982 he extended his venom against the newly-independent Black nation by pressuring international bodies like the International Monetary Fund as well as Latin American states not to trade or show any type of solidarity with Grenada. By 1983, the 1981 practice-run off Puerto Rico was spelled out as actual invasion of Grenada by U.S. imperialism for its East Caribbean stooges.

As for the critical week following the house-arrest of Maurice Bishop, the efforts of the Prime Minister of Barbados, Tom Adams — who tried to prove that it was the

East Caribbeans who "invited" Reagan rather than Reagan who ordered the invitation and gave the exact legal formulation for the invitation² — turned out to prove the exact opposite. Thus, Adams' revelation that it was Barbados (though not a member of the OECS — the Organization of East Caribbean States) which initiated many of the hostile acts against Grenada, and that it was Edward Seaga, Prime Minister of Jamaica (not exactly an East Caribbean country), who was the most active with Adams in the unprovoked intervention, only helped

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2. See *New York Times*, Oct. 27, 1983 report by Stuart Taylor, Jr. on State Department spokesman John Hughes' formulation after the event. Taylor rightly concludes: "The Administration has not specified who was threatened by whom..."

Special to News & Letters — An eyewitness report from Grenada



Supporters of Maurice Bishop in Grenada demonstrate to demand his release from house arrest.

"No Bishop, No Revo., No Work": the mass freeing and army murder of Maurice Bishop

Carol Green is a health care worker from Canada who had been in Grenada since August, 1983. She witnessed the overthrow of Bishop and the invasion by the United States. Below are excerpts of an interview *News & Letters* conducted with her.

Right from the moment Bishop disappeared people were not exactly sure he had been arrested or where he was. We really didn't find out too much except we thought that a faction led by Coard had placed him under house arrest. Bishop was no longer in control.

Everyone wanted to hear from Bishop. The thing you heard most of all was "Let's hear Bishop's side of the story. We want to hear him speak." On Saturday Kenneth Radix tried to lead a demonstration to release Bishop. He started to try and rally people in the main Market Square where everyone meets if there is anything to discuss. But he was arrested, and after that people were definitely scared of violence. You didn't hear anything all weekend. It was so strange, they just kept playing this apolitical, just ridiculous music.

THE MOVEMENT TO FREE BISHOP

By Monday people were really concerned that it didn't look like they were going to release Bishop; or that there would be an acceptable solution. People went to work on Monday, but not much happened. People didn't have their heart in their work. They did the minimum that needed to be done. It wasn't really normal. And once going to work they would talk

about "the situation" as they called it.

On Tuesday, students flooded onto the airport. These were high school students, maybe some grammar school students, but I am sure they had the support of adults. They stopped the flights for between two and four hours. What people everywhere were chanting was, "No Bishop, No Revo., No Work," and "We want we leader." This airport is far from the capital. Students who lived close to the airport marched onto it, from different high schools in the area.

That night there was a rally in Fountinoy, the fishing village near the capital where I lived. It was really very exciting because people had been looking very unhappy and depressed, but they started to pick up that night.

They were in support of Bishop and against Coard. Cheers: "No Bishop, No Revo., No Work" and "No Coard, No Coard." I think what happened in the village I lived in was typical of what was happening in other small villages. People figured Wednesday was the day, and all were getting up for it the night before. It went on all evening.

Wednesday morning I went to Market Square. I was there at the start when Unison Whiteman came into town. They cleared part of the street and all lined up in a line. They started off with some cheers. Whiteman made a little speech. He said they were going to get Bishop released. They had a few pla-

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WOMAN AS REASON

Dear Sisters,

I wanted to write on last month's column on "Rich's Feminist Dialogue" because I disagreed so completely with Michelle Landau's interpretation. I did not agree that Rich does not capitulate "to any uncritical Third Worldism or anti-feminist tendency." That's exactly what she does do and in a most condescending and elitist way.

When I read Rich's article in *Off Our Backs*, I thought to myself, how sickening, Rich sounds just like what the Left used to say to us women's liberationists during the anti-Vietnam war years. Then we were asked, "How can you demonstrate against beauty pageants and fight for abortion (a fight which always meant and still means, the right to control our own bodies!) when our brothers, sons, and husbands are dying in Vietnam?"

In 1983, Rich, in excusing Nicaragua's oppressive abortion laws, writes: "In a society born in poverty, menaced from without, the priority at this moment is life itself, and the protection of revolution which spells hope after decades of terror and deprivation."

RICH'S IMPOSED PRIORITIES

I feel brave taking on this sentence because it sounds so noble — who could argue with her? But it made me furious! Here is a woman who in the previous sentence says, "I trust such (revolutionary Nicaraguan) women to set their own priorities." And yet in the very next sentence she tells us what is "the priority" and she makes the separation between the "protection of revolution" and women's right to control our own bodies. Rich is so concerned with the "protection of life itself" — as if that only means fighting the counter-revolution from without — that we must ask ourselves what it means for Nicaragua, four years after revolution, to have a law that is so awful that abortion is only legal if the woman's life is in danger

Women's liberation and revolution in Guatemala

Editor's Note: Victoria Alvarez, a 21-year-old Quiche Indian from Guatemala recently spoke in Chicago on the position of women in her country and her development and activity in the ongoing revolutionary movement. The following are excerpts from her talk and from an interview with News & Letters.

I am one of the few Indian women to have the opportunity to learn Spanish. In spite of the fact that I speak Spanish quite well, in Guatemala I was the victim of double discrimination: as a woman and as an Indian.

The terrible repression unleashed by the government in the 1980s made me commit myself to the struggle of my people. At the beginning of June, 1981, our family had to abandon our town, our house, our people, our friends, everything. Worst of all, the members of my family became refugees inside our country. I don't know where to find them or how they are.

My mother was working among the people both on nutrition and sewing and also for women's equality. This got her into much trouble both with the rich people and with the men in the villages — many of whom became her enemy. According to tradition, women should be in the house and caring for the children. Many people were scandalized when my mother first spoke in public because they said that is the man's work. But the old mind set is breaking up.

The idea of revolutionary struggle was not born in a moment. Women were trying to make gains as women, just like the factory workers or peasants were doing from their particular perspective. But the army labeled all of this "communism." This is how we as women came to see that we have to get rid of what affects us all, as well as our particular oppression. It is important to see that women could not struggle side by side with the men if it were not for our political development side by side with men.

It would be simplistic to say that there is now real unity between peasants and city dwellers, men and women, Indian and Ladino. The enemy knows of these differences and tries to exploit them. There are a lot of things that need to be overcome, but in the process of our struggle they are being dealt with.

The new regime means nothing better for us. There are many reasons for the coup. Montt's policies brought out the many contradictions within the bourgeoisie and actually thwarted the U.S. desire to intervene militarily. But it was not just internal contradictions that caused the coup. Montt's proclamation of victory in 1982 (meaning wiping out the revolutionary forces) failed and he lost credibility. In this sense, the continuation of the people's struggle provoked the coup.

Now the effort of our government and the U.S. is to beat down the grass roots organizations. The house-to-house raids, murders, saturation bombing of the villages and the effort to wipe out entire sections of the country attests to the fact that the people's grass roots work continues to move forward.

Philosophy critical to 'feminist dialogue'

and even then consent must be given by the man!

The same issue that contains Rich's article also has one called "Nicaraguan Women" by Jennifer Hull. There we learn from Maria Torres, the director of Children's Hospital in Vales Pais, Nicaragua, that illegal abortions are one of the three major causes of maternal death in Nicaragua (along with toxemia and hemorrhage). According to Torres, Children's Hospital sees one or two self-induced abortions a day. The article goes on to quote the authors of *Sweet Ramparts: Women in Revolutionary Nicaragua* who "note that one hospital in the capital city of Managua admits an average of ten women a day as a result of illegal abortions."

What also made me angry at Rich, and why I used the word "elitist" at the beginning of my letter, is her comment that one must "begin" (another one of Rich's imposed priorities) by "feeding the hungry so that they have the energy to think about what they want beyond food." Who exactly does she think made that revolution? The well fed? It was mostly women and youth, most of them hungry, all of whom could still think.

This attitude of Rich's is nothing new. As far back as 1976 when she wrote *Of Women Born* her elitist attitude to poor and working women was revealed. There she stated that they "are far too preoccupied with the immediate effects of patriarchy on their lives . . . to demand anything . . ." That book is very revealing of Rich's view of women as non-thinkers. She sees women as mindless victims whose only "transformative — active powerful" dimension is their wombs. (See my review, N&L, Jan.-Feb., 1977)

WHAT IS 'SERIOUS DIALOGUE'?

What all this brings into question in my mind is where Landau talks of Rich's "serious call for a feminist dialogue on the relationship between feminism and revolution." But what do we mean by "serious"? Shouldn't our concept of "serious feminist dialogue" include a discussion of philosophy, of theory of revolution? Didn't we, as Marxist-Humanists, raise philosophy as our distinguishing mark and single out the Women's Liberation Movement as exposing that revolution without a philosophy of revolution leads only to "focoism" or other shortcuts that wind up tailing Russia or some other state power but never getting us to freedom?

What is most unserious is to bury the demand of women to control our own bodies as if that isn't a priority simultaneously with feeding the hungry and fighting U.S. imperialism. If we are talking of revolution in permanence of the fact that women's fight for full freedom has always deepened the concept of how total revolution has to become, then we can't stop at white U.S. liberal guilt, as Rich does, but delve deeply into what women as revolutionary Reason really means, right in the process of revolution itself.

— Terry Moore

To our readers

The column above represents a very different viewpoint from that printed in last month's N&L. The contrast sparked a discussion on the focus and direction of our *Woman as Reason* column, in which we invite our readers to participate. The very title "Woman as Reason" means to us that it is *philosophy* that is decisive for the direction of the Women's Liberation Movement. We feel that women as far away as Bihar, India (see the letter from a feminist there, p. 6) are joining us in the search for answers to the questions crucial to our struggle. Your comments and suggestions are invited as we continue to work out how we can make this page a forum for working out a new direction.

Child support and sexism

Salt Lake City, UT. — In the U.S. 95% of the people on welfare are women and children. In the majority of cases after a divorce, fathers abandon their parental role and leave single mothers and their children without financial support. Since women make only 59% of what men earn in this country, and since the entire burden of financial support for the children usually falls to the mother, we are witnessing the phenomenon called the "feminization of poverty."

Yet some so-called advocacy groups insist that child support is not a women's issue. Whenever I present the situation using the terms "mother" and "father," I am told I am using sexist language and am pressed to use terms like "absent parent" to protect the man's rights.

This is a method of sweeping the issue of sexism under the carpet. Those who would restrict their language to genderless terms would deny the sexist element in the child support problem. They would use the principle of nonsexist language against women to make it look as if sexism does not exist. On the contrary, it does exist and will take a total uprooting of the old relationships between men and women to enable both men and women to freely take responsibility for nurturing children. — Susan Jones



women-worldwide

In Harare, Zimbabwe, soldiers and police have outraged hundreds by waging a "prostitution crackdown" in which they have seized and harassed women in theaters, supermarkets, hotels and homes. Over 800 women have been detained in raids which began Oct. 28, and hundreds of angry men have had to produce marriage certificates to obtain their wives' release. No men were reported arrested.

Planned Parenthood of Salt Lake City, Utah, filed a lawsuit on behalf of four teen-aged women who objected to a practice requiring all youth who seek contraceptive counseling to notify their parents. On Nov. 16, a federal district judge ruled to block \$500,000 in federal funds unless the practice is stopped.

In Jerusalem on Oct. 12, participants in the International Symposium on Rural Society in the Middle East condemned the Israeli government's deportation of Ms. Anne Scott who had worked at Bir Zeit University from 1979-1982, when she filed a complaint against two Israeli women soldiers who had beaten her when she accompanied two Arab students who had been summoned by authorities. In a letter to the *Jerusalem Post*, her supporters called the deportation "a serious infringement on academic freedom and a violation of individual rights."

Information from *Israelleft*

Tijuana, Mexico — Women from Xochiquetzal, a new women's collective, held a joint meeting recently with U.S. feminists from the San Diego Center for Women's Studies and Services, and from Womancare, a health center. Members of Xochiquetzal plan a center to serve all Tijuana women regardless of class, politics, or profession and to set up *guarderías* (child care centers) which are needed.

Labor battles on Greyhound picket lines

As we go to press the Greyhound strikers have rejected the latest company offer, 9,181 to 325, by an overwhelming 97%.

Detroit, Mich. — Wednesday, Nov. 16 was the day class struggle came back in force in the U.S. In city after city, from Seattle on the West Coast to Boston on the East Coast and dozens of cities in between, strikers at Greyhound, members of Amalgamated Transit Union and their supporters were out in force on the picket line against the first day of Greyhound's union busting, concessions contract.

Here in Detroit some 250 of us were on the line at the downtown terminal shouting "No scabs, No way" as Greyhound first brought in four buses and then tried to get the first two out even though they had hardly any passengers. Our line was strong and it was only with the help of dozens of pushing and shoving Detroit city cops that any buses got in or out. Pickets were knocked to the ground, with nine arrests in one of the sharpest clashes between police and strikers in Detroit in a decade.

Because this strike is on the local news and in the newspapers throughout the country, it is perhaps a watershed in working people's fight against concessions and union busting contracts. Corporations are hoping that it will be the PATCO strike of private industry. Both the bosses and the workers are watching the development to see whether labor can win, and begin a new offensive against Reaganomics and the bosses. All out on the Greyhound picket line!

New York, N.Y. — On the eve of Thanksgiving Day 2,000 workers converged on the Port Authority Bus terminal for a spirited rally in support of the striking Greyhound workers.

Then we all marched into the terminal, completely jamming the area in front of the Greyhound ticket counter. Yelling at the scabs and chanting, "Stop the buses," "They say give back, we say fight back." There was thunderous cheering when Greyhound had to shut down the counter and pull the gates around it.

The shame of it was the union leaders were so quick to lead us outside and disband the demonstration. Workers were saying, Let's go downstairs, that is where the buses are. But the leaders didn't do anything with all that power and anger except dissipate it.

Transit workers, teachers, hospital workers, garment workers, public employees, teamsters, electrical workers and office workers were all at the demonstration, including many Black workers taking the lead in the chants.

One electrician said, "The ATU is a different kind of union. It is willing to appeal to the ranks of other unions. Maybe this will be a turning point." Transit workers were convinced that their union was going to be next.

One of the ATU pickets who had 15 years in said, "this rally is good, but a one shot rally doesn't do it. We need to keep this up every day — we need to stop the buses."

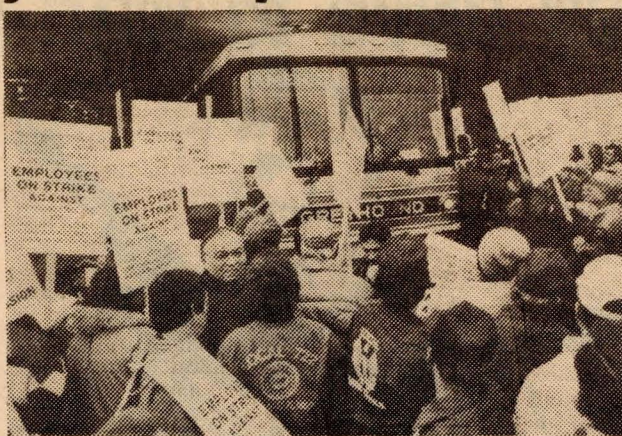
Oakland, Cal. — Greyhound forced this strike. All of a sudden, out of nowhere they wanted us to work for \$5.95, half of what we make. Now they have reconsidered and want to take away 9.5% from our wages, pay only part of our hospitalization, take away four paid holidays. They want to hire part-time help and have split shifts.

The president of Greyhound is making over \$500,000 and sitting back making decisions about me who doesn't make anything. When Greyhound bought Armour he got rid of the crew that was working there, brought in non-union workers and then sold the company. I watched what happened to those people at Continental Airlines, then the next thing I know I'm one of them.

There is so much that we suffered through to hold this job. When I first started here I used to work eight hours, go home, and they'd call me back after four hours to come in and work eight more hours. I'm not going to let anybody take my job. I understand what it means to be out of work, but you can't just let someone come in and take your job.

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Strikers halting the first scab bus out of Minneapolis.

Chicago, Ill. — "For years we couldn't get the company to put up any gates so that our cars wouldn't get broken into while we were at work. Now that we are on strike the company has finally put up gates, only it is to keep us from getting in." So spoke a striking Greyhound worker at the Chicago bus maintenance yard. Drivers, clerks, mechanics, bus cleaners and others, members of the ATU, are on strike across the country.

Greyhound has caught the concession contract spirit, despite quarterly profits of well into the millions. The company is demanding cuts of around 17% in wages, changes in the health insurance and decreases in the number of paid holidays and the amount of vacation time. In addition they want the right to impose split shifts, to hire new workers at lower wage scales and to bring in unlimited numbers of part-time workers at lower wages and with no fringe benefits.

What is most galling to many, however, is the arrogance of the company in planning to dismiss workers who have ten, twenty or more years in, if they don't accept Greyhound's terms. One worker told us of a management meeting held well before the strike where the order came down to the supervisors to dismiss workers who don't notify the company of their intention to return to work. This before anyone was even on strike.

But the strikers, women and men, joined the workers from the Chicago Transit Authority, remain on the picket line. "Here we build this company up, and now they are just showing us a dead end. They are treating us like a stepchild. We aren't going on the plantation for them."

Bureaucrats face distrust

by Felix Martin

The overwhelming vote by striking UAW members to reject a contract offer from McDonnell Douglas this month — and the slim majority of machinists who voted to accept a similar package — shows the extent to which workers are beginning to fight against the whole wave of concessions and give-backs that management and union leadership have been trying to stuff down their throats.

The offer to the McDonnell Douglas workers called for pay hikes to go only to the higher-paid skilled workers. That's why the workers came out in such numbers to vote it down. But what was surprising was how the higher-paid machinists only voted 1277 to 1237 to accept the contract.

Workers are saying that even the skilled are seeing that management's effort to get more and more concessions from the lower-paid, unskilled workers in the long run doesn't work to their interest. No matter how good a contract the UAW may think they negotiated, that vote by the machinists spells trouble for McDonnell Douglas.

In vote after vote nationwide, workers have been showing that they won't accept the propaganda about their need to "sacrifice" anymore. This was shown in the Teamsters vote in September when over 80 percent of the workers voted down a master contract that would have let trucking firms pay lower wages to drivers recalled from lay-off.

The wave of givebacks and cutbacks has rippled through the entire working class, from the most skilled to the most unskilled. It has reached the point where workers say they can't make a living anymore.

One unemployed worker who used to work in rubber told me, "I have had five different jobs in the past three years, none that paid enough to support my family. I blame the union equally as much as I blame capitalism because the leadership has become part of the corporations."

If airline pilots earning \$80,000 a year can be forced to cut their wages in half, then even the most skilled workers aren't safe. They will begin to see that the years of depending on the union bureaucracy to defend the interests of the workers are over.

I agree with what John Marcotte said in the October issue of News & Letters, that we don't yet know what new way workers will find to confront the capitalists. But what is becoming clearer each day is that workers are more and more willing to vote their own way in the face of their leadership's call for more concessions, and this could prove to be the beginning of something that would shake this nation.



by John Marcotte

Two of the most important events in the labor movement for today are the Twinsburg, Ohio Chrysler strike and the Teamster rank-and-file's overwhelming rejection of Jackie Presser's concessions deal with the trucking companies. The Twinsburg strike, the first and only U.S. auto strike during these recent years of concessions, was against working conditions, health and safety, speed-up and forced overtime.

It both exposed the planners' lies that Automation and robots eliminate the dangerous and unpleasant work for the worker, and proved once again that you cannot evade that central conflict, the capital/labor relation at the point of production, spelled out as inhuman working conditions and workers' revolt against it.

The Teamsters rejected the proposed "relief rider" to the National Master Freight Agreement that would have let companies call back laid-off workers at wages cut up to 33% and without cost of living or sick pay or "past practice" protection. It is so important because its nearly 90% "No" vote is a resounding slap in the face to never-elected president Presser.

Likewise at GM's Packard Electric Division in Warren, Ohio, workers not only overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to cut new hires' wages by two-thirds but went on to vote out all but one member of the entire exec. and bargaining committee of Local 717, IUE.

As these labor battles intensify, the management class has revived the wholesale use of scabs to break strikes. Greyhound is the test now of the labor movement, where management immediately advertised for over 20,000 applicants to replace workers striking against concessions. At Iowa Beef, Phelps Dodge copper in Arizona, and Continental Airlines, the use of scabs has become more and more the rule ever since Reagan both fired PATCO air controllers and let unemployment rise to levels not seen since the Great Depression.

What workers are saying in their growing opposition to concessions is that concessions don't save jobs but are a vicious cycle of workers underbidding each other, locally, nationally and internationally, which worsens everyone's conditions. As opposed to concessions, labor solidarity begins with fighting our own fight here at home, and with stopping Reagan's sending the marines to make the world safe for sweatshops overseas.

Union Tank workers on strike over wage cuts

East Chicago, Ind. — Two hundred sixty workers, members of the Boilermakers union, have been on strike since mid-August against Union Tank, which builds railroad cars. The company is threatening to permanently close its Indiana facility unless workers agree to concessions, including cuts in pay, benefits, holidays and vacations amounting to \$2.03 per hour.

The workers knew they were in for trouble when the new owners of the company, the Marmon Group, immediately cut costs in the office. A striker said, "Even though they made millions last year, the company says they need concessions to stay competitive."

Union Tank strikers have resisted agreeing to any cuts, even though they are surviving on \$55 per week for picket duty. They are ineligible for food stamps or any other assistance due to a recent law passed in Indiana.

The strike has stopped production at the Indiana plant, but tank cars are still being built at a non-union shop in Louisiana. And although striking workers have attempted to stop trucks from picking up shipments, each time the company calls, the police force the pickets to move.

A worker said, "The way it is now with a lot of little unions, there's no way to fight. The workers are all going to have to stick together and have one big organization, like in Poland. Where could they move the plant then?"

— Strike supporters

As philosophy finds its material weapons in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its spiritual weapons in philosophy. And once the lightning of thought has squarely struck this ingenuous soil of the people the emancipation of the Germans into human beings will take place.

Karl Marx, 1843

The three way drive to war: Grenada, endless

(continued from page 1)

to reveal the true situation — that there was no unanimity among the seven members of the OECS on the question of the invasion. And, since unanimity is what the OECS charter requires if any act of intervention is to be undertaken, a different route had to be fabricated.

The first attempt to circumvent that principle was to go to the 13-member Caribbean Community economic organization (CARICOM). But here, too, they found that George Chambers, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Chairman of CARICOM, was opposed to any invasion of Grenada. When Chambers called for a meeting of CARICOM at Port of Spain, Trinidad, Tom Adams informed him that he could not come since the East Caribbean countries were meeting with him in Barbados right then — Friday, Oct. 21. That meeting, indeed, continued until the early hours of the morning of Saturday, Oct. 22.

Here is the way the events unfolded after Maurice Bishop was put under house arrest: Adams says he had heard of the arrest on Oct. 14 and that the following day, Saturday, Oct. 15, a Barbadian military official "reported to me that he had been tentatively approached by a U.S. official about the prospect of rescuing Maurice Bishop from his captors and had been made an offer of transport."

A genuine rescue mission was undertaken, however, not by those stooges, but by the Grenadian masses who began demonstrations for Bishop's release. The actual freeing of Bishop from house arrest occurred Oct. 19. That was also when, tragically, the first act of counter-revolution from within the ruling party occurred, as General Hudson Austin, who was heading the military coup against Bishop, fired on the people surrounding the fort where they had escorted Bishop. It ended in the brutal murder of Bishop and a still unknown number of revolutionaries, who had allied with him.

Obviously, Wednesday, Oct. 19, was the date that inspired Reagan to begin concretizing his plans for outright invasion of Grenada. He ordered the ships carrying 1600 marines bound for the Middle East to change course to the Caribbean. He also asked his Joint Chiefs of Staff to work out a "contingency" plan for the invasion.

THE LIES BEGIN

Oct. 19 was also the day Reagan held a press conference. Since no one there knew about any planned invasion, no questions were asked about that. What was raised was what seemed to have no connection with any of these events — a bill to make Rev. Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday. Though Reagan knew that, for narrow political election reasons, he would be compelled to sign that Bill, he took the occasion to shower praises on Senator Jesse Helms, who had unleashed a scurrilous attack against Rev. King as he filibustered against that resolution.

The press seemed aghast at the idea that Reagan chose that day to speak of the "integrity" of Sen. Helms. But then they knew nothing of the planned invasion of a tiny Black nation. They would soon be just as aghast at the "bad timing" of Reagan who, on Oct. 25, the very day of the invasion, would announce his firing of three Civil Rights Commissioners who were critical of his stand on civil rights for Blacks and Latinos.

The relationship between these seemingly unconnected events, which have a logic all their own, will emerge as we continue with the necessary exposure of the countless lies this fork-tongued President uttered as he embarked on Oct. 19 for a "vacation" — in a lily-white Georgia mansion complete with golf course — where he would stay until Oct. 23.

Whatever the shadings of views and precise times and dates given in the chronologies cited by either Tom

3. See "Barbadian Leader Describes Disputes and Confusion in Arranging Invasion", by James Feron, in *New York Times*, Oct. 28, 1983.

4. See moving report from St. George's by a nurse who was eye-witness to the last hours of Maurice Bishop, in *New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1983. She quotes Bishop, just before he was captured: "My God, my God. They have turned the guns against the people." See also eye-witness report special to N&L, page 1.

5. The *New York Times* of Oct. 26, 1983 carries a transcript of Shultz's Oct. 25 news conference on the invasion.



Adams of Barbados, or George Shultz of the State Department — or the press, which could only repeat official Pentagon releases since a total blackout was imposed on the "free, independent, U.S. press" — what is beyond any doubt is this:

1) U.S. imperialist plotting began from the moment of Bishop's house arrest; and 2) by the time of his brutal murder, Reagan (far from having any interest in "rescuing" Bishop, whom he had refused even to see in Washington, D.C. when Bishop was there in June) was bent on outright invasion.

With the aid of the Joint Chiefs of Staff's "contingency plan", all this was being spelled out for Reagan's very select, very few top aides — and, in bite-size morsels, for his East Caribbean stooges. No others were consulted — neither Congress, nor the Organization of American States (OAS), nor his NATO allies, including Great Britain, although Grenada is part of the British Commonwealth, ceremonially run by the "Queen's representative." Quite the contrary. The very first of Reagan's double-crossing of his allies was his conspiracy to use that "Queen's representative as Governor-General", Sir Paul Scoon, as the figleaf of "legitimacy."

Clearly, Reagan is adept at dreaming up the most nightmarish of counter-revolutions, whether he is in bed at the White House, or on horseback on his Western ranch, or on a lily-white golf course in Georgia. As it turned out, the secrecy of his golf-course conspiracies was enhanced not only by the fact that he was "on vacation" but by the accidental gate-crashing of an unemployed disturbed man that Saturday, Oct. 22, which naturally enough diverted everyone's attention to that bizarre event.

On Sunday, Oct. 23 (the day Reagan acknowledges he was "awakened early"), we heard nothing about the conspiracies hatched on Grenada, but about the shocking, savage massacre of over 200 U.S. marines in Lebanon. We were not told that this did not for one moment divert Reagan from those preparations for the invasion of tiny Grenada. On the contrary, what the TV showed was a shocked and mourning Reagan, supposedly overcome by the terrorist act in Beirut and the total destruction of the marine headquarters.

The impression given was that President Reagan had rushed back from his vacation the minute he heard of the carnage in order to meet with his chief advisers about what to do in the Middle East. In fact, what he was rushing back for was to complete his preparations for the invasion and affix his signature as soon as his Caribbean stooges had confirmed his formulation of the reason for the invasion. The politics of capitalist-imperialism have obviously taught this B-movie actor what professional acting couldn't — how to give an Oscar-caliber portrayal of a grief-stricken man.

While the American people still knew nothing of the invasion to come two days later with the pre-dawn landings on Tuesday, Oct. 25, the Caribbean press was already announcing it and Grenadian radio was warning the Grenadian people of the attack. We now have learned that it was under cover of darkness late Sunday and early Monday that two small teams of Seals had begun to scout the island.*

6. It is first today, Nov. 14, 1983 that the *New York Times*, in two front page articles reveals that a scouting party had, in fact, already landed on Grenada on Oct. 23.

Sen. Cranston summed it up well, when he heard of the invasion: "We have a trigger-happy president who has recklessly landed the U.S. in two civil wars, and his policies threaten to land us in a third in El Salvador, and possibly a fourth in Nicaragua."

THE LIES MULTIPLY

The logic of a new series of lies begins with what Reagan said was the reason for the invasion on Oct. 25: "First, of overriding importance, to protect innocent lives, including up to 1000 Americans whose personal safety is, of course, my paramount concern."

Reagan never stopped repeating that they got there "just in time." But what it was they got there for "just in time" kept changing. While the Chancellor of the Medical School, whose students Reagan was supposed to be "saving", was still saying that those students' lives were not in danger, the "just in time" changed to being "just in time" to keep Grenada from becoming a "Soviet-Cuban colony being readied to export terrorism and Communism." Toward that end came the claim of a highly inflated number of Cubans who turned out to be, in the words of the Pentagon liar, Admiral Wesley L. McDonald, "well trained professional soldiers impersonating construction workers."

As some of the fabrications of the U.S. were exposed by Cuba, the State Department was forced to acknowledge that, far from McDonald's inflated figure of 1,100 Cubans on Grenada, Cuba was not only right in its figure of a total of 784 Cuban construction workers, doctors, teachers and a few military personnel, but the U.S. authorities verified that hardly more than 100 of the Cubans were "combatants."

Here is how *New York Times* reporter Stuart Taylor, Jr. summarized the situation: "Over three days, the Pentagon estimate of Cuban fighters who met the invading forces seems to have plunged from more than 1,000 to fewer than 200, including an estimated 30 to 70 Cubans who were killed." The very title of his Nov. 6 article shows the extent of the lying: "In Wake of Invasion, Much Official Misinformation by U.S. Comes to Light."

The lies kept mounting nevertheless, whether it be the fact that, despite the claim that Americans had to be "rescued", the U.S. had assurances of safe transportation for all and that four planes had departed on the very day the U.S. claimed the airport was closed,* or whether it be the fake reason given for the press blackout, when in truth, the muzzling of the press was not a matter only of military censorship but of unbridled political censorship; or whether it be the secret documents that supposedly prove "militarization" of Grenada, which turned out to be an agreement by Cuba to provide all of 27 military advisers.

The lies that kept emanating from the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon — before and after the occupation — have a logic of their own. Inexorably they flow out of the Big Lie — Reagan's attempt to hide the relentless drive for a Pax Americana under the euphemism of "democracy."

The ideology of U.S. imperialist global counter-revolution is nothing other than the Brezhnev Doctrine, Reagan-style.

THE REAGAN-STYLE OF THE BREZHNEV DOCTRINE REVEALS ITS ANTI-BLACK NATURE

Just as Reagan's retrogressionism in the U.S. has always had an anti-Black bias, so his imperialism is turning the clock backward to neo-colonialism with that same coloration. It is this which poured out during the week of the invasion, right at home.

The present state of retrogression in the U.S. has also revealed once more that there is no difference between Democrats and Republicans. For one single moment, Speaker Tip O'Neill sounded as if he was with those who opposed the invasion of a tiny Black nation by the nuclear superpower, the U.S. Then he sent a Congressional so-called "Fact Finding" mission to Grenada — which returned to endorse the invasion. It was not a unanimous conclusion, but the Minority Report (made by the Black Congressmen Dellums and Stokes, and endorsed by the entire Congressional Black Caucus) was hardly given equal time. Not only did these Congressmen oppose the invasion, they testified to the fact that the U.S. forces "are engaging in illegal searches and seizures of people and homes as well as still weeding out members of the population for security or political reasons."

Here is how Congressman Dellums summed up his fact-finding: "As an American citizen, I was appalled by the U.S. invasion of Grenada, which I considered an un-

(continued on page 5)

7. Not only is this what the Chancellor, Charles Modica, reported before he was brainwashed, but the full story was revealed by the Vice Chancellor. See "Was the U.S. Invasion Necessary?" by Dr. Peter G. Bourne, his son, in *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 6, 1983.

8. See report in *New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1983: "Ex-U.S. Official Cites Ease in Leaving Grenada Day Before Invasion", on interview with Robert J. Myers, the retired chief actuary for the American Social Security system, who had been in Grenada since Oct. 13 and had left on one of those planes.

9. See Editorial in *Black Scholar*, Vol. 14, Number 5 (Sept-Oct 1983): "U.S. Marines out of Grenada."

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militarization, retrogression on Black rights



Grenada demonstration when New Jewel Movement was in power.

declared act of war in violation of the Constitution, the UN and OAS Charters . . . I believe we're in gross violation of international law."

Though they were hated by the Grenadian people as the ones who had perpetrated the murder of Maurice Bishop and laid the ground for the events that ensued (see *eyewitness report special to N&L*, page 1), the sight of General Austin and Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard being herded in shackles and blindfolded, by U.S. soldiers, was a chilling flashback to the scene of a U.S. puppet shooting pointblank into the brain of a blindfolded prisoner in Vietnam. Reagan's forces in this invasion have, indeed, violated not only International Law, and both the UN and the OAS charters, but now have violated even the Geneva Convention in war, and the treatment of prisoners, which forbids both shackling and blindfolding. It is a violation not unconnected to Reagan's hostility to the Black dimension, at home and abroad.

Although this is assuredly not the first time that U.S. imperialism has invaded a small Third World country, never before has it dared invade a Black nation that was English-speaking and still a part of the British Commonwealth. Similarly, although this is not the first Administration that has clashed with the Civil Rights Commission, it is the first that has dared to dismiss members who disagreed with it. As Father Hesburg, President of Notre Dame and a member of that commission for 15 of its 26 years, put it: "We have had trouble with all the presidents and Congresses. But during that time, no one was ever fired."¹⁰

That was so even in Nixon's presidency, because — ever since its establishment in 1957 as an independent bi-partisan agency within the executive branch, which the turbulent '60s made concrete by compelling such landmark legislation as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 — this Commission has been the one institution that "proved" democracy. Reagan, however, has so flouted all this legislation that he has come under sharp criticism for his policies on Blacks, women and Hispanics. Now he has dared to attack that Commission itself.

If, however, he thought none of that would be noted on the day of invasion when all headlines were on Grenada and the carnage in Lebanon, he was wrong. The critique of his blatant racism has become so hot an issue that he is now discussing a compromise, whereby Reagan would be allowed to maintain his own four nominees who would abide by his principles, but Congress would be empowered to nominate an equal number which would include the three Reagan has just tried to fire.

That doesn't mean that Reagan's America has stopped believing it can control the tides of history not only at home but on a global scale, as the invasion is being transformed into an occupation and U.S. imperialism appears to be planning military colonialization in the Middle East as well, while it continues endless militarization poised for nuclear war. The bloody hands must be stayed!

RAMIFICATIONS: REVOLUTIONARY PERSPECTIVES VS. GLOBAL WAR

Like Khomeini who calls the U.S. "the great Satan", Reagan, in calling Russia "the evil empire," considers that this gives him a blank check to commit any crime, utter the Big Lie, and drive for world dominance. It wasn't only the Left, however, that opposed his unprovoked invasion, now fast turning into an occupation. Thus, the UN's Security Council Resolution was passed in General Assembly, declaring that the UN "deeply deplores the armed intervention in Grenada, which constitutes a

flagrant violation of international law and of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that state."

And, while the liberals were calling the world's attention to the fact that Reagan's favorite phrase about "leftist thugs" had nothing to say about the death squads in El Salvador — which, for four long years, have killed no less than 37,000 civilians, fully one-third the total population of Grenada¹¹ — even the OAS had to call attention to its Charter's principles about the inviolability of national borders which absolutely cannot be tampered with "for any reason whatever."

It is true Reagan can depend on his capitalist-imperialist allies to oppose social revolution as totally as he does. But, as John Vinocur wrote from Paris, after the invasion of Grenada, "overnight every West European regards American missiles less as a protection than as a threat."¹² If Reagan has disregarded that, it is because what preoccupies him is getting his unlimited militarization bills through Congress. He has succeeded in that, instigating such a patriotic hysteria ever since the 007 Korean airliner incident that Congress not only approved funds for the MX missile, but for nerve gas, too!

Here, then, is the real rub. We must, of course, call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Grenada and all the gunboats sailing around the globe, from the Middle East to Central America to Asia.¹³ But that is not enough. We must stay the bloody hands of both nuclear superpowers.

The anti-nuke struggles, and the anti-military struggle in general, cannot stop the life and death struggle with capitalism — private and state — that is ready to unleash the nuclear holocaust, except through a total uprooting, social revolution. In that, we have all the world on our side, for it is the only way to achieve peace.

That is why the correct slogan "the enemy is in your own country" is not sufficient. It may have sufficed before the world was divided into two power blocs. Presently, it is a trap to suck one into the other nuclear orbit, and thus doom both the advanced economies and the Afro-

11. See "Revelling in Military Power" by Roland Steel, *New York Times* Oct. 29, 1983.

12. *New York Times*, Oct. 29, 1983.

13. See Editorial in *The Nation*, Nov. 5, 1983: "American Imperialism: 'Any Part of the Earth'". See also *The Nation*, Nov. 12, which carries an article by former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley, "Who is Next?"

Mass freeing, army murder of Bishop

(continued from page 1)

cards. With a great roar they all set off down the street. They started marching around town gathering people. And a crowd just gathered and built and built. When I had first come to town I wondered whether people were going to gather and then it went just like a whirlwind.

People came from all over the island and all over the town. The streets were just full of people and still it kept growing and growing. I went up to the hospital so that I could look down upon it and it was amazing to watch people wind through the streets. Streets and streets full of people. And people were so happy. Everybody was talking about going to the "jump-up". The jump-up is a street dance at Carnival time. "You're not going to work are you?" "What are you doing at work. Come to the jump-up." Everybody was really excited and talking. They then went up to Bishop's place which was just outside of St. George.

Bishop was released and the pitch got even higher. Everyone was ecstatic by then. They told how the army had fired guns over the heads of people, but they just kept going and released him. He had been tied to a chair or something and didn't have a shirt on. He hadn't slept or eaten very much since he had been under house arrest. That was five days. So he was very weak. They were going to take him to Market Square and have him speak to the people. But he was too weak so they decided to take him toward the hospital which was on the same hill as the fort.

THE ARMY STRIKES BACK

Everybody somehow ended up in the fort. But it didn't seem like a planned thing. Just with a huge crowd behind, that was where everyone ended up. There were just masses of people everywhere. I didn't hear the shots. Apparently they were up at the fort about an hour, had taken control and were waiting for Bishop to speak. And then three armed cars came from somewhere else up the hill. People at the bottom of the hill thought they were firing over people's heads, but they fired right into the crowd. The stories are quite sickening after that.

It was just a crowd of average Grenadians. Everyone came back into town with their stories of what they had seen, of how they had jumped down over a cliff, of how they saw people shot. Everyone was crying a lot. Everyone who had been extremely high was just shot down to nothing.

Nobody knew at that time what had happened to Bishop and Whiteman and others. The radio said there would be an announcement at 10 p.m. The announcement came and it gave their version of what happened. The people listened

Asian-Latin American liberation movements. We have no time to waste on the Stalinized "Marxists," ex-Marxists, or Fidelistas who tailend and whitewash Communist tyranny.

It is equally true that preparation for war against Russia tomorrow is all-out war against the American working people today, tomorrow, and the day after. That is why the point is not who throws or will throw the first stone, especially when that first stone will be the H-bomb. The point is: are you with the people struggling for a totally new way of life?

So universal is the feeling against the war that even the rulers play the game of peace and disarmament conference. That cannot, therefore, be what distinguishes us from them. Private or state-capitalism will spare nothing to keep itself on top and the masses at the bottom. Armed with the H-bomb and the missile, they are ready to destroy civilization itself rather than allow the new human society to emerge.

To achieve a truly human life, we must not only be with the working people because they and only they oppose the war to the end, because they and only they are the future society, but also because we do not shift to their shoulders what is the task of all of us — the theoretic clearing of the ground for the reconstruction of society on new beginnings. These new beginnings start with integrating the philosophy of revolution into all revolutionary activities, as we oppose Reagan's warmongering and retrogressions at home as well as abroad. Only by making a philosophy of revolution inseparable from an actual revolution can we keep the revolution from aborting and win a new society on truly human foundations. November 14, 1983

A new Political-Philosophic Letter by Raya Dunayevskaya

Counter-Revolution and Revolution:

Grenada, the Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were themselves Forms of Theory

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to the broadcast, and couldn't believe that they had killed all those leaders. Everyone was broken up over the whole thing. This was followed by the announcement that there would be a 24-hour curfew and that anyone on the streets would be shot. Here was their revolution and it seemed like in one afternoon the whole thing had been wiped out.

You can expect people to be demoralized. So I just couldn't believe the next morning when I got up and all these young people were standing out at the cross roads in the village, quietly defying the curfew. They were unarmed, grief-stricken and really determined. They were standing up. No one was making speeches. It was the quietest group of people you have ever seen. Everyone was standing there as if to say we aren't going to take this lying down. You can shoot us, but we're standing up. No one fired.

THE U.S. INVADES

Sunday they started making announcements that the country was going to be invaded. But people didn't really believe that. They didn't have much confidence in what was said over the radio. The government was trying to mobilize people against an invasion, but they had no confidence in the people. They couldn't really mobilize people because they were so against them. I heard people say things like Maurice Bishop is the only man I would follow. And Bishop is the only man who could get us together against the Americans.

When the invasion happened people couldn't believe it. They kept seeing it getting worse and worse. All of a sudden you heard planes all over, which you never hear normally. It was hard to look into the faces of the adults, this being their country and there was nothing they could do. It was so out of their control.

Tuesday night was really awful when they landed on the beach at my village. It happened so insidiously. It seems like within ten minutes after we first saw them they were everywhere on the beach and through town. People peeked out of their windows to fry and follow what was happening. Everyone had been terrified all night long, wide awake. After that, there were soldiers all over the place. People were being questioned about who had a gun, who was in the army, who supported the government. And we saw one man who had been in the army, but had not been involved, being dragged off.

I didn't see anyone greeting Americans. They weren't being rude or anything, as they were under the gun. There were lots of refugees from the bombing. There was even talk that they were going to go through homes with a fine-tooth comb to make sure there were no guns and so forth. The taking away of people was going on in lots of places. On Friday, I left the country.

10. See excellent article by Dale Mezzacappa in *Detroit Free Press*, Oct. 30, 1983: "Foes say Reagan subverts rights panel."

DAY AFTER GRENADA, DAY AFTER NUCLEAR WAR?

I wonder some nights, "Is this the way the world ends?" Many people say they were frightened by the movie "The Day After", but truthfully I have been more scared by the real TV news of the last month, because that is what may actually lead to nuclear war. In Washington D.C. on Nov. 12, many youth came out to demonstrate who had only been in anti-nuke protests before. Now they were moved by Reagan's invasion of Grenada and his threat against Nicaragua.

We need that kind of involvement now, because Reagan is not making any distinction between moving on the conventional war front and moving on the nuclear war front. Look at how he has gotten nearly everything he wanted on MX, Pershing and cruise missiles, on nerve gas, and on global deployment of U.S. troops. If we don't stop these insane world leaders, one of these confrontations will end up being nuclear.

Ex-soldier
Michigan

At the Oct. 15 anti-nuke rally at the Rocky Flats Nuclear Weapons Facility in Colorado, the plan called for us to encircle the facility (17 miles) by holding hands and singing "We Shall Overcome" after they sounded "taps". Apparently this and planting flowers would bring about some mystical process that would rid us of the bomb. I've seen this encirclement and human chain tactic used at other rallies recently in the news. Besides its appeal to some sort of spiritualism, it helps out the authorities. What better form of crowd control is there than to spread the participants thinly over miles and miles of highway?

Construction worker
Denver, Colorado

A few days before "The Day After" was shown on TV I saw a Canadian television documentary which included film on the aftermath of the atomic bombing of Nagasaki. The film had been suppressed by the Pentagon for almost 40 years. It was absolutely horrifying. The total destruction, the radiation burns, the grotesque disfigurement of human faces was almost beyond belief.

The U.S. military had arranged for a professional film group to film Japan immediately after the surrender. The television program interviewed the assistant director of the project, who not only had been horrified when the train reached Nagasaki, but has for decades been trying to get the film footage (some nine hours) released. He is now suffering from lymphoma, a type of cancer common among the A-bomb survivors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

This film material should be shown on U.S. television with all the publicity they have given "The Day After." Then let those madmen like Kissinger and Buckley try and speak.

Shocked
Detroit

I couldn't stand listening to those guys talk after the movie "The Day After". How can you expect to get a straight answer from a bunch of liars? These people say they believe the youth are so smart and have such good ideas. Yet a couple of old men like Reagan and Andropov are not willing to give us a chance and are ready to blow the world apart. That just isn't fair.

Student, Whitney Young H.S.
Chicago

I've been participating in the protests against the invasion of Grenada. At the Oxford Latin America Committee we were discussing how to mobilize people for the demonstration in London. The leadership was proposing a campaign of resolutions from Labour Party wards and trade union branches. Everything within the narrow little world of traditional Labourism, which is the only place most British leftists are at home nowadays. I said that in my view a campaign in solidarity with the Grenadian people should make a start by leafleting the Cowley auto plant and some of the local supermarkets.

At another meeting I said that U.S. im-

perialism was not the only enemy, that the Grenadian Revolution had first been torn apart from within. I said it was necessary to face the question of how it was possible for a Stalinist faction in the heart of the New Jewel Movement to plot and carry through a coup; for elements of the People's Revolutionary Army to turn their guns against the masses when they had liberated Bishop from arrest; and finally to murder Bishop. This did not go down well, and the leaders invoked "lack of facts" to end discussion. I still hope to find some who will be open to these questions.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

After the invasion of Grenada what really stands out here is the hypocrisy of Thatcher. Both she and her government are in a fix. Even on the question of costs for new weapons she is far from out of the woods. More women have been arrested at Greenham Common and more trouble lies ahead.

Thatcher's hysterical speeches about Marxism went a long way toward making the present situation possible. She has been giving the impression that Marxism will be brought to this part of the world by an invading army from Russia. She knows nothing of the fact that much of Marxism in this part of the world was destroyed by Stalin and his servile followers.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland



WOMEN'S
CHAINS:
INDIA
AND USA

Thank you for all the literature you sent. It has taken one month to reach me. It looks like it has come by bullock cart. I shared the material with friends who are very interested. Last week we had a workshop on the woman question here. The topic that came up was the relationship between women's oppression, capitalism and private property — as applied to the local situation. Here only men have the right to property. They buy women in marriage ("bride price") and women become servants or slaves in men's fields. I feel that marriage is very much of an economic institution to get free labor.

We were also interested to know how patriarchal society had developed historically. There are some tribes in India with the matriarchal system and we intend to analyze them in some depth. We also discussed the different trends in feminism and how technology affects women's labor in agricultural work. I am interested in having study sessions and many friends are hungry for these ideas also.

Keep sending me material that we can not get. The little we can get here comes from "orthodox Marxism".

Feminist
Bihar, India

Domestic or household workers rarely ever get any publicity about the conditions they have to undergo to make a living. The article on "Voices raised against domestic work slavery" (Nov. N&L) was a very welcome exception to the rule. Many wealthy women who call themselves feminists when it comes to supporting the E.R.A. think nothing of abusing and degrading the women who clean their homes, cook their meals and watch their children. The remark about "clients who rang little bells to summon me" tells it all. You would think we are back in slavery days. It reminded me of a film I saw on South Africa, and the conditions of Black women there who work in white homes, take care of their kids, and seldom see their own families.

It is about time that domestic workers got organized and got protection from this kind of treatment. And it is about time that feminists see the struggle of domestic workers as an important part of their struggle.

Feminist
Michigan

Readers' Views

UNIONS SOUTH AND NORTH

I read the story about Black workers fighting to organize the Dan River Mills plant in Alabama (Nov. N&L) and it reminded me of the conditions I faced when I worked in the textile mills in Alabama in the late '60s and early '70s. The machines were going constantly — and production was always on your mind. You couldn't stop for a lunch break. If you even took a five-minute break, the production piled up; and if you got behind, there went your job. And no one could even mention the word "union" — you were out the door.

When I moved to L.A., I joined a union for the first time. Union jobs are good in that you do have some type of defense against management, but still the union is separate from the workers. I wonder how prepared the unions are now for the strikes that are happening, with management hiring so many scabs. There used to be a time when striking workers wouldn't let anyone cross a picket line, but it's different today. The union is not the answer. Something new is going to have to happen to save workers' jobs.

Black worker
Los Angeles

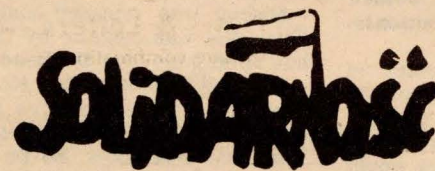
FROM THE CLASSROOMS

I often hear parents say that youth today are no good, that we're not preparing for the future. But we're learning about what's going on in this capitalist society and preparing for a different future. As I begin to study Marx, I see that many workers express some of his ideas, although they don't know it. I see how my father is alienated at his work. As a young person I feel that the time is urgent now to move for a change. We can't waste any second of it.

Latina high school student
Los Angeles

In my North Side school there are about 200 Blacks and 800 whites. On November 4, 1983, my classroom had a vote between Ronald Reagan and Jesse Jackson. There are 29 white and 7 Black students in my classroom. The vote came out 29 votes for Ronald Reagan, and 7 votes for Jesse Jackson. Now I've heard of miracles and coincidences, but that was just too much. When we asked the teacher why didn't she participate in the vote, she said she doesn't participate in such nonsense.

Black student
Chicago



I had the idea that it might be nice if the readers of N&L sent Lech Walesa a congratulatory note or card, showing him and the Polish government that his efforts have not gone unnoticed outside of Poland. The address is: Lech Walesa, Pilotow 17, D-3, Gdansk, Poland. Here is a chance to show a staunch leader of the rights of man that other workers do care.

Solidarity supporter
Zephyrhills, Florida

Chicago politics is maddening. The politicians and the companies are fighting while the people have nothing. Renault Robinson, head of the Chicago Housing Authority, fired Westinghouse, the elevator maintenance company. Then he asked the other mechanics to take a pay cut, and they quit. So the elevators don't run and even elderly residents have to walk up the stairs, hoping they won't get attacked in the stairwell or fall because the steps are crumbling.

It's always the little guy, whether in

world politics or city politics, who gets screwed. The only way they play the city politics game is to hold the people hostage.

South Side resident
Chicago

On "Devil's Night" in the city of Detroit over 600 fires were set, many in abandoned, vacant homes. Officials say they are trying to figure out how to stop the "vandalism". They could look right at city government, whose blatant neglect of neighborhoods and complete incompetence in managing the 14,000 vacant homes have created the situation. Three schoolgirls were raped last month on the same day in the early morning — two were pulled into vacant houses. Who are the real vandals? I know many people care about the quality of life in this city. But how do we fight city hall?

Concerned citizen
Detroit

MARX'S MARXISM TODAY

I've read *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution*. The former served as an invaluable guide through a reading of Vol. 1 of *Capital* this summer, bringing me back again and again to Marx's exploration of society as concrete human activity. It helped me see the processes described in *Capital* as part of my own life (I'm a computer programmer by trade): alienated labor, the domination of living labor by dead labor, fetishism of commodities... not just as phrases or sectarian cant, but as real human experience.

I think the analysis of state-capitalism is crucial, as well. If you don't understand the nature of the USSR and other states that call themselves socialist, then you don't really understand what capitalist oppression is all about... and after the revolution, "the same old s---" gets reproduced, no matter how good your intentions.

Marxism seems increasingly important to me, not as some kind of economic explanation for all the events in the daily newspaper, but as a real method for understanding how the world works as a totality...

Subscriber and activist
Virginia

I read *American Civilization on Trial* twice last week. One time because there was so much information in it. The second time because I find "Black masses as vanguard" a refreshing departure from any previous theories. The conventional conception of vanguard has always been a small group, usually white, usually male, who will lead the masses to revolution. Your point of view is very different.

Thinker-activist
Northern California

The pamphlet *Marx and the Third World* made a real impact on me. I had always wanted to know Marx's view of the world outside Europe. I especially liked the contrast between Marx's attitude toward the extension of railroad lines in the 1850s, when they brought the outside world to people who didn't know it, and the 1870s, when British colonialism used the railroads as a weapon against the traditional communities of Asia, breaking down their co-operative forms and independence.

As a Native American, I couldn't help but think of the railroads in the 1870s in the U.S., where they were used to destroy the economy and way of life of the Indian nations of the Great Plains. I wish more people knew of these views of Marx.

Shainape Shcapwe
Michigan

DID YOU REMEMBER N&L IN YOUR HOLIDAY GIVING? WE NEED YOUR HELP NOW!

CHARLES DENBY: WORKER-EDITOR, MARXIST-HUMANIST

When I think of Charles Denby's life, I think of the unity of mental and manual labor, because that is what he was. Denby was a worker and thinker, the kind of person this society does not allow. When a worker breaks down that division of mental and manual labor, a new force is born which has the power to change this whole world. Denby's life meant this new force, and his meeting and developing with Raya helped give birth to the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

I remember the first night I spent with him in Detroit. Right from the first discussion I saw how Denby could tell stories, how he could make a point talking about things in everyday living, and yet the stories spoke to everyone, and told a tale about how humanity could become free. I recall the story in his autobiography about the time he tried to stay in a motel in the South. At first they would not allow him in because he was Black. But the bellboy got him to stay, and asked him to sit in the window of the hotel restaurant, so everyone could see that he had broken the race barrier. Just in that one story you could see how revolutionary are the ideas and actions of working people, even in how they live.

Felix Martin
California

Raya Dunayevskaya's "In memoriam" (Nov. N&L for Charles Denby was a historical event in my life. I feel like I began to understand Marxism through that article, by the way Raya explains what a revolutionary philosophy means to a worker. Many Black leaders put forward a very negative view toward all whites. You can see that he was a humanist, that he worked to bring common people together for a new world.

Young Black woman
Detroit

My contact with Charles Denby began after I finished reading *Indignant Heart*. The book made me want to fight, cry and question. Fight, in the sense of fighting for a more just world. Cry, because the book made me feel for those people described in the book, and the condition of their lives. Question, because it made me ask many things, not least my role as a Black woman in this society. I think the term I used when I wrote to him was "I wanted to get off the fence and into the main arena of life". I'm not sure I've achieved that total involvement yet, but I'm not as confused as I used to be.

Charles Denby gave his life for the cause of freedom. He also left a legacy

for future generations — *Indignant Heart*, which I'm keeping on my bookshelf for my son Paul and any other children I might have, to read. And for re-reading myself also. You were all privileged to have known and lived with such a great man.

Sandra
Birmingham, England

I mourn the death of Charles Denby, a man who gave us great leadership and a history for starting new human relations. I learned so much from his book, *Indignant Heart*, a *Black Worker's Journal*. It is history of all working people. The book also gives us the history of the land. The politics of the farm and land-owners is similar here as in Latin America. You can see the relationship between the dominant and the underdeveloped countries in the history of the land.

Peruvian factory worker
New York City

The loss of Denby is felt internationally by the many peoples he reached. We miss him deeply, but his life and words remain to inspire people everywhere in the worldwide struggle for freedom.

British Marxist-Humanists
London

I was so glad Raya's article on Denby's life singled out his relationship to philosophy, from the discussions on Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* in the 1950s to his interest in Marx's view of the Black World in the last year of his life. One section said it all for me: "Philosophy of liberation was not mere rhetoric, much less an empty intellectual task. To Denby, philosophy became a clearing of the head for action." With what is happening in the Middle East, Latin America, the Caribbean and right here in the USA, I feel we could use that kind of "clearing of the head" right now.

Anti-war activist
Detroit

I worked for 35 years in the auto plant, and I only met Brother Charles Denby in the late '70s when he came out to the West Coast on national tour, with the publication of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. But reading his book, it was like I knew him from the first day I went into the plant.

With his energy and talent and brains he could have got a comfortable place for himself — with the company or with the union bureaucracy — but he devoted his

whole life to staying with the workers. At the same time, he opposed the radicals and so-called leaders who wanted to make shortcuts to revolution. He knew there are no short-cuts; only the mass movement of the workers can make a revolution.

Rudy Salenta
Los Angeles

In remembrance of Comrade Denby, let us always celebrate his living by holding fast to those principles which wedded us to continuous action for positive social change. We, in Denby's birthplace of the deep South, are ever in motion to keep vibrant the Black Dimension. It was Comrade Denby who modeled the transition of a civil rights worker to a human rights advocate. His action ushered forth a consciousness, rooted deeply and unshakeably in the minds of the Black Belt.

Gwendolyn Patton
Montgomery, Alabama

The hand of comradeship extended in sorrow to all close associates of late citizen fellow fighter for all humanity, Brother Denby. He would have wished us all to remember Joe Hill's dictum: "Don't mourn. Organize!" Perhaps modified by the words, "after critical thought".

Lefty Morgan
Vancouver, B.C.

I first heard Charles Denby's name when Raya visited our city many years ago. I can remember how pleased she was about having a Black man as editor of N&L. There is nothing more saddening than the final departure of one who not only shares our views but regards them as of vital importance to the welfare of humanity as a whole.

He is a loss to all who knew him. I met him in Toronto once, and I had hoped to see him again. He impressed me. Now it is our job to get on with furthering the only cause that matters. Our goal still lies ahead.

Harry McShane
Glasgow, Scotland

I was fortunate to spend 10 years in Detroit from 1955-65, from the beginning of the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Hungarian Revolution, through all that was happening in the Detroit shops, to the Civil Rights Movement. I remember working with Denby on N&L — going over each article, knowing exactly what a worker's article meant in all its aspects.

I remember working with Denby and Raya on *Workers Battle Automation*. That was the greatest learning experience of my life: the meetings with workers, the digging into workers' lives and thoughts. I remember Denby arguing with doctors who told a worker his urine could not have blood in it because of stress in the factory. It had to be from an underlying disease, the doctor said. Denby knew the worker was right and pursued it until we have the great story in *Workers Battle Automation*.

Angela Terrano
New York City

We met Charles Denby in 1976. He taught us to understand America. We will never forget him as a fighter for freedom and humanity and as our friend of the heart. Thousands of Germans got to know of the Other America through his book, *Im reichsten Land der Welt*.

Johann and Sibylle
Frankfurt, West Germany

You would think that an article on Charles Denby's life and legacy would most resemble his autobiography or one of his other writings, like *Workers Battle Automation*. But I think that Raya's article (Nov. N&L) really is much closer to the pamphlet *25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* in the way it illuminates the complex relationship of world events, workers' experiences, philosophy and organization.

I was especially struck by the section entitled "A Turning Point in Denby's Life". The story of how Denby came to be editor of N&L turned out to move from the publication of *Indignant Heart* in 1952, through the death of Stalin the next year and Denby's discussions with Raya on what workers were saying in the plant about it, which, in turn, moved to their exchange of ideas on Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, and finally to Denby's becoming editor of N&L on the second anniversary of the East German workers revolt.

In this whole process you saw the philosophic development of both Denby and Raya. You got a feeling for what it means to be able to elicit from workers and to project Marxism. And you were reminded again of how rich a contribution to Marxist-Humanism was made by this man who had the dimensions of Black and worker within him, and was, in his own right, a revolutionary intellectual. I will save the article to study again.

Appreciative
Detroit

PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- ☐ American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- ☐ Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- ☐ Working Women for Freedom
By Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
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- ☐ New Essays
On Hegel, Marx, Post-Mao China, Trotsky
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
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- ☐ Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak
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- ☐ Dialectics of Liberation
Summaries of Hegel's works and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.
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- ☐ Women as Reason and as Force of Revolution
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
- ☐ The First General Strike in the U.S.
By Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer \$1 per copy
- ☐ Theory and Practice
By Rosa Luxemburg - First English translation by David Wolff \$2 per copy
- ☐ Marx and the Third World
By Peter Hudis \$1 per copy
- ☐ A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism - 1941 to Today; Its Origin and Development in the U.S. \$1 per copy
- ☐ 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- ☐ Today's Polish Fight For Freedom
Bilingual pamphlet of writings from dissident movement \$1 per copy
- ☐ Constitution of News & Letters Committees
..... 15¢ postage

- ☐ Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- ☐ Marxism and Freedom
1982 edition. New introduction by author
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- ☐ Philosophy and Revolution
1982 edition. New introduction by author
By Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- ☐ Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal
By Charles Denby \$ 7.50 per copy

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Africa Today Review: Dunayevskaya on the Black world

Editor's note: Below we print excerpts by Dr. Kevin Anderson in the African studies journal, *Africa Today*, (Vol. 29, No. 4), on Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution; Philosophy and Revolution; Marxism and Freedom; and The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection — Marxist-Humanism: Its Origins and Development in the U.S., 1941 to Today*.

The titles listed above constitute the bulk of a forty year contribution to political and social theory by the well-known Marxist humanist writer Raya Dunayevskaya, who in 1982 completed her third book on Marxist theory. The new editions of her work by Humanities Press (1982) and the Wayne State University microfilm collection (1981) have finally made the whole of it easily accessible to interested scholars. Each work... offers theoretical and empirical insights for Africanists.

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution centers around analyses of women and non-Western society in relationship to overall theoretical issues in Marxism. In the section on Luxemburg, she unearths valuable and new material on the relationship of Africa to the disputes inside the West European left, particularly the German SPD.

She also traces Luxemburg's concern with the question of Namibia... Dunayevskaya goes on to present a critique of Luxemburg's position on national liberation, where Luxemburg opposed national independence movements as utopian and reactionary in the era of imperialism. She also gives an incisive critique of the philosophical and economic underpinnings of Luxemburg's great work on the theory of imperialism, *The Accumulation of Capital*.

In the section on women's liberation, Dunayevskaya discusses the relevance of early African women's revolts such as the 1929 Igbo Women's War against British imperialism to present-day struggles of women in the Third World. She analyzes women's participation in modern upheavals in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau as well as Portugal in the 1970s... She views women as a crucial and newly emergent "revolutionary subject" in the 1980s.

The last section of this book deals with Marx. Much of it centers around his last writings on Russia and on non-European society such as his little-known *Ethnological Notebooks* and his 1881 letter to Vera Zasulich on the possibility of a direct transition to socialism from the Russian pre-capitalist communal village. Dunayevskaya shows that all of Marx's major last writings, including the last edition of *Capital*, Vol. I (Paris: 1872-75) which he personally prepared for the printer, show the importance of this theme of alternate paths to human emancipation.

Help fight handicap bias

Montgomery, Ala. — Gwen Patton, a Black instructor at Alabama State University (ASU), has filed an appeal on her discrimination case with the U.S. Court of Appeals against ASU administrators Dean Robert Thompson and Dr. William Edmonds, Vice President of Academic Affairs. Ms. Patton is a registered handicap with the State of Alabama, and is a veteran activist in the Civil Rights Movement.

The facts surrounding her case go back to 1981 when Ms. Patton was transferred from her position as Director of the Academic Advisement Center at ASU. She was informed by Thomson and Edmonds that her new assignments were divided between two buildings, one with no elevator, which compelled her to climb four flights of stairs eight to ten times a day. Since she wears an orthopedic shoe with a four-inch lift, and in the fall of 1981 had to use crutches, Ms. Patton requested that her assignments be located on a ground floor. Thomson and Edmonds decided instead to have security officers carry her up and down stairs in a wheelchair.

When she filed an anti-handicap discrimination suit before Judge Robert Varner of the U.S. District Court of Alabama, he ruled that the administrators had responded reasonably and that there was no intent to discriminate.

"Judge Varner's opinion has greater implications than ruling against a handicapped person who is a woman and Black," Ms. Patton stated in response to the ruling. "The 'intent ruling' is nothing but a shroud to excuse and cover up discrimination."

Ms. Patton's case represents another serious attack on the human rights gains of the Civil Rights Movement. Until now, the intent ruling had been used in school desegregation cases. In another Alabama discrimination case in Mobile, the federal court used the intent rationale in favor of racial discrimination in employment. Ms. Patton's case is one of the first where the intent ruling has been used against the handicapped.

In a letter to human rights activists, Ms. Patton, states that (this) "ruling is an ominous sign that human issues presented before the court can simply be dismissed under the rationalization that the perpetrators did not 'mean to do it.'... This is frightening."

Gwen Patton needs the help of those in the human rights movement. Her appeal will cost \$8,000 to \$10,000. Send donations to: Legal Defense Fund for Gwen Patton, 46 E. Patton Ave., Montgomery, AL 36105.

Dunayevskaya quotes Lafargue's 1882 complaint to Engels that, after his trip to Algiers, "Marx has come back with his head full of Africa and the Arabs". She concludes the book by arguing that with these last writings "Marx's legacy is no mere heirloom, but a live body of ideas and perspectives that is in need of concretization."

AFRICA IN PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Philosophy and Revolution was originally issued in 1973 and has been republished with a new introduction. The core of this book's discussion of Africa is in the major



chapter "The African Revolutions and the World Economy." There, Dunayevskaya maintains that: "The African revolutions opened a new page in the dialectic of thought as well as in world history". She then discusses African nationalist leaders and theorists such as Nkrumah, Senghor, and Fanon. It is Fanon whom she finds the closest to her own view when she writes that despite the achievements of the independence struggles, "we must soberly face the present bleak reality."

Despite the setbacks of neocolonialism, she concludes the chapter by arguing that the situation in Africa was still "fluid" in that: (1) new revolutions were ready to emerge in southern Africa, (2) the youth had shown resistance to neocolonial regimes, (3) the neocolonial social structures in Africa were hardly as firmly implanted as, for example, those in Latin America.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

I don't know how many of our readers are aware of the role that Charles Denby, the late longtime editor of *News & Letters*, had in the creation of this Black/Red column as a monthly feature of *News & Letters*. This column would not have existed if the Marxist-Humanists had not convened, in Detroit on Jan. 12, 1969, a Black-Red Conference that had the support and participation of a wide variety of people that included Black and white workers, women, Chicano and Japanese activists, and intellectuals, to discuss the ideas of freedom in all of its concrete ramifications that the Black movement for liberation had awakened in this country.

Denby, in his welcoming remarks to the Conference, gave an entirely new dimension to the color "red" by designating it as the "Philosophy of Liberation" that can "lead to a true unity of action and thought" as the "basis to start concrete activities like Black organizations, Black caucuses in unions, or Black student unions or a committee for the study of philosophy and revolution."

When Denby spoke these words, in 1969, he was defining the uniqueness of the Black-Red Conference in a period when both the "new right" and "new left" were expressing their brand of hostility to theory and philosophy. For the "new left" of that period, activity and more activity was the high road to revolution. For the people attending the Black-Red Conference it was precisely this deification of activity, at the expense of theory, which hid the true reason for their activity.

As the Conference unfolded, the self-determination of the idea of freedom that was inherent in their activities came alive. At the same time, it became a revelation of how their activities fell short as the goals were turned into their opposites by internal and external forces.

The uniqueness of the 1969 Black-Red Conference can also be extended to the fact that Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees, was asked to give a presentation on the relationship of Marxist-Humanism to the Black revolt in this country and to Third World revolutions in Africa. At that time she was in the process of finishing her book *Philosophy and Revolution*. Certain points that she dealt with became ground for the birth of the Black/Red View column. Like Denby, she called attention to "color" by saying that: "Black and Red stand for actual movement in society."

It was within this context that she established the importance of labor in human history and why it is important for labor and Blacks to think their own thoughts. In every struggle for freedom there is also the development of the idea of freedom in thought. When these two movements of action and thought coalesce, a successful revolutionary transformation of society is possible. However this unity of theory and practice cannot be conceived as something that can be mechanically applied to history. Each epoch, each generation must work out its own relat-

But Africa has importance in *Philosophy and Revolution* far beyond the single chapter on Africa. Dunayevskaya's central concept is that of an "open" or "unbound" dialectic where, she argues, Hegel (and Marx) "present the structures not as mere fact, not as hierarchy, not as pinnacle, but as movement", and view human reality as "one long trek to freedom". The African revolutions of the 1950s and 1960s were, to Dunayevskaya, a key example of the centrality of a dialectic of freedom to human history. For such a Marxist, African revolutions are not a place to "apply" a ready-made theory, but a unique human experience out of which Marxist theory can be reconstructed for the present.

MARXISM AND FREEDOM AND ARCHIVES

Dunayevskaya's first book, *Marxism and Freedom*, originally published in 1958, at first glance seems to contain little on Africa. But there is much of importance to Africanists... The concepts of state-capitalism and of spontaneity and humanism developed in this book offer many vantage points for a Marxist analysis of the contemporary African scene. Her overall concept of socialist humanism, first articulated here, was developed parallel to that of socialist humanists in Africa such as Nyerere and Senghor, and especially Fanon, who wrote during the same period.

The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection includes virtually all of Dunayevskaya's voluminous other writings.

Of special importance to Africanists are the following documents: (1) Her 1959 pamphlet *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*; (2) her writings on West Africa in 1961 and 1962 before and after her trip there; (3) a 1976 series of "Philosophic-Political Letters" which include discussion of the Portuguese and African revolutions of 1974-76, the civil war in Zimbabwe and the Soweto uprising; (4) the 1976 pamphlet *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* written by two colleagues of Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan, and introduced by her.

Taken as a whole, Dunayevskaya's three books and the Wayne State University collection contain an important contribution to African studies by a writer who has spent a lifetime as a political activist as well as a theorist.

Denby and 'Black-Red View'

relationship of theory to practice. What is constant in working out these ever new relationships of theory to practice is continuous dialogue with the mass movement by its leadership, that is, to understand that the movement from practice, the fight for freedom, contains both a theory of freedom and a new society.

After Denby's opening remarks and Dunayevskaya's presentation, several hours of discussion was generated around activities and experiences. Particularly important for the Black/Red column was what Black workers thought about the Black caucuses in the unions.

For example, one Black worker who had participated in the spontaneous organization of a Black caucus began to explore the limitation of just fighting discrimination in the plant when too much emphasis was placed on supervision, that is, the employment of Black foremen, while neglecting the fight to change the inhuman system of production and speed-up. In short, this worker was concerned with the truncating of the original idea that the caucus began its revolt, to fight both speed-up and racism, and then finally opting for only the elimination of an obvious visual form of racism in supervision. The first Black/Red column that I wrote was devoted to the "theory" around the class/race issue.

Many of the ideas discussed at the Black-Red Conference almost 15 years ago have appeared in this column over the years as we have commented on the Black movements for freedom, not uncritically. I am sure that Charles Denby would agree with some of the criticism, because he detested elitism and knew that it was from the self movement of working people, Blacks, youth, women, that ideas and theories of freedom originate.

Chicago rent strike due

Chicago, Ill. — Poor, mostly Black residents of Chicago Housing Authority projects — high-rise slums — have suffered for years with dilapidated housing and maintenance hindered by incredible corruption. On Nov. 12, tenants — as many as 100% of some buildings, according to a spokesperson — announced that they will begin a rent strike if elevator repairs haven't started in one month.

Some, including sick and elderly people, pregnant women and mothers with infants, constantly have to walk up and down 20 or more flights of stairs carrying groceries, furniture or other possessions, often in near-total darkness, risking death or injury, whether by assailants hiding in the stairwells or from a fatal slip on the cracked and broken concrete steps.

Tenants expected change when our first Black mayor, Harold Washington, was elected. But in the seven months since then, one tenant said, "Things haven't gotten better, they just keep getting worse. We keep paying them money, let them do something for us for a change before we pay any more."

— Franklin Dmitryev