

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

**Fifty years of workers' struggles**



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor  
 Fifty years ago in the midst of the militant labor struggles that established the CIO, the movement of labor forced Congress to pass the Wagner Act establishing the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). It entered the workers the right to form their own independent unions, but at the same time regulated the form that the workers' movement could take. Now the union bureaucrats have woken up to the reality that the NLRB can be used against labor, especially now that we have Reagan as president and his anti-labor appointees on the Board. Even that chief union bureaucrat, AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, had to state that the NLRB "is now a deterrent to collective bargaining, a weapon of the most retrograde, anti-union employers who have aggressively engaged in practices contrary to the spirit of the law."

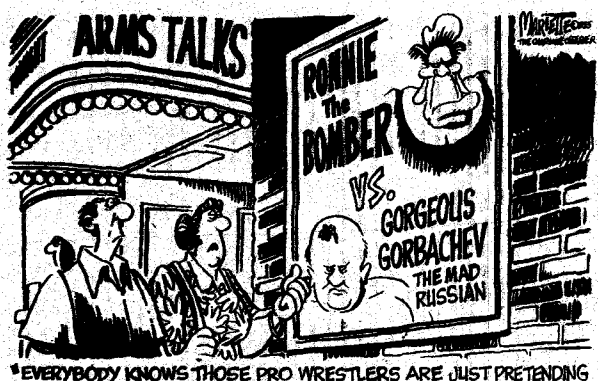
**DEAS WORTH DYING FOR**

As a worker, I was never satisfied with the Wagner Act. I grew up in mining country in Appalachia, and when the miners were fighting in the 1930s, our goal was worker control of production. Miners didn't hesitate to lay down their lives for that idea of freedom. Many of us back then knew that the Wagner Act was an attempt to buy off the movement, to divert the movement from revolution.

There was one country in the 1930s where workers did move to revolution, and that was Spain. But the Spanish workers were defeated by fascism, and the labor movement in this country was diverted. When World War II started, most of the labor bureaucrats in America agreed to a "no-strike pledge" for the duration of the war.

I remember coming home from fighting the war, fighting for freedom—as we had been told—and finding that the CIO unions we had fought to establish were being transformed into their opposite, with the union bureaucrats acting to control the  
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**Reagan-Gorbachev summit can't hide two worlds in each country**



by Michael Connolly  
 National Organizer, News and Letters

Secretary of State George Shultz's speech to the North Atlantic Assembly Oct. 14—in which he took issue with National Security adviser Robert McFarlane's view that a "loose" interpretation of the 1972 anti-ballistic missile treaty allows testing and deployment of Reagan's "Star Wars" space weapons—was hailed in the media as demonstrating Reagan's new "flexibility" on the path to the summit Nov. 19-20 with Russia's Gorbachev. Shultz suggested that the U.S. would be willing to limit its "Star Wars" program to research, in the interests of "bridging differences."

The truth, however, is that Ronald Reagan's "flexibility"—on strategic arms, as on all questions—is forked-tongued. It is ludicrous to think that he intends to spend tens of billions on space weapons research for Star Wars systems and then never test or deploy them. More importantly, despite his high popularity ratings after "hijacking the hijackers, Rambo-style," profound problems within the Western allies are forcing him to adopt the appearance of serious negotiations with Gorbachev.

**PRESSURE FROM PEACE MOVEMENT**

West Europe's peace movement, far from having "run out of steam" (Henry Kissinger's analysis of the lack of mass demonstrations in recent months), continues to exert great pressure on Reagan's NATO allies.

Just as the Dutch government, for example, was seeking to approve the deployment of cruise missiles on its territory, Prime Minister Lubbers received a petition against deployment bearing the names of four million of

his citizens—one-fourth of the country's total population! Add to this the generally good impression Mikhail Gorbachev made on TV as the "new man at the helm" in his visit with France's Pres. Mitterrand the first week in October, and it is clear that the NATO allies are jittery on two fronts: their fear of the undercurrent of mass unrest, which burst out last month among youth in Britain and West Germany; and their nervousness about the kind of protection they receive under the U.S. nuclear umbrella in the case of war. Ever since Reagan and Weinberger began talking about "theater nuclear war" in the early 1980s, West Europe has worried that it will turn out to be the "theater."

This is what motivates the flurry of pre-summit consultation meetings, whether Reagan's invitation to the seven so-called industrial democracies—U.S., West Germany, Japan, Britain, France, Italy and Canada—to New York on Oct. 24; or his NATO foreign ministers meeting, hurriedly held to accommodate Belgium and Holland, whose leaders felt left out.

And even though no one can predict what will be dreamed up at either the pre-summit meetings or at the summit itself, it is the mass pressure from below that prevents the super-powers from going to war at this moment. Thus, what is likely to emerge from the Geneva summit is a low-key show that Russia and the U.S. will continue to "co-exist on the planet." Whether it takes the form of cultural and science exchanges, or of continuing arms control talks, however, it cannot mask the never ending creation of new weapons for war.

None of the propaganda proposals for cuts in nuclear weapons made by Gorbachev or by Reagan in the past months would halt the development of the latest technologies—on their own side—whether the U.S.'s Trident II missiles, and "Stealth" bombers, or Russia's SS-24 and SS-25 missiles. And the "deep cuts" in strategic arm-  
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**Black Britain in revolt**

Black World



by Lou Turner

Because the Black rebellions in Britain have signaled a new flashpoint in the dialectics of liberation in the Black world, I have turned over my column to an article compiled from in-person reports we have just received from Nigel Quinten and Dave Black.—L.T.

London, England—Two weeks ago Brixton ignited, torn open with Black rage against the police. It began when police sparked off the assault on the Brixton police station after an officer shot Mrs. Cherry Groce while invading her home in search for her son. She will never walk again and no officer has been charged as yet.

Then last week, Tottenham, to be exact Broadwater Farm, ignited, where Black youth had to fight the Nazis and the police to set up their Youth Association three years ago. Broadwater, concrete jungle of gray tower blocks built like a castle, is where local authorities send Black people.

**BROADWATER FARM REVOLT**

Barely a week after Brixton, the police, without a warrant, searched the house of a member of the Youth Association, and in the commotion they pushed his mother, Mrs. Cynthia Garrett, bringing on a heart attack. They continued the search as she lay dying and ignored pleas by her children to call an ambulance on their radio.

Word quickly spread. Youth met in the Youth Association; 45 minutes later they attacked the  
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**Anti-military, anti-apartheid protests in U.S.**

**Wayne State editor fired**

**Detroit, Mich.**—A series of protests at Wayne State university followed the firing of Patty Maceroni, editor of the campus newspaper, South End. She was fired Oct. 3 for banning military recruiting ads as a protest against Reagan's wars on Central America and for refusing to resume the ads when ordered by the Student Newspaper Publications Board. That independent student activity is sure to find some other form of expression now that Maceroni agreed Oct. 25 to lift the military ad ban and the Publications Board allowed her to remain editor.

At the time she was fired, 150 students and other supporters of the ad ban jammed into the hearing room, although none were allowed to speak. However, just before the hearing 50 supporters participated in a "speak-out" that the WSU News and Letters Youth committee helped coordinate. The following week, Oct. 8, 50 students marched from a rally on Gullen Mall to Mackenzie Hall to demand a meeting with WSU President, David Adamany. WSU Public Safety officers blockaded the doors and punched one protestor who tried entering. On Oct. 17, 75 students again rallied to support Maceroni.

Many students see the Administration's silencing anti-militarist voices on campus in order to secure a military research contract. Maceroni did not mention the original reason for stopping the ads in her Oct. 25 statement to the Publications Board. Yet, during the month-long campaign of support for her decision to stop recruiting  
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**South African protest week**

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—Anti-apartheid activities throughout Los Angeles the week of Oct. 7 climaxed on Saturday, Oct. 12, when over 1,000 people marched and rallied in support of the freedom struggle in South Africa. The crowd's spirit was high as we marched down Crenshaw Blvd., a Black shopping district, and shoppers and passers-by cheered us and joined in.

There was no doubt in anyone's mind that the freedom movement in South Africa was not something "over there" and removed from us, but part of our daily lives here. At the rally, a representative of the ANC critiqued the view that American businesses are a "progressive" force within South Africa by saying: "If those companies are telling you that they are helping progress within South Africa, why don't you ask them how come they're not helping progress for workers here in the U.S.? If they're so good at fighting racism, why aren't they doing something about racism and unemployment here?" The crowd went wild with spontaneous, loud, sustained cheers.

Earlier in the week, 200 students had rallied on the campus of Cal State-L.A. to hear an array of student and community speakers. One of the most powerful talks was by Taeisha Weh, a Black woman student from Cal State-Sacramento.

She spoke of her own personal reality of growing up Black and poor in America, a condition facing the majority of Black children in the U.S. today. "It's not just in South Africa but right here,"  
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# Ounei speaks on Kanak independence, women's liberation

*Editor's Note: Susanna Ounei, a representative of the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) and founder of the Group of Kanak and Exploited Women in Struggle (GFKEL) in New Caledonia, is currently travelling worldwide, including 20 cities in the United States, to tell the story of the Kanak fight for freedom and independence. The ongoing Kanak struggle, since the French colonization in 1853, peaked in December, 1984 when the Kanaks defied Mitterrand's postponement of independence by declaring the provisional government of Kanaky. (See January-February, 1985 News & Letters.) Below are excerpts from her two talks in Detroit on Sept. 15-16 and from an interview given in the Chicago office of News & Letters on Oct. 3.*

Since the beginning, the women were always the grassroots of the struggle. It was the women who raised the children and hid them while the men went to war against the French. The French understood that, and when they killed they killed not only the men but also the women.

The women worked quite hard during the occupation of land. When we go to occupy land, we don't go by car, we go by foot and it's not flat land but like a mountain. We build a symbolic Kanak house on the land to tell the whites this is our land and they don't have to come back to it. We start at 3:00 or 4:00 a.m. because the men have to go to the forest and cut the trees and the women get herbs and the thick skin of trees to use for a roof.

Some of the men stand guard because the fascists come with guns ready to shoot our people. When they come—the white settlers or the army—we both, men and women, face them. So after each occupation of land each movement or each group says what we think about the occupation—if it was positive or if there was something wrong or if there is any suggestion. We stand up and say what we think. We raise the problem of women, the exploitation of women in the tribe, in the house, everywhere.

For us (Kanak women), we have to politicize everything to get a just society. Their (Kanak men) attitude to the women is just exactly that of the white settlers, the rich folks, the army. Other political movements created their own women's section to cook for the men when they had general assemblies. We wanted a group to fight against that.

Women wanted to talk about contraception. Before, in our society, we always had contraception. If a woman

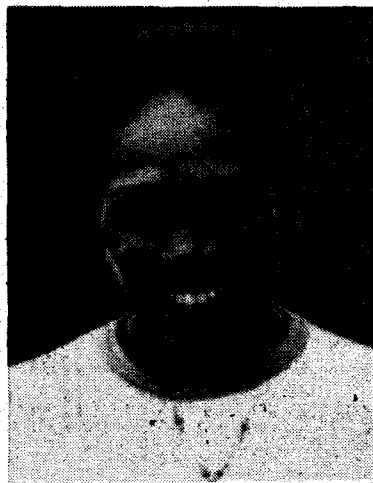
wanted to have children she could—if not she could go to one of the older women who knew what herbs or leaves she could use. But since the church came, it is a crime to talk about contraception, so we organize to fight that...

## WOMEN AND INDEPENDENCE

It is very important to be inside the liberation movement and link up our problems politically. My sister\* and I were the first to talk not only about women, but about independence. And we were with the first to organize a political movement for independence. We worked everywhere. We began by politicizing our leaders and then we talked to the people...

We say we don't want to be like in Algeria and after independence we're left without our customs and not able to do anything. And we say which customs because in our culture now we have customs that exploit the people. But they came to us

Susanna Ounei, Kanak freedom fighter



with colonization and the Church. The French did not understand our language or the way we did things. They changed the idea of "chief and his brothers" to "chief and his subjects." Also, we have no word for "bastard." That is a white word. The children stay with the mother and her family and there is no difference.

It is the women who link up the families, the clan. When they marry they also take their land with them to link up the families. They come to their husband's family with their Kanak money for the exchange so the man can't say she came with nothing. She comes from her home with her dignity, her land, her Kanak money and everything. That was our custom. Now since coloni-

\* Ounei explained that "sister" here refers to a women comrade.

## The full horror of Bhopal is still unfolding

The horrors of Bhopal have yet to be fully acknowledged by either the Indian authorities or the press in the U.S. On Dec. 3, 1984, a leak of methyl isocyanate from the Union Carbide pesticide plant in Bhopal caused the worst industrial accident in history. In addition to the thousands who were killed, more than 200,000 people were injured, mostly women.

Of 100 women interviewed recently by the Indian feminist journal, *Manushi*, 95 suffered from burning in the eyes, chest and urinary tract as well as dimness of vision. The menstrual cycle of 50 women had been affected. Pain during sexual intercourse and dizziness have become common complaints. There have also been many cases of spontaneous abortion in the wake of the disaster and pregnant women are worried about the physical and mental deformities of fetuses.

Many of the women's lives have been wrecked by loss of family members or changed attitudes of their relatives towards them. In the patriarchal Indian society, when often-times marriage is the only form of social life, mothers are worried that no one will be willing to marry girls who are affected by the gas and husbands are repudiating wives who have suffered from the incident and are entering polygamous relations.

When the grass-roots and women-sponsored organization *Morcha* suggested that women should get abortions while they can, government advisers insisted that, "It is highly irresponsible and unwarranted for women to be advised to have abortions." Now women are angry because it is too late for abortions, and because the same experts who are telling women there is no proof of deformed fetuses are getting ready to measure fetal defects for their academic research papers!

In recent months several women's demonstrations have taken place, including a sit-down which stopped the superfast Tamil Nadu Express train for three hours and where 150 women were arrested as a result. Women of Bhopal are demanding their right to accurate information and medical termination of pregnancies as well as changes in the anti-woman and anti-people's policies of the government and the medical system in India.

—Neda

zation and religion or the Bible they say the women should stay home and be used as a slave.

## MARRIAGE CUSTOM CORRUPTED

In New Caledonia we have the mainland and three islands. On the mainland they still keep their custom not all, but the marriage exchange. But on the island of Mare and Lifu the marriage custom is corrupted there is no exchange. The man buys the woman—family gives her family money. So we protest against that.

They never introduce New Caledonia to the rest of the world as Black people, but as Tahitian. They hide us. Kanaks make up 43% of the population and the rest made up of whites, Polynesian, Chinese. The French use these people against us. They give first to whites, then Chinese, Polynesian, and last Kanaks. Then they say Kanaks are too lazy to get a job.

There are some whites who are with us. For us they are welcome. They can stay in our countryside. We know who is our enemy. Those whites who understand our struggle and identify with us, we protect them.

## Silkwood: still no justice

Nov. 13 marks the eleventh anniversary of the mysterious death (murder) of Karen Silkwood as she was en route to a meeting with a *New York Times* reporter to expose health and safety violations at the Kerr McGraw plutonium plant where she worked. To this date, her family is still fighting the company and the courts on behalf of her children for the financial settlement that is rightfully theirs.

In 1979, a U.S. district court awarded her three children \$10.5 million in punitive damages, but this was overturned by an appeals court in 1981 on the grounds that the nuclear industry is federally regulated and therefore not subject to punitive damages. In January 1984, the U.S. Supreme Court threw out the latter decision, stating that federal law does not make the nuclear industry immune from state punishment for safety violations. Consideration of the damages award was again bounced back to the appellate court, where it has been before a three-judge panel for over a year and a half.

Bill Silkwood has vowed to follow the case to a successful end. "The nuclear people can't say that you cannot do anything anymore...I think that's an accomplishment for Karen. After all, whatever this lawsuit does is an accomplishment for her."

Remember Karen Silkwood!

## Nursing gets two-tier wages

Los Angeles, Cal.—The two-tier wage system has come to nursing. Maybe it has been with us for a while, but since we don't talk about our wages, I had to discover this by accident. Part of my job is to orient new nurses. A new office worker had accidentally left a new nurse's application for employment in the folder that was given to me for her orientation.

On this application was her starting wage. I was shocked to see that it was \$2.00 an hour less than any other LVN is making. The reason given was, "She is a new graduate with no experience." She is still doing the same work and putting in the same hours as any other LVN there. She has the same responsibilities as any other LVN. This seems grossly unfair to me.

If they get away with this, I can only see nurses' wages, which are already too low, becoming even lower in the future. It is time nurses started talking to each other and trying to change this unjust system, not only for themselves but for society as a whole.

—Los Angeles nurse

## NOW: Boycott Sunkist!

*Ed. Note—The Los Angeles chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) organized a picket line at the offices of Sunkist on Sept. 28 to protest discriminatory practices of Seaboard Lemon Association, one of the Sunkist packing houses. The following is from a leaflet they distributed prior to the picket.*

Sunkist packinghouses discriminate against women. Jobs are segregated according to sex. All women except office secretaries are sorters, washers and packers. Supervisors, leadmen, mechanics, mechanic's helpers, forklift operators, pallet lift operators, shipping clerks, watchmen and receivers are male. All these jobs are paid higher wages and receive merit and seniority wage increases. Women are not offered these jobs and are turned down when they request them.

In recent years, Sunkist introduced machinery to do much of the work done by the women. Many women with experience have been laid off or terminated, but new, inexperienced men are hired and the jobs are not even offered to the women. Since May, 1985, over 170 women have signed up to file a lawsuit for sex discrimination.

NOW is calling for a nationwide consumer boycott of all Sunkist lemons until the workers win their lawsuit. You and your organization can support the thousands of women employed by Sunkist lemon packinghouses.

Please don't buy Sunkist lemons!



women-  
worldwide

On Oct. 5, 224 prominent South African women issued a statement supporting the "courage and initiative" of Dr. Wendy Orr, a 25-year-old white surgeon at Port Elizabeth who publicly revealed that 286 political detainees she had examined in two months had been victims of police brutality. Her charges resulted in a judge's order banning further assault on detainees. Dr. Orr has since been reassigned to "other duties," preventing her from seeing prisoners. Her direct superior Dr. Ivor Lang, was one of two doctors censured in events leading to the death of Black Consciousness leader Steve Biko in 1977.

In a controversy reminiscent of the early 1970s, feminist professors at Michigan State University have posed a calendar published by the MSU pompom team in which the women were photographed in bathing suits along with fully dressed male university officials, including President DiBaggio. One professor commented that as blatant as that sexist message is, it is but a small part of the sexism throughout the university.

Women in Switzerland now legally have equal rights in marriage in a law narrowly approved by voters, S 22, despite opposition from conservatives who call it "anti-family and anti-marriage." Previous laws had given a husband control over choice of residence, his wife's finances even if accumulated before marriage, and the ability to get a job. The law follows women's receipt of the right to vote federally in 1971 and the passage of equal rights amendment to the Swiss constitution in 1981.

A new report by 9 to 5, called "Hidden Victims," reveals the miserable condition of clerical workers. The national growth rate for clerical jobs has slowed to less than that for all employment. Detroit, for example, lost 40% of clerical jobs since 1980; in 1983, clerical workers' median income was only \$257 above poverty level for a family of four (\$10,435). High tech has brought high-paying jobs to women workers—it has brought the exact opposite.

(Information from off our back)



# You have to fight shutdowns, Japan or U.S.

*Note: The following excerpt from "From my Experience In a Steel Mill" by Eiji Kobayashi, is taken from Rank & File, which activist Japanese postal workers publish to promote international rank-and-file solidarity. This article is part of a dialogue between Japanese and American activists. Reach Rank & File c/o Zentei Omori, 3-9-13 Sanno, Otaku, Tokyo, Japan.*

In 1971 I was hired at the Japan Special Steel Co., Ltd. But on Feb. 18, 1976 the management suddenly decided a merger with Daido Steel Co., Ltd. and Tokushu Steel Co., Ltd. The real meaning of the merger was abolition by Daido Steel. This move coincided with the reorganization of the Japanese steel industry to cope with the worldwide crisis of that industry, i.e., more centralization through mergers and more streamlining and rationalization of steel plants. The management announced, "The Yari plant, the major factory of Japan Special Steel, will be closed...The union should be dissolved." The union at first opposed this offer and announced an anti-merger struggle. The union's proposal was adopted by 80.6% of the workers. But the "struggle" meant only "collective bargaining." Thus, the anti-merger struggle became a discussion on what conditions workers had to accept.

Only two months, after only a few collective bargaining sessions, the union leadership offered us a new way. They said, "We cannot help accepting the merger because we want to avoid the worst situation. There is no way to reconstruct the company independently." Why did the union choose to surrender without any fight? Why could not the union defend the jobs of workers and the livelihoods of their families? Just after the Second World War Japanese steel workers began to fight to improve their bad working conditions, such as low wages, long working hours and work in the very hot atmosphere. In 1951 they formed the Federation of Steel Workers' Unions, a nationwide organization for the steel industry, and led a united strike for wage increases. For example, in 1954 at Muroran Mill of Nippon Steel, workers put up a brave struggle for half a year. 359 workers of Fuji Steel and Nippon Kokan waged a 10-day strike. However, since 1960 they waned in strength. Gradually, right-wing union leaders gained momentum inside the leadership of the Federation of Steel Workers' Unions.

What conditions made it possible for right-wing leaders to get the leading positions of the Federation? First, during 1956-60 the steel industry had accomplished its major rationalization plan aiming at renovation of all equipment and construction of new automated steel plants. Following that the new labor control system which matched the automation was introduced. What was called here "the American labor control system," the Taylor system, plus a small improvement labor control system like QC (quality control). The core of this labor control system is competition, an individual worker against another. This undermined workers' feeling of solidarity and led to replace militant union leaders with right-wing bureaucrats.

Consequently, over 90% of Japanese unionized workers are organized on a company-by-company basis. As all employees, low-level managers and blue-collar employees at the same firm are represented by one union, the will management is easily interwoven in union policies through low-level managers.

## 3. Auto Radiator

### Union president vs. workers

Troy, Mich.—The strike vote meeting we had to hold on Oct. 26, started out with local union president Cal Reeves holding up N&L and saying: "One of you is talking to these N&L people. It's a Communist paper. You people came fleeing from Communism in your country. I don't understand why you are doing this. These people are telling lies on me!"

Then Angelo spoke, who is a bureaucrat above Cal. He said that in the contract discussions, U.S. Auto Radiator is the same song and dance about their problems. He never said what happened in the meeting, not what the union said. One good thing is that Calvin tried to persuade us not to strike. He couldn't have wanted to. We have no choice.

After the meeting Calvin came out of the hall and addressed the man from N&L. He was yelling, "You tell me!" The N&L man said: "We print what the rank-and-file says. So you are saying that the rank-and-file is lying." Some of us were laughing at Calvin. One of the girls said, "If what they put in the paper was lies, I wouldn't be mad." People who didn't have the right went and got it after that.

We're tired of being screwed by the UAW and by the company. There's no agenda at union meetings. We have no decisions; we're nobody. Now we have to strike, we are just supposed to get out there and picket, say nothing. —Three U.S. Auto Radiator workers

Above all, the problems to be solved by collective bargaining are limited to those which belong to the authority of the individual company. Nowadays, problems that a worker faces are not rooted in the policy of one company but in the whole industry, or to say more correctly, in the whole capitalist establishment.

Japan Special Steel union delegates, facing the problem concerning the individual company, could not find any way but to accept the merger. They all knew that the merger would result in bad working conditions and the disintegration of their union, especially its survived militancy, but how could they struggle against the merger? It is easy only to say, "workers' solidarity across company boundaries," but the most important thing is to find a way to form it.



## WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

### rank-and-file workers.

Union membership was highest in 1945. It was 35% of the labor force then. A child would be proud of his or her father being a union man. Today it is different. In 1980 union membership was down to 23% of the labor force, and by 1984 it had fallen to 18.8%. This is both because of management's tactics against workers, and because the unions today are controlled by the labor bureaucrats and not the workers themselves.

### FARMWORKERS LEFT OUT

These figures for union membership are only for non-agricultural workers. Agricultural workers did not even receive the minimum legal rights for organizing unions that the Wagner Act gave to other American workers.

Here in California, the farmworker movement of the 1960s and '70s did force the state to create an Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB). But now that we have a conservative governor, Deukmejian, the farmworkers are facing the same problems with the ALRB that workers, nationally, are facing with the NLRB.

Cesar Chavez of the United Farm Workers (UFW) has had to launch another boycott of California grapes—back to where he started!—because the growers have been refusing to sign union contracts, and the ALRB has been doing nothing.

The living and working conditions for farmworkers in this country are made worse by the fact that many farmworkers are in the U.S. illegally, and they have no rights. The U.S. Supreme Court even ruled that an "illegal alien" who is fired for supporting a union cannot collect back pay or win reinstatement.

Some union bureaucrats are trying to set American workers against these so-called "illegal aliens," telling us that they are taking our jobs. But that kind of thinking just plays into the hands of the capitalists. The capitalists and the union leaders both want to get us away from the truth that we belong to the same class as workers everywhere.

### ALL WORKERS SAME CLASS

I can remember when the farmworkers first organized the UFW, and there was a dedication of the union hall in Delano. Thousands and thousands of workers came out and filled the city park—farmworkers, auto workers, steel workers, rubber workers. It's that kind of worker solidarity we need today, and that includes solidarity with workers who are in this country illegally. We all belong to the same class.

Today when I see what the Black workers in South Africa are starting to do, taking power in their own hands, I think not only that workers all over the world have to support their struggle but that what they are doing is what we have to do too. It is not the labor bureaucrats that will show us the way, lobbying Congress for one more law because the last one is now being used against us, or trying to set workers of the world against each other.

It is we ourselves who have to think and act for ourselves and take our fight for our human rights and freedom in our own hands. Otherwise the chaos and inhumanity of this world will lead once more to another world war—and that would destroy all of us in a nuclear holocaust.

## L. A. Farmer John strike

Los Angeles, Cal.—Twelve hundred workers rallied on Oct. 18 outside the Farmer John meatpacking plant in Vernon, Cal., in support of the plant's striking workers, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 274. Shipyard workers, garment workers and farmworkers were among those who joined other packinghouse workers and other UFCW locals for the rally and the march.

Unfortunately it was the union leaders and not the rank-and-file workers who spoke at the rally. The workers we had met on the picket line during the week spoke most clearly and forcefully, saying that, despite the scabs and the court injunctions limiting picketing, they remain determined:

- "We haven't had a raise for 3½ years. Now they want to give us 25¢ for the next three years. That's 25¢ in 6½ years! Meanwhile everything has gone up, rent, food, everything. And the whole time they froze our wages and our benefits, Farmer John kept raising production."

- "With this two-tier system, as new workers we're only making half of what the older workers get. But I'm doing the same job. If I'm getting paid half as much, I should be able to leave after half a day's work."

- "The company is out to destroy our medical and retirement plan by taking these over from the union. Now we get one dollar an hour put towards our pension. With the new plan we'd only get 50¢ an hour, and that wouldn't start till you had worked here for five years."

- "The 'trees' that are attached to overhead rails, from which the meat is hung, are not safe. They often collapse from too much weight. In 1979 the trees on one line had so much weight on them that the I-beam supporting the rail snapped, bringing the whole line crashing down. That kind of accident could happen again anytime."

- "If a worker has 1½ absences in three months he receives a warning, even if he has a doctor's excuse. One man had a triple bypass heart operation—and when he returned to work he received a warning letter!"

Workers are angry at Teamsters Local 63, whose drivers and dockworkers are crossing the picket lines, despite a promise of "150% support." But five independent truckers drove away when they found out there was a strike. About 300 UFCW workers are also scabbing, and one worker who was picketing said: "Two of those scabs used to be my friends, but I don't consider them my friends any more. I didn't used to consider myself a union man, but the company has forced us into this strike."

"I think this will be a harder strike than our last one in 1976," one worker said. "Management is younger and more stubborn. But we can be stubborn too. We're in good spirits, and we have no intention of giving up our fight for our basic rights." —Strike supporters

## Exposing Oscar Mayer

Chicago, Ill.—The lead story in "The Chicago Oscar Mayer Story" (a management paper—ed.) reports on all the records we as workers set at Oscar Mayer, especially the 4.6 million pounds shipped by the cooler employees for a week in June.

Oscar Mayer broke all of those records and now they are looking for a new contract with a pay cut for us. This, after they worked to cheat us out of our money in the last contract.

Not satisfied with telling us how they got 18% more production out of us thus far this year, A.C. Dieter's column then proceeds to tell us how if we had sweated more "the company would have made more money." The company may have made more money, but you know darn well that we as workers would not have made another penny! In fact they are always trying to cut our pay back, and back and back.

Then Dieter tells us how to save even more money for the company. How? Cut Workers' Compensation. That is, cut the money paid to the workers injured on the job and needing time off. Evidently the company is hinting we better take less time off.

If the company wants to save on Workers' Compensation we can tell them how. How about providing a safer, healthier place for us to work? How about not pushing and pushing for production which is what causes accidents to happen?

When Sherman, Texas went on strike and sent pickets up in Chicago, (local president) Piotrowski told the workers to cross the line and scab. Now, Tennessee is out and it is true again. We end up working overtime and more overtime and end up hurting the Tennessee workers. What kind of labor solidarity is that? How can we expect workers at other plants to back us up when we don't back them up?

Piotrowski has always chosen his negotiating committee himself, handpicking his buddies. We want to know when are we going to have a meeting on our contract, and elect our own negotiators, instead of getting those mealy-mouthed union stewards on the committee.

—Excerpted from *The Chicago Oscar Mayer WORKERS' Story*

# THEORY / PRACTICE

## A Look at the Past and the Future

# Thirty years of News & Letters

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board  
of News & Letters

### Part II

Because the visage of Hitler is by no means limited in our nuclear age of absolutes to savage apartheid South Africa's undeclared civil war against the Black majority population, but as well stamps our world including the rulers of the USA headed by Reagan, it is important to see that a 30-year Retrospective is made inseparable from Perspectives. It is in this context that we turn to Part II.

Part I of this Retrospective had stressed the uniqueness of the new post-World War II epoch, as it signalled the simultaneity of action and thought—both in the U.S. miners' general strike of 1949-50 that raised altogether new questions on the relationship of mental to manual labor; and in the 1953 East German Revolt, the first ever under Communist totalitarianism, with the slogan of "Bread and Freedom." As against the McCarthyism raging in Eisenhowerland, simultaneously with these early 1950s revolts came a philosophic breakthrough<sup>1</sup>, penetrating Hegel's Absolute Idea as comprising not only development of theory, but a movement from practice.

As I wrote in my Letters on the Absolute Idea, May 12 and 20, 1953, the relationship of theory to practice was not just a mystical expression. It reflected the fact that both the development of theory and the movement from practice demanded an altogether new relationship of theory to practice. Their unity was called the Absolute Idea. This, I held, needed to be worked out for our post-World War II age, to which it was most relevant.

THIS NEW ILLUMINATION of the dialectic, which included both the historic actions and the new questions they posed, as well as the philosophic breakthrough we made, found its response in the creation of a new type of workers' paper, which listed the four revolutionary forces—labor, Black, women, youth—as Reason. In our Marxist-Humanist paper, News & Letters, this was practiced in a unique combination of worker and intellectual, with a Black production worker, Charles Denby, as editor, and with Raya Dunayevskaya, as Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board, assigned to complete the study she had been working on once she had designated the new stage of capitalism as state-capitalism. The projection of its absolute opposite, completed in 1957-58 in book form, was called Marxism and Freedom.<sup>2</sup>

In the second edition of Marxism and Freedom (1964), a special chapter, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung," was added, the last section of which was called "In Place of a Conclusion." This chapter appeared first as a special supplement in News & Letters, January 1962.

"The odd mixture of Mao's opportunism and adventurism, the ordinary imperialist power struggle (both within the Communist world and outside, as in the conquest of Tibet, intrusions into Indian territory, and covetous glances cast from Burma to Vietnam, and from Nepal to Laos) cannot be separated from the struggle for the minds of men. It is here that the irresponsible abuse of Marxist language—on the question of 'revolutions without pause' proceeding in a straight line from State Plans to 'Communism'—makes it imperative to show the blind alley into which the dialectic of Mao's thought has led and from which it may catapult the world into a nuclear holocaust." (from Marxism and Freedom, "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung.")

IN THAT SAME YEAR, new and different audiences for Marxist-Humanism, such as the one reached by Dunayevskaya's being invited by Dr. Erich Fromm to participate in the International Symposium on Socialist Humanism, were reached. Her essay on "Marx's Humanism Today" made it clear that Marx's "new Humanism" characterized not only the early Marx but the whole of his greatest theoretical work, Capital, and that it was most relevant for our age with its myriad crises.

As we saw in Part I, we recorded all the 1960s voices as they articulated their own experiences and thoughts. Many of the pamphlets thus produced were first printed in whole or in part in News & Letters. At the same time we were conducting classes in the major works of Hegel. These were based on the various summaries Dunayevskaya had made of Phenomenology of Mind, Science of Logic and the Encyclopedia. (These summaries were later published in a mimeographed pamphlet, Dialectics of Liberation.)

By 1970, still newer doors opened for Marxist-Humanism. It was the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birth and the 200th of Hegel's. In spring of that year Telos published Dunayevskaya's essay on "Lenin's Philosophic

Ambivalence." The Yugoslav journal Praxis published the chapter as did the Italian journal Aut Aut.

1974 saw the august body of the Hegel Society of America inviting Raya Dunayevskaya to read a paper on Hegel's Absolute Idea as New Beginning at its biennial conference. (See Art and Logic in Hegel's Philosophy, Humanities Press: New Jersey, 1980.)

Our participation in mass activities—anti-Vietnam War, Black Revolution, Youth—was most prominent. News & Letters recorded all these activities in the 1970s.

As well, we kept up an unabated attack on Nixon's counter-revolution. The June-July, 1970 issue reported on "Nixon's Wars at Home and Abroad," stressing the intensification of the attacks against the youth and the massacre of the students at Kent State. We were the only ones to draw a parallel between that conflict and the assault on the Black students at Jackson State ten days later.

IN THE DECEMBER ISSUE in 1970, John Alan in his Black/Red column had reproduced Langston Hughes' poem "The Negro speaks of rivers..." accompanied by a picture and a column on Black culture which stressed that it was with labor in the 1930s, and not with the intellectual elite of the Harlem Renaissance in the 1920s, that culture began to speak of the masses.



The Negro Speaks Of Rivers

*I've known rivers:  
I've known rivers ancient  
as the world and older  
than the flow of human  
blood in human veins.  
My soul has grown deep  
like the rivers.  
I bathed in the Euphrates  
when dawns were  
young.  
I built my hut near the  
Congo and it lulled me  
to sleep.  
I looked up the Nile and  
raised the pyramids  
above it.  
I heard the singing of the  
Mississippi when Abe  
Lincoln went down to  
New Orleans, and I've  
seen its muddy bosom  
turn all golden in the  
sunset.  
I've known rivers: ancient,  
dusty rivers.  
My soul has grown deep  
like the rivers.  
—Langston Hughes*

Just as the Black/Red Conference had resulted in a column of the same name in News & Letters, so our women's liberationists began editing a special page of N&L and a column called first "Force and Reason" and later "Woman as Reason." (See April 1971 N&L for excerpts from their "Who We Are" statement. In that same month Michael Connolly wrote the front page lead on "Laos Invasion Widens Revolt," while in the October issue Olga Domanski wrote "Nixon Declares War on Labor and Blacks with Wage Freeze and Anti-Busing Stand.")

The center of all world events in 1971 had become a totally new stage for the ruling classes with Nixon's trip to Peking. (See the front page article "Nixon to Peking," by Raya Dunayevskaya in the N&L of Aug.-Sept. 1971.)<sup>3</sup> The whole question of whether a new world axis among rulers was being attempted, was discussed, just as at the other end of the world, specifically Poland, we discussed the possibility of a new stage being represented by the uprising which had been reported in great detail in the February 1971 N&L. Put differently, even before the new revolutions in the late 1970s, the early '70s were full of rebellions, whether we speak of Poland or Ireland. (See page 1, Aug.-Sept. 1971 N&L on "The Civil War in Northern Ireland," described from Northern Ireland by Harry McShane.)

In early 1972 we saw the birth of the new state of Bangladesh. Our January 1972 issue carried a picture of Mukti Bahini, freedom fighters of Bangladesh, fighting with ancient and modern weapons. The ad we ran for the Activist at that time—the student publication at Oberlin College, for which Raya Dunayevskaya became an adviser—reflected our continued activity in the

youth movement at home.

Clearly, far from being an academic question, Marxist philosophy of revolution became the burning question of the revolutions of the 1970s. The process of the development of Marxist-Humanism, as the expression of Marx's Marxism for our age, becomes important to follow. To a certain extent, we are critical of Part I of Retrospective (July 1985 N&L), because it was very nearly limited only to what appeared in N&L. News & Letters did not have space to disclose the process of development of the philosophic dimension which Dunayevskaya had developed, especially in letters to members and non-members.<sup>4</sup> Our paper reached thousands while these letters, whether mimeographed or not, did not.

THE POINT IS that in the 1970s we were laboring under the whip of Nixon's counter-revolution—from war on Vietnam to his attacks on the anti-Vietnam youth at home—and at the same time we were witnessing new types of revolutions—from Mozambique to Angola to Portugal and from Iran to Nicaragua. In the Draft Perspectives, excerpts of which were published in the Aug.-Sept. issue of News & Letters, called "Ways to Combat 'Pax Americana'" and summed up the anti-Vietnam and anti-racism articles and activities.

At the same time we saw an old force become a new force, as the Native Americans occupied Wounded Knee and Shainape Shcapwe became our Native American columnist.

The world counter-revolution's triumph at that time was the overthrow of the Allende government and Pinochet in Chile, which the U.S. helped to assure. In an editorial in the October issue—"Counter-Revolution in Chile: the End of Illusion"—called for a defense of Chilean masses by showing our opposition to American imperialism. At the same time, with the publication of Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao (1973), the unity of philosophy and revolution was further developed in the journal of the paper as well as in pamphlets. In creating Philosophy and Revolution the category of "Absolute Idea as New Beginning," we saw all the new world forces of revolution as Reason, from East Europe to Africa.

To have dared to venture onto the untrodden path of "Absolute Idea as New Beginning" had taken a whole decade of digging into the Hegelian dialectic of listening to the new voices of the turbulent 1960s and early 1970s. That record can also be traced in the book of ideas with great Marxists, dead and alive, from Lukacs to Marcuse, from Adorno to Rosdolsky.<sup>5</sup> The philosophic dimension became increasingly inseparable from analysis of current events. The lead on "Endless Counter-Revolution Throughout the World Show Need for New Human Relations," by Eugene Walker, had as its overline "Philosophy and Revolution." (News & Letters, Oct. 1973.) This philosophic dimension was reflected also in the Readers' Views—both for and against the contemporaneity with which we treated "Why Hegel? Now?"

The relationship of philosophy, whether to labor or to civil rights, was dealt with by our editor, Charles Denby, in his "Worker's Journal" column in Aug.-Sept. 1973, which was titled, "Civil Rights Impasse in Philosophy." Denby wrote: "Rev. King did try to bring humanist philosophy. It was not Marx's Humanism, it was total. He used the saying of the great Jesus" (continued on page 5)

4. Marxist-Humanist Archives pp. 4289-4337 contains the letters on the process of philosophic development, 1967-73.)

5. See the following issues of News & Letters: "Lukacs' Philosophic Dimension," February 1973 and March 1973; on Marcuse, "Intellectuals in the Age of State-Capitalism," June-July, 1961 and Aug.-Sept. 1961; "Lectures of Liberation: Hegel and Adorno," December 1974; "Rosdolsky's Methodology and Lange's Revisionism" Jan.-Feb. 1978. See also Herbert Marcuse, In Memoriam, Aug.-Sept. 1979.

## News & Letters

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is printed in  
a union shop.



1. Indeed, the philosophic breakthrough in Dunayevskaya's Letters on the Absolute Idea came six weeks before the East German uprising of June 17, 1953. (See The Marxist-Humanist Archives, pp. 1797-1812.)

2. It no sooner was off the press (1958) than Dunayevskaya began talking about what she then called a "corollary" to dig deeper and to further explain the breakthrough on the Absolute Idea and disclose its ramifications in actual events of the day, specifically its relationship to the unfolding colonial revolution. (See December 1960, January 1961 letters to Herbert Marcuse. Marxist-Humanist Archives pp. 4316.)

3. The analyses of this event continued in 1972, (See "And China Makes Three" in January, 1972 N&L) and became crucial within the Mao chapter in Philosophy and Revolution.



# A Retrospective and Perspective

(continued from page 4)

philosopher, Martin Buber, in answering those clergymen who were critical of him in Birmingham, Alabama, when he said that everything depended on knowing that human relations are I-thou, not I-it."

IN DECEMBER, 1973 we carried a full-page report of the special Convention of News and Letters Committees that had been called to amend the constitution to include Philosophy and Revolution along with Marxism and Freedom as our theoretical foundations. With these philosophic/objective developments, the Black Dimension, as it was expressed in Negritude in the 1940s and '50s and as it was critiqued by Black revolutionaries in the 1970s after a few African administrative intellectuals gained power, was stressed by us in News & Letters in June, 1974 when we reprinted the great Haitian poet Rene Depestre's sharp critique of Negritude at the Tri-Continental Congress. Our headline read, "Negritude as Revolution and Counter-Revolution."

The deepest ever structural economic crisis, 1974-75, that developed on a global scale, naturally took center stage everywhere. That 1974-75 crisis, among other ramifications, made it clear that the energy crisis of the previous year was by no means due only to the Arab-Israeli War. It came out of the innards of so-called private capitalism in the United States. The January issue of N&L in 1975 was a special 12-page paper with a lead on the world recession by Raya Dunayevskaya. (See also "The Worldwide Energy Crisis and the Merchants' Death," by Peter Mallory, March 1975 N&L, as well as the April 1977 N&L lead by Andy Phillips titled, "U.S. Economic Crisis Deepens as Unemployment Wells.")

News & Letters analyzed crises as they were developing, and related them not only to their deepest source—capitalism—but to the manner in which so-called Marxists analyzed it in purely economist terms.

1976 Dunayevskaya wrote a Political-Philosophic Letter, "Today's Global Crisis, Marx's Capital and the Marxist Epigones Who Try to Truncate it and the Understanding of Today's Crises." This became the basis for the Introduction for a booklet, Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis which had as its centerpiece the four chapters on Marx's Capital from Marxism and Freedom, a preface by Harry McShane of Great Britain and an appendix titled, "Tony Cliff Reduces Lenin's Theory to 'Uncanny Intuition.'"

AS AGAINST THOSE who thought themselves authoritarian by "amending" Marx's Capital through talk of monopoly, oligopoly and anything else they could devise to avoid the truly new but capitalistic statification of production, state-capitalism, our original analysis of Capital had shown it to be no mere "economic" work.

By the mid-1970s, fundamental relationships to dialectics as well as to new living revolutionary forces—women's liberation, Black, youth—demanded reexamination and actual confrontation. At one and the same time we were, as we saw, witness to 1) the 1974-75 economic crisis which showed that even independent Marxists, i.e. those accepting or leaning towards the theory of state-capitalism were using Marx's Capital as "mere economics" and 2) critiques of the publication of Philosophy and Revolution by all these "independent Marxists" revealing the persistence of a return to the orthodoxy of the Second International and its anti-Hegelianism. (See "Why Hegel? Why Now? — a critique" by P.B. in Aug.-Sept. 1975 N&L and Raya Dunayevskaya's answer in November, 1975 N&L.)

This convinced Marxist-Humanists of the need for full articulation of our politics and activities not only in books, in pamphlets, in our Perspectives Thesis, but right within the pages of News & Letters. Thus, for the first time the full Draft Perspectives, entitled "Where Do We Go From Here?", was published in the Aug.-Sept. 1975 N&L. The third section of that Perspectives was entitled "What Form of Movement, Organization and Philosophy: The Party? The Dialectic? Committees?" The publication of Draft Perspectives within a newspaper each year has remained a principle with us ever since.

In the mid-1970s we were, at the same time participating with the developing Women's Liberation Movement. Thus, the April 1975 issue of N&L carried a front page article by Olga Domanski, "Working Women on the March," with an overline, "Unorganized Are Organizing."

All of these events made it imperative to reexamine Marxism, or rather the narrow economic viewpoint of post-Marx Marxism. The reference here is not to the outright betrayal of the Second International. Rather, the point at issue is the failure of post-Marx Marxism to measure up to Marx's philosophy of revolution. The inscription and publication of Marx's Ethnological Notebooks made this crystal clear.

These Ethnological Notebooks clarified what Marx had projected as far back as his 1857-58 Grundrisse, where he amplified the Hegelian principle of "absolute movement of becoming." Marx had recreated this as a totally new view of human development throughout his-

tory, a view that included his age and includes ours. The new field of anthropology in the 1870s helped him to concretize the "absolute movement of becoming" as his own multilinear view of human development. Not only did that distinguish Marx's multilinearism from Engels' unilinearism, but it cast a new light on his greatest theoretical work, Capital<sup>7</sup>, making points that may have appeared only implicit, explicit.

As we wrote in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution: "So deep were his concepts of a philosophy of revolution and its live forces that he even disagreed with those who interpreted his 'Historical Tendency of Capitalist Accumulation' as if it were a universal. In his critique of Mihailovsky, Marx insisted that his analysis was a generalization only of the development of capitalism in Western Europe, and that Russia had 'the best chance history has ever offered to a people' to avoid that same disastrous consequence." (p. 192)

TO MAKE CLEAR that there absolutely could be no misinterpretation, he repeated this projection of the possibility of "backward" Eastern countries having a revolution first (which turned into fact in 1917) in the special introduction of the Russian translation of the Communist Manifesto. That was 1882!

In 1976 Steve Biko had declared the affinity of his Black Consciousness Movement to Frantz Fanon's Wretched of the Earth, as well as to American Black thought. The next year he was savagely murdered in a South African jail. In the November 1977 N&L we carried his words as our lead, "Steve Biko Speaks for Himself."

The highpoint of all the new stress on the pivotal question of philosophy and revolution was reached in 1978 by Charles Denby, both in his introduction to Frantz Fanon, Soweto and America Black Thought<sup>8</sup> and the concrete summation of his own 25 years development since becoming editor of News & Letters, in part II of Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal. It was published that year by South End Press, Boston, and in 1979 in Great Britain by Pluto Press. A German edition entitled Im Reichsten Land der Welt, (In the Richest Country in the World) was published by Rotbuch Verlag in 1981.

At the same time that the world was living through the global, structural, economic crisis, and we were making new discoveries about Marx's final decade, there were new kinds of revolutions being sparked by the African Revolutions in Mozambique and Angola—the most important of which was the one in Portugal in 1974. Some Marxists had raised a totally new question—apartidarismo (non-partyism) which Raya Dunayevskaya wrote on both in a lead article and a Political-Philosophic-Letter. It became a subject for the book that was then in progress, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

THE FULL DEVELOPMENT of Marx's "new moments" began with the emphasis on the Ethnological Notebooks where Marx had commented on the revolutionary stature of women among the Iroquois, and the Irish before British imperialism. This clarified the fact that from the very beginning of Marx's discovery of a new continent of thought, in those now famous Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844, when he was singling out the proletariat as the revolutionary force that would overthrow capitalism, he had as well developed the Man/Woman relationship.

At the same time, Marx's new moments from his last decade demonstrated the distance between those Notebooks and the very first work Engels published after Marx's death, Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. Far from this work being a "bequest" from Marx as Engels claimed, it instead ex-

pressed a unilinear concept of human development as against Marx's multilinear concept.

Because, in our age, Women's Liberation has moved from an Idea whose time has come to a movement, the different view of Marx and Engels has become a burning question. Indeed, Dunayevskaya originally considered her analysis of the difference to be chapter one of what was to become Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. News & Letters, January 1979, in a bold blue overline called attention to the draft chapter published within, "Relation of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted."

Two other draft chapters of the new book were also published in the pages of N&L. At the same time that those separate chapters were being developed into book form, News & Letters began publishing a brief history of Marxist-Humanism entitled, 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.—A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments, which was then issued as a pamphlet. The pamphlet presents a listing of the original eight chapters envisioned for Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution and can be contrasted with the twelve-chapter work published.

DURING THE PERIOD of writing this book the Iranian Revolution was unfolding. In the December 1978 issue of N&L, Olga Domanski wrote the front page article on "Iranian Masses Fight Military Rule, Demand Removal of Shah, U.S. Imperialism," with an overline designating those masses as workers, peasants, women and youth. In the following issue, (the one which printed the Draft Chapter on Marx and Engels Contrasted), Charles Denby decided to publish a letter Raya Dunayevskaya had written him on Nov. 13, 1978 on the relationship of the 1906-11 Revolution in Iran to the present moment. The headline read, "Iran's revolutionary past—and present."

New relations not only on theoretical questions but on practical and organizational ones were worked out as part of our Marxist-Humanist analysis as the Iranian revolution was developing. In December, 1979 the front page featured a Two Worlds column on "Grave Contradictions in the Iranian Revolution." Iranian revolutionary exiles began translating our writings into Farsi.<sup>9</sup>

For our age, the Ethnological Notebooks, not only as the great innovative document it was, but also as it illuminated the whole last decade of Marx's life, created a new vantage point to comprehend the whole of Marx's Marxism. For Marxist-Humanism it compelled the creation of the category of "post-Marx Marxism"<sup>10</sup>, as a pejorative, beginning with Engels. It is why we felt that the 1880s had created a trail to the 1980s—and then developed that in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Marx's philosophy of revolution, Marx's Marxism as a totality, was presented in the third part of the book: "Karl Marx—From Critic of Hegel to Author of Capital and Theorist of 'Revolution in Permanence'." This unique feature was related not only to the newness of the Women's Liberation Movement, but permeated all four forces of revolution—Labor, Black, Youth as well as Women. All were singled out as Reason of revolution. It is this which will be fully developed when we come to the 1980s.

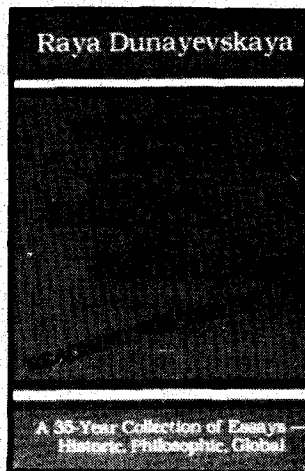
Editor's Note: The summation of the last five years—from 1980 to 1985—will be included in the new pamphlet on 30 Years of News & Letters as Retrospective and Perspective which will be published in January, 1986.

9. Before Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution was off the press, Iranian exiles were introducing translations into Farsi with direct references to the Iranian Revolution. See also "Eyewitness Report: Revolution and counter-revolution in Iran" by Azadkar, June 1979 N&L, and "Middle East women: liberation and social revolution" by Neda Azad, June 1981 N&L.

10. We have carried critiques of Leon Trotsky ever since the State-Capitalist Tendency was created, resulting in the break with Trotsky who contended Russia was a "workers' state, though degenerate." But the summation of those articles was the one which appeared on the 100th anniversary of his birth: "Leon Trotsky: A Critique", November 1979 News & Letters.

7. News & Letters has had many commentaries on Capital. See especially Kevin A. Barry's essay article, "The French edition of Capital, 100 years after," October, 1981 N&L.

8. See Introduction to Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought by Charles Denby and Raya Dunayevskaya printed in May, 1978 N&L.



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See especially the "Two Worlds" column, "New introduction distorts Marx's Grundrisse," November, 1973.

## STEPS ALONG THE 'TWO-WAY ROAD': SOUTH AFRICA AND AMERICA IN FREEDOM STRUGGLES

I appreciated the Lead article on "The undeclared and ongoing civil war in South Africa," (Oct. N&L) with its presentation of the multiplicity and multi-dimensionality of the organizations within the freedom movement in South Africa. Unfortunately, in the South African solidarity movement here, there's a strong tendency to try to hand everything over the ANC as "the sole legitimate representative of the South African people." But that negates the history and ongoing reality of what the movement in South Africa has created.

**Anti-apartheid activist  
Los Angeles**

A month before the expected re-election of Mayor Coleman A. Young the FBI suddenly set up a hotline for reporting on "corrupt public officials." Although a few months ago people I know in the Black community were voicing serious criticism of the Young Administration's neglect of the city; now many of them are going all out to campaign for him.

Abandoned houses, burglaries, and an unreliable bus system haven't improved, but no one expects Young to lose. It isn't illusions about Young so much as feeling the cold hand of Reagan's attack on Black gains. Just as in the South, I believe Black people here would like to "break up the historic, exploitative relationships."

**Observer  
Detroit**

We regret an error in last month's "Black World" column on the "New battleground in the Black Belt," which incorrectly stated that all Greene County civil rights activists facing federal frame-up charges had been acquitted. We wish not only to make that correction but to inform our readers of the latest developments in the civil rights struggle in Alabama. The fact is that while the all-white jury acquitted the other Greene County activists, Spiver Gordon was convicted on orders from Federal Judge E.B. Halton, Jr. on four counts of voting fraud.

What cannot be left unreported is the freedom connection between South Africa/South U.S.A. seen when Albert Turner, a defendant in the Perry County trial, spoke at a Free South Africa rally in Los Angeles. Thus, in correcting a factual error, we want to call attention to the political-philosophic perspectives that Marxist-Humanists always take as ground in participating in support work for the freedom struggle in South Africa and which was articulated by Raya Dunayevskaya in last month's N&L: "American revolutionaries, especially, cannot separate their struggles against Reaganism from their support of the South African freedom fighters."

**Lou Turner  
Chicago**

I have been involved in the many anti-apartheid protests here, and I am seeing in them that desire to reach for a future that would be completely different than the world as youth experience it now.

At a N&L meeting at Cal State-LA on "Freedom Ferment in South Africa" (see article, page 8), one student said he had been reading about the Free Speech movement of the 1960s, and what struck him was the active participation of everyone, the collective decision-making, the new ways of acting and relating. What is important, he said, is that revolution involves everyone as whole human beings. We are not objects and tools of the economic system, and the movement to change the system has to include our thoughts. He wanted to know more about Marxism and what we meant in calling ourselves Marxist-Humanists.

**Student  
Cal State, Los Angeles**

In Los Angeles there is such a contrast between the Black youth and some of the old Black Left. I recently went to a Youth Black Awareness Festival. I was talking to one Black youth and when I described the Black Movement as "self-movement," he became very excited. In contrast to that, I also attended the Black Women's Forum where there were a lot of old Black leftists. One woman insisted it wasn't a matter of self-movement—that you had to have leadership. She even said the slaves didn't free themselves—that it was just the material conditions.

It's not just a matter of arguing about "self-movement," the fact is that the youth are searching for alternatives. But in the Free South Africa Movement there is little discussion about the youth activity in South Africa—everything is focused on getting Nelson Mandela out of jail. That's important but it's not enough.

**Black activist  
Los Angeles**

When you read a lead in a Marxist-Humanist newspaper you are struck with how the category "new" has a much deeper meaning than in the bourgeois press. Such was the case last issue on South Africa. First, of course you had the new of the split in the South African ruling class and the emergence of the Black trade union movement. Then you had the new that it wasn't alone South Africa, but as the subhead put it, "Hitler's Visage in Apartheid South Africa Shows the Future the Rulers Hold in Store for All of Us." That news is quite frightening, but also a challenge for how we are active in the freedom movement today. And then finally, I appreciated a more long-term concept of new that is the new that this post-World War II period represents as new forms of revolutionary practice and theory. The revolt in South Africa of the 1950s is part of that. To make such a category out of "new" certainly gives one a revolutionary perspective from which to view the world.

**Intellectual  
Chicago**

### SUPPORT IRISH ANTI-APARTHEID STRIKERS

For 15 months, ever since July 19, 1984, when Mary Manning, a cashier at Dunnes Stores in Henry Street, Dublin, was suspended for refusing to check out South African fruit, Irish workers have waged a battle to defend the South African freedom struggle and their own rights as union members. Manning's co-workers, all but one of them women, came out in support of her and have maintained a daily picket line all these months. They are members of the Irish Distributive and Administrative Trade Union (IDATU).

International support for the strike has been widespread, and Bishop Tutu invited them to visit South Africa. The visit was blocked by the Botha government. The union has put pressure on the government, and the Ministry of Labour asked supermarkets to seek alternative sources of supply for fresh fruit. Dunnes Stores has broken off negotiations with the strikers. They have 50 outlets throughout Ireland (including in Ulster), and they are well-known union bashers. The stores are picketed 24 hours, with mass pickets twice a week. Strikers need your support. Donations and messages should be sent to:

**Dunnes Stores Strikers Support  
IDATU, 9 Cavendish Row  
Parnell Sq., Dublin, Ireland**

### MIDDLE EAST REVOLUTIONS

In the Middle East after each revolution there is a five or six month period when you get to experience freedom, but there is always an end to that. You

# Readers' Views

end up with Islamic, communist, nationalist or military coups. As a worker from Yemen I can tell you stories of many coups that had nothing to do with the masses.

I remember one led by Abdolrah Al Asnadje in South Yemen in the late '60s. It did not succeed and he was therefore expelled from the Socialist Party. He then went to North Yemen to organize the the South Yemen Liberation Front which got support from both the Shah of Iran and the Baath Party of Iraq. He later became the foreign minister of North Yemen and had millions of dollars in Swiss banks. He has since been forgiven by the government of South Yemen and is an important figure in that country. That is why, as long as I have the memories of revolution I can't buy anyone imposing their will on the people.

**Yemeni worker  
Detroit**



**'A BREEZE'  
FROM  
NAIROBI**

The letter you printed last month from the feminist in Iran was so moving. When she says that seeing on TV the women's conference in Nairobi was "a breeze that reached me this far," one can feel how powerful is the idea of freedom.

**Women's liberationist  
California**

### LABOR'S NEW THOUGHTS

When you grow up in a company-owned town in the Tri-state area (O' Pennsylvania, West Virginia), you that the crisis is not only in steel industries are dying too. My town dominated by pottery, and it went from 35,000 when I was young to 12,000 today. People are used up and ghost towns are made.

We used to go to college and leave. I went to Detroit in the 1960s. There's

### BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE: MORE DISCUSSION

I don't know whether you have heard, but Notts has broken away completely from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), with the blessing of Thatcher and the National Coal Board. It is sickening. Our lads have been warned that if they are caught giving out any NUM papers they are sacked straight away. But the bloody idiots can't sack us women, can they? So that's what we have been doing—passing out the truth. They won't beat us.

My grandfather walked on the 1926 March to London to demonstrate about unemployment and hunger. My father worked 44 years down the mines fighting for better conditions. And then these scabs benefit from it, and they stick a knife in our backs. I have one consolation out of it. The scabs will never have what we had, and still have, unity and solidarity...

**Miner's wife  
Notts, England**

Although I agree with the principle of a future based on "the movement, from practice which is itself a form of theory," the atmosphere of disillusion, defeat and intimidation still with us makes it difficult to elaborate a path which points towards that principle. We in the Outwrite (women's newspaper) collective were among the first to come out in total support for the miners' wives/Women Against Pits Closures, and at the same time we reminded our readers of the continuous shift towards the right in the T.U.C., the reactionary leadership in the Labour Party, and in

nowhere to go anymore. South Chicago is a ghost town now, but many people still have illusions. In the little towns of Appalachia there are no illusions. We have had generations of trying bourgeois solutions to the problems of the region and we know there is nowhere to go. Even ministers end up becoming activists. There is a whole history here of struggle for more total and human solutions.

**Former resident of  
East Liverpool, Ohio**

I greatly enjoyed reading the article on runaway shops and new technology last month, and especially the way it revealed the relationship between confrontations between capital and labor and that technology. Post-Marx Marxists were paralyzed for 100 years by their insistence on stressing the revolutionary nature of technology itself. They never understood that it was the resistance of workers that both forced the introduction of new technology, and pointed the path to its overthrow.

**Intellectual  
New York City**

I would like to make the following correction to my article titled "Runaway shops are part of new capitalist technology" which appeared in the Oct N&L: The printed article states: "These confrontations between capital and labor are taking place as capitalist production has reached a new level of technology..." The headline followed from this formulation. Yet my original copy read as follows: "These activities and discussions may be the embryonic form of very new directions for labor since this movement from practice represents a very new stage of capitalist production." Later in the article I contended: "This new stage had led to 'the obsolescence of today's trade unions.'" In the printed article this was changed to "massive problems of today's trade unions."

**David Park  
Chicago**

the NUM itself, whose politics on Women's Liberation are a bit less than atrophied...

The women's groups sprang up throughout the country. Politically the strike transformed the lives of women in the mining communities. The women began to campaign for finance and affiliation to the NUM. The response was negative, as has happened to many others miners' wives' campaigns around the world (Peru, Bolivia, etc.). The male unions find the women's organizations vital and exemplary in their consistent support; but once the official dispute is over they are of no use, and therefore there is no need for official recognition...

**Alma Latina  
London, England**

I have a disagreement with Dav Black (Aug.-Sept. N&L) on the British miners strike. Black says that a large reason for the defeat of the strike was the alienation of many in the NUM from Scargill's politics. Though several socialist papers had previously published open letters to Scargill from NUM activists supporting Solidarnosc, know of no occasion when one of these sided with the scabs. No doubt scab groups alleged that they opposed Scargill's stalinism, but as none oppose Thatcher's trade with Jaruzelski's regime, and her increase of coal import from Poland, they didn't show sincerity. So it seems unlikely that this won scab much support. Nor did socialist activists withhold support for this reason.

**Laurens Otte  
England**



NEW BOOK IS 'REACHING FOR THE FUTURE'

I had never heard of Raya Dunayevskaya before, but now that I see the series of books she has written, I would like to buy both her new book, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future and her book on Rosa Luxemburg and Marx, for our Women's Studies library. I am going to the conference here this month on "The Black Women Writers and the Diaspora," and I think both of those books should be on your literature table.

The article in the Oct. N&L on South Africa is important to those of us who are "Africanists." I hope that the conference will take up aesthetics, not separated from political and other questions. The section in Raya's new book on "Women, Labor and the Black Dimension" looks very interesting...

Women's Studies professor  
East Lansing, Mich.

We wish to inform you that your publication is one of the best and most eagerly awaited we receive. Our readership would like us to stock some of your longer publications for study. Could you send us copies of Raya Dunayevskaya's four books, including her latest one, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution? We hope you find our publication, Working Papers, useful. Shortly we will be publishing a newsletter.

African Human Rights  
Research Assoc.  
Toronto, Ontario

I have begun to read Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, and was struck with the 1953 article "On Women in the Post-War World, and the Old Radicals." It shows that a new development of Women's Liberation began during World War II. I was reminded of Charles Denby's autobiography, Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal, and the chapter written by his wife Christine about her work in the factories during the war. In the 1953 article, Dunayevskaya shows that what is new is the women's consciousness of self. They are

challenging established Marxism. Isn't this part of what was involved in Dunayevskaya's break from the vanguard party-to-lead?

Black worker  
Los Angeles

Raya Dunayevskaya's new book has only been off the press for a few short weeks, but in Michigan several young activists have already bought copies. They include two young women that I met at the commemoration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Detroit—one a student and the other working in a degrading minimum wage job. At the U. of Michigan, two students deeply involved in the protest against Reagan's war in Central America have begun to study the new book, as well as another young feminist active against South African apartheid and campus military research. I can't remember a previous time when dialogue on a new philosophic/political writing became so integral to discussing youth opposition to all aspects of Reaganism.

Young woman  
Detroit



LATIN AMERICAN REALITY

I was in Mexico; I saw the people peddling in the streets, the misery—the used razor blade I threw away, they told me they needed. There is a strong capitalism there, not only in the U.S. I criticize the U.S. for supporting that.

The Latin American people don't believe in their politicians. Garcia, Peru's new president, wants to get his country out of the hole. But he won't be able to do it without a social revolution. The number one problem in Latin America is the peasant who has no land to work, and has to go to the city, to the army, or suffer humiliations. I like the way Garcia spoke at the UN, but I recognize that he is the one who can recuperate or save the system for many more

years. Left and Right are checking him out very carefully.

Dominican worker  
New York

The earthquake that struck Mexico on the morning of Sept. 19 depressed me terribly. Many of us were aware that Mexico needed help before the earthquake. And I am aware that politically things will worsen in spite of world assistance. For Mexico, like other parts of the world, needs a totally new society. The donations are never enough. People will continue to live without jobs, without homes, malnourished. Many of us are aware that the government is the one most benefited as the result of the earthquake aid.

The pamphlet you sent, by Rosa Luxemburg on "Martinique," written after the volcano explosion in 1902, describes Mexico well today. The governments that murder people all over the world rush to send help, but they don't mean it...

Mexican-American woman  
Los Angeles

Ed. Note: Copies of this magnificent article by Rosa Luxemburg, now available in English for the first time, can be obtained from N&L for 45¢, postage included.

TERRORISM AT WORK

When we talk about doing something about terrorism, let's talk about all kinds of terrorism. It is a terrorist act to take a group of people hostage. And to shoot a man in a wheelchair and throw him overboard is inhuman. But as a worker, I think that capitalism as a whole is a terrorist system. Workers live with terrorism as part of their daily lives — miners never know when they will be blown up in an explosion; farmworkers are forced back into the fields right after the crops have been sprayed with poisonous pesticides; and none of us know when we'll get cancer from the chemicals and working conditions we were told for so long were "safe."

We're just trying to live and feed our families, and for this we are held hostage, forced into the factories, fields, mines and mills.

Felix Martin  
Los Angeles

AS OTHERS SEE US

I just subscribed to N&L because I like the humanist point of view in it. I consider myself a socialist and am involved with medical aid to Nicaragua. I had seen N&L when I was a freshman at the University of Michigan in 1970. I was involved in SDS and the Black Action Movement and was reading things by Rosa Luxemburg. I remember liking it back then. I got N&L again at a meeting on Nicaragua recently.

Anti-apartheid protester  
Detroit

I have just been reading the Oct. N&L. Thank you for your usual quality which amounts to must reading, every issue treasured and readable at any time. I oppose expansion of N&L to a bi-weekly, meaty and necessary as is your judgment on what to include. Further financial requirements seem impossible. One important priority is to bring to everyone's consciousness the evolutionary journey which relates us to plants, animals and each other...

Long-time subscriber  
Hastings, Nebraska

It was so exciting to read reports direct from South Africa in N&L last month. And I like the idea that it is called "South Africa Freedom Journal." Frankly, the proposal for N&L to become a bi-weekly is long overdue...

Artist  
Chicago

I have been a member of News and Letters Committees for five years. I joined N&LC at the 1980 Convention because I was drawn to the humanist ideas. I never considered myself a feminist and have never been involved with any women's organization before, although I have been a working woman since the age of 15. I've been a battered wife, a working mother, and I've struggled to put myself through nursing school in order to be able to support myself. But until N&LC I never saw how an organization could change things for women.

Eve Strong  
Los Angeles

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- 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
Eleanor Marx in Chicago by Terry Moon 15¢ per copy
Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
Working Women for Freedom by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
Latin America's Revolutions Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought by Lou Turner and John Alan \$1 per copy
Marx's "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies by Raya Dunayevskaya 50¢ per copy
Constitution of News & Letters Committees 20¢ postage
Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
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The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
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A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism - 1941 to Today; Its Origin and Development in the U.S. \$1 per copy
Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95 (\$38.50 hardcover)
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Marxism and Freedom ... from 1776 to today 1982 edition. New introduction by author by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao 1982 edition. New introduction by author by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal Life in the South and North by Charles Denby, Editor of News & Letters \$7.50 per copy
Subscriptions to News & Letters Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year \$2.50 per year

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# BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The political tendencies in the Divestment/Anti-Apartheid Movement that have eulogized Steve Biko as a great revolutionary martyr, which he most certainly was, at the same time have carefully avoided any serious analysis of Biko's philosophy of Black Consciousness and its relevance to the undeclared civil war that is now going on in South Africa. Yet it is precisely Biko's philosophy of Black Consciousness that gives him that dimension of greatness and sets him apart as a great revolutionary from all of these tendencies. To eulogize a man when he is dead and to disregard his ideas is to turn him into a harmless symbol.

The next step is to "erase" all the theoretical differences between the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-African Congress and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of Azania and treat them as one. At a recent meeting of the BCM, to which I was invited, all attempts to discuss theoretical issues concerning the new society to be built by the Black South African masses—a society that Biko wrote so passionately about as a "true humanity," a society with a "more human face"—were repeatedly opposed with arguments that theoretical differences among those who are fighting against apartheid were unimportant, and, as far as philosophy is concerned: all that is necessary is "to know thy enemy."

This rejection of philosophy as crucial to the revolutionary process, that is, the unwillingness to work out a philosophy of revolution at the very moment when masses are fighting for freedom, endangers the revolution both from within and without; thus making it vulnerable to counter-revolutionary forces and theories that would stifle the full development of the revolution. There is nothing abstract about this.

Writing in the October News & Letters, Raya Dunayevskaya emphasized both the necessity of "theoretic preparation" in bringing forth of a new society in South Africa, and, also in this nuclear age, the global dimension of the struggle. Thus, she wrote: "American revolutionaries, especially, cannot separate their struggles against Reaganism from their support of the South African freedom fighters." Because of this, Dunayevskaya's 1985-86 Perspectives Report to the national conference of News and Letters Committees expressed the need to

## South African protest week

(continued from page 1)

she concluded, "the whole system has to be uprooted and a new beginning for freedom made."

The rally opened with Peter Wermuth of Cal State News & Letters, who made the ideas of freedom as well as the activities for freedom in South Africa come alive as he quoted Nelson Mandela, Steve Biko and today's young thinkers and fighters. He asked the crowd to absorb both the totality of freedom vision within the South African struggle, and the historic-philosophic context of the two-way road of freedom ideas between Africa and America. —Marxist-Humanist participant

**Detroit, Mich.**—The week of events at Wayne State to support the struggle in South Africa, Oct. 7-11, started with a speech by Dick Gregory.

The ending was a march from Gullen Mall on campus to General Motors world headquarters. Once we got to GM, we rallied around the front entrance on W. Grand Blvd. GM's security was out in full force, and we were barred from the entrance. We rallied for an hour.

When we came back to the university, we decided to march through the Student Center. Public Safety had already anticipated we might try to do that. They were already there when we arrived and wouldn't let anyone in. We were really adamant that we should go into the building we pay for. So they said we could march through without our picket signs. We marched through chanting "Free South Africa, End Apartheid!" —Black woman student

**New York, N.Y.**—Fifty-fourth street between Lexington and Third Avenues, the site of Citibank headquarters in midtown Manhattan, took on a brand new look at rush hour on Friday, Oct. 11, National Anti-Apartheid Day. Hundreds of activists jammed the block, chanting, singing, and talking about "where to now?" for the new and growing anti-apartheid movement.

"I've been active for quite a few months," said one young Black woman, "passing petitions, writing letters, speaking out, and then what happened? Congress didn't even vote on sanctions. How can you believe in this political system?"

Black students as young as those fighting in the streets of South Africa—10 and 11 years old—made their presence felt, as did older ones from Bronx Community College, Columbia University and Hunter College.

"Many of us put everything on the line at the Columbia blockade last spring," said one organizer from the speakers' platform. "We are prepared to put our whole life on the line to continue the struggle."

—News & Letters participants

# Battle of ideas in Azanian Black thought

"put the ongoing events in South Africa in a world context, both historically and philosophically."

In the 1940s, at the time that South Africa was participating in World War II and its booming economy brought thousands of Black workers to urban centers like Johannesburg, a young Zulu philosopher named Anton Lembede, and his close friend Ashby Peter Mda, set out to overcome the dualism that existed between the new race consciousness of the Black urban masses and the conservative, cautious ideas of the old guard leadership of the ANC. In 1944 the ANC Youth League was organized under the presidency of Lembede.

The Youth League was virtually an independent organization that rejected the policies of the leadership of the ANC, and criticized it for its failure to mobilize mass political action against both the so-called liberalism of the Jan Smuts government and the growing Nazism of the Afrikaners. The Youth League rejected the accepted policy of "white trusteeship" and called for "Freedom in our lifetime." At that time the Youth League had among its members such people as Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Robert Sobukwe.

Lembede propounded a philosophy of African nationalism with a great deal of emphasis on the energizing quality of Black pride and the humanism that is inherent in the African community. He was eclectic in his

thinking, but he remained true to the basic concept that human beings are not fragmented economic and biological entities. "Man," he wrote, "is body, mind and spirit with needs, desires and aspirations...History is a record of humanity's striving for complete self-realization." This nationalism was a complete break with the thinking of the old leaders in its concept of making the African struggle for freedom a massive national movement, thus opening the way for the Defiance Campaign of 1950.

However, for the present generation, it was the Soweto revolt that brought the philosophy of Black Consciousness to the world's attention. It was a revolt and an idea that grew out of the continuing Black resistance to apartheid after the Sharpeville Massacre, and the idea of Pan-Africanism that came from the African revolutions in the late 1970s.

In 1978, News & Letters published the pamphlet, Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought. In that pamphlet we dealt with the new dimensions of Black Consciousness that set it apart from all preceding generations of Black revolutionary struggles, and, at the same time, caught the continuity between it and the philosophy of Frantz Fanon and American Black thought, which was the actual working out of a new relation of theory to practice. We plan to publish a new edition of that pamphlet with a new introduction at the beginning of the year.

## •South Africa Freedom Journal•

*Editor's note: The following articles come from two Black trade union papers, FOSATU Worker News, the organ of the Federation of South African Trade Unions, and Izwilethu, the official newsletter of CUSA (Council of Unions of South Africa). The first article "Who controls Noaha?" concerns a mine disaster which briefly flashed across the news media and then disappeared. Not only can we now hear what happened in the words of the workers themselves, but it becomes clear that the August 13 mine disaster also led to the Sept. 1 miners' strike that we analyzed in Oct. N&L. The second article is by James Mndaweni, president of CUSA.*



Some mineworkers tell the tale of a great snake-like monster—Noaha—which lives deep down in the mines. Occasionally Noaha gets angry and storms down

the tunnels leaving a trail of dead miners. This is their explanation for the fact that so many miners are killed far away from the scene of mine explosions.

On Aug. 13, 30 miners were killed in a methane gas explosion in Middelbult colliery which supplies the giant Sasol II and III plants at Secunda in the Transvaal. Thirteen of them were killed near the blast but the rest were up to two kilometers away. Apparently the force of an underground explosion in the narrow tunnels of the mines is so great that even miners a few kilometers away from the blast are 'concussed' to death.

In statements to the press, Sasol management said that methane gas had always 'plagued' the mine industry. However, it is possible to detect methane gas and many methods have been developed in order to make coal mining as safe as possible for mineworkers. But mine bosses in their search for profits do not always stick to even the minimum safety measures laid down by law.

Mineworker members of the Chemical Workers Industrial Union report that although modern equipment for the testing of methane gas is supplied, often safety procedures are ignored. Production, they say, on this the world's most productive coal mine is more important than safety.

In a recent pamphlet, the union said that in South Africa 2,800 workers were killed at work each year—roughly every 3 hours another worker is killed. There are also 355,000 accidents causing injuries each year and 'thousands more of us are dying slowly or getting sick from poisoning by the dangerous chemicals and materials we work with. Let us begin to plan the fight for our health and safety at work. Money is no good if you are too sick to spend it, or dead,' it concluded.

The CWIU has begun its battle against Noaha—a monster which seems to be firmly under the control of the mine bosses.



Workers on strike—legal or otherwise—face the threat of employers calling police to act against them. They also face the threat of summary dismissals and employers transporting them back to their 'homelands'.

In spite of all this, we are growing from strength to strength. Our number of recognition agreements is increasing. We can look at our efforts with pride. A recognition agreement is a special instrument which involves workers in running their own affairs—workers themselves draw up their agreements, negotiate their working conditions and wages, and elect their own representatives.

CUSA believes that we—as workers—are the only ones capable of liberating ourselves. Bosses cannot and will not do it for us. Each time we negotiate wage increases, the government increases GST (General State Tax) and the so-called town councils in the townships increase rent and service tariffs.

The preceding questions make it clear that the problems of the Black worker do not end on the factory floor. They extend to the townships. We see how our hard-won wages are eroded simply because we lack political power. CUSA therefore believes that we as workers have the right—and duty—to fight for political liberation as well.

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# In-person report: Mexican earthquake, economic crisis, revolt

by Anne Jaclard and John Marcotte

Mexico City, Mexico—"Every piece of concrete and steel should be tested against the standards, and then those who are guilty should be tried for murder," said a Mexican engineer after the Sept. 19 earthquake hit Mexico City. Of the 450 historical buildings in the capital, not one was seriously damaged. Yet 5,500 were killed and thousands more injured, when newer buildings, most built after the experience of the 1957 earthquake, collapsed like houses of cards.

The Committee of 100, a group of prominent intellectuals, architects and engineers, immediately issued calls for investigations of corruption in the building industry and government regulation. They said, "The old buildings were built to last. The new ones were built for quick profits."

In the huge Tlatelolco public housing project, where 1,200 people died when a whole building collapsed, a tenants' group had complained about the conditions in the buildings for years. Even the question of building dense, tall buildings on unstable volcanic soil, is decided under capitalism on other than human considerations.

But the earthquake only exacerbated the continuously worsening economic crisis in Mexico. As we found when we visited Mexico City soon after the publication of a Spanish edition of Rosa Luxemburg's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (during the week of the quakes), Mexicans are looking for a way out. We were at once engaged in discussions of the book with feminists and economists, academics and activists, Marxists and non-Marxists.

In fact, we found predominant in Mexico the very conditions which Dunayevskaya states compelled her to write *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*: the permanent, world economic crisis; the development of Women's Liberation as mass movement; and the search for new paths to revolution and a new way of living, begun by Karl Marx in his lifetime. The openness to Marxist-Humanist philosophy there arises from the Mexican experience.

## Native American suicides

by Shainape Shcapwe

Detroit, Mich.—It's getting towards winter on my reservation at Fort Totten, North Dakota, and people do not want to deal with another winter of harassment from the government. Several people I talked to on a trip there recently compared our lives in Fort Totten with the Arapaho reservation in Wyoming where there have been so many youth suicides lately.

Last year at Fort Totten there were a lot of hold-ups, and it really has to do with people trying to survive the winter. A lot of youth rip off liquor stores and sell the liquor to get money. There has also been a rise in the suicide rate. That's true on all the reservations, both in the U.S. and Canada. One Public Health nurse was saying that with people so worried about surviving, what else would you expect?

We have it really hard at Fort Totten, but it's nothing like the rugged life they have on the Arapaho reservation. If you look back, I don't know that you would think the suicide rate is so much worse there now than in past years. The "experts" talk about bringing in an ethnic psychiatrist from the outside. Why do they need someone from the outside to analyze the problem?

I spoke with one man on the reservation there. He said right away Public Health officials started training people to run a suicide hotline. But the government won't allow mental health services to be run from the Indian Health Service clinic on the reservation. So instead it was run out of Sheridan, Wyoming, and then moved to another town. Because the area is so big most of the calls would be long-distance. They are not geared to accept collect calls, so it is futile.

In an urban area when someone calls, you can get to them right away. But there, the only people you could contact are the Indian Health Services, which is useless, or the police, who would be there to help you commit suicide! This man said the only good thing is that people are more aware of the high suicide rate.

At least at Fort Totten we can organize ourselves around an agricultural way of life. People work together canning and preserving and can live somewhat cooperatively. With the Arapahos, their lives used to center around horses, raising and trading them. They had the best horses. But once they were put onto land not fit for grazing or farming they couldn't live in the accustomed way.

It isn't going to take little changes, like setting up a hotline, but changing the whole system for this problem with suicides to be worked out. A spokesman for the Arapahos said on the radio that ending the suicides isn't going to come from saying, "Gee, those poor people. They have to get hold of themselves." He felt it is going to come from really listening to what the Indian youth want out of life, and totally transforming our existence.

There is universal contempt for the so-called liberal PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) government, whose corruption contributed to the many thousands of deaths and tens of thousands of homeless caused by the earthquake, and whose economic policies have further impoverished a poor country. This is what its International Monetary Fund-imposed "austerity program" means for the Mexican people:

Minimum wage is 1200 pesos a day; meat costs 1200 pesos a kilo. "Working people don't eat meat now, just beans and tortillas, and the price of tortillas has gone up too. Milk? There are few workers who can buy milk for their children," a woman told us. Children's shoes cost 9000 pesos. Even the middle class is being hard hit.

Every time the world price of oil drops, the price of everything in Mexico rises, including electricity and gasoline. In July, the government responded to a fall in the price of oil by laying off 28,000 workers and threatening



Three thousand people left homeless in Mexico City, marched to Pres. Miguel de la Madrid's residence on Oct. 13, to demand housing.

to lay off more; by devaluing the peso another 20%, exacerbating inflation which is already at 100%.

Independent Mexican economists stress that oil is only the pretext, that the crisis is structural. Here is the first country to nationalize its oil production back in the '30s, before there was an OPEC; here is a virtual one-party state, with a highly nationalized economy, whose ruling party touted oil in the 1970s as the cure for all problems of development, and which now owes the imperialist banks 96 billion dollars.

In spite of the economic crisis and government repression, especially bad in the last few years, the Mexican working people are by no means quiescent. A recent steel strike shook that industry. The few independent unions (not PRI-controlled) have been severely repressed. One of the most militant, the nuclear power workers, was destroyed when it went on strike a year and a half ago. The government chose to dismantle the entire industry rather than bargain with them.

### SHANTYTOWN SELF-ORGANIZATION

There is a high level of struggle and self-organization in the shantytowns, those belts of misery that surround Mexico City, as one million more peasants come to the capital seeking work every year. In the forefront of the organizing and protests are the women.

One issue is breast feeding, which means fighting the multi-national formula companies' propaganda and pay-offs, which have led to the deaths of many infants. We were told Women's Liberation has affected the consciousness of every woman, from the educated to the maids.

The woman who invited us to a national assembly of shantytown women's organizations was very excited to see the Spanish edition of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. She turned right away to the chapter on the argument between Marx and Luxemburg on the accumulation of capital.

She said that this has great relevance for the Third World today, and that this book would be perfect for the classes the shantytown women were having, because "they are interested in everything—Women's Liberation, politics, imperialism..." That should give an idea of how deep is not alone the crisis in Mexico, but the search for a way out.

### THE EARTHQUAKE OF REVOLT

Though it is true that up to now this book has been received primarily as a Women's Liberation book—and Women's Liberation is very much an Idea whose time has come in Mexico today—one cannot help but hear Part III on Marx's philosophy of revolution speaking loudly on the relations between Third World and industrialized lands, in a country where the peasant movement marched on the capital from all over the country to demonstrate 50,000 strong on April 10 of this year.

It is just this kind of deep, indigenous revolt that is haunting Reagan and the IMF. "Suddenly,"

at the very time that the IMF declared Mexico out of compliance with austerity targets and suspended payments of 900 million dollars in loans on the very day of the catastrophic earthquake! —Reagan decided that "the big message is that we're for growth" and against austerity.

But opening up the Mexican economy to imports was exactly part of the 1982 IMF-directed austerity plan from the start, and it has failed. The crisis isn't alone the devastating earthquakes, or even the horrendous state of the economy. The crisis is total, down to its roots in human relations. It certainly can't be solved by the IMF or Reagan, nor by the ruling PRI. The only solution is the live human beings who will tear up this system. That Mexican earthquake is the one Reaganism, the IMF and the PRI all fear.

## BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

police and inflicted heavy casualties on them. Only seven people were arrested. One officer died in the police assault and dozens were hospitalized as the youth employed bricks, sticks, petrol bombs and guns for the first time ever in Britain during such a confrontation.

There was a meeting at the community center the next day; about 150 attended. There was talk of the revolt in South Africa and in Britain's Black townships. A youth spoke about the death of the policeman, saying: "It's a shame that someone had to die during the protest, but I'm telling you it's more of a pity it was a policeman because now they've got an excuse to put all the blame on us and say that we're criminal. They think we just riot for the sake of it, but we got reasons. They nearly killed a woman in Brixton and now an innocent woman is dead. We don't believe it was an accident. The police normally get away with it but they can't hide a woman being dead. We are constantly abused physically, but you never hear about it. We're not prepared to stand for it anymore."

### NORTHERN IRELAND TO NORTH LONDON

We visited the Youth Association in Broadwater Farm recently. It is a state of siege up there. The permanent army of police is incredible; outside, the state is equipped with all their gear plus tea urns. What's more frightening is the gauntlet you walk through to get to the Youth Association, a line of police in front of cameramen. The Youth Association, once a refuge from the police, is now a prison. And now they've arrested four youth for the killing of the policeman; two of them are under 13 years of age.

Revolt will come again. If not here then somewhere else. It is a general condition. A "children's revolution" is not only true of South Africa. From Northern Ireland to North London, school children are at the forefront. A reporter got shouted at by Black youth: "Don't write any of that crap about unemployment and all that. It's a revolution. First South Africa, then Handsworth and Brixton, now here."

The police go up to Broadwater Farm to take revenge for Brixton. Haringay's Black Labour leader Bernie Grant faced the racism of the press and the Labour and Conservative parties when he condemned the police. But, all he is saying is what is common knowledge in the community.

Today, in Britain, great divisions exist between whites and Blacks, as great as in America. There is no great wall between Black revolt against the murderous police and a search for a new way of life. The crisis here will grow deeper, not just the crisis of British capitalism but the crisis of the lack of ideas needed to match up to the passions and thoughts of the masses.

However, it is obvious that Black people at Broadwater Farm are interested in the American Black experience.

It is no accident that just as the Black rebellion illuminated all facets of life in Britain, so has the Black interest in *News & Letters* as not just "American" but as containing the revolutionary dimension of Black America, revealed a new two-way road to revolution in the Black world.

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# Reagan - Gorbachev summit

(continued from page 1)

strumpeted by both sides would still leave 15,000 nuclear warheads deployed and ready to fire—enough to destroy the world many times over. The appearance of arms negotiations, whether orchestrated by the U.S. or by Russia, is no step on the road to the survival of humanity.

What is urgent for those in the anti-war struggle to uncover, assist and develop are the contradictions within those two behemoths which can open paths to social revolution, that alone can stop the rulers from blowing up the world.

## MITTERRAND'S FRANCE: NO INDEPENDENT FORCE

France's Mitterrand has pretensions of playing a role both as a part of the West, and as an "independent force" in world affairs, one not ruled by the superpowers. Thus his route to re-establishing himself after this summer's scandal in which French military operatives blew up the Greenpeace ship, *Rainbow Warrior*, involved: 1) inviting Gorbachev to make his first visit to the West in Paris; 2) rejecting Reagan's invitation to the pre-summit meeting in New York; and 3) rejecting Gorbachev's proposal to negotiate a reduction in nuclear forces directly with France, insisting that France needed every missile and nuclear bomb in its "force de frappe" for its "threshold of sufficiency."

On the eve of the Camp David summit in 1959, Raya Dunayevskaya analyzed a previous French pretender: "Poor DeGaulle, his desire for playing at the game of double-cross is more than matched by his impotence...The division of the world into two, and only two parts, is certainly a fact of the life of the power politicians. Make no mistake about it. This write-off of Europe dominates the thought of both Eisenhower and Khrushchev..." (N&L, Aug.-Sept., 1959).

Mitterrand's "socialism" does not even have the pull of DeGaulle, beset as he is by colonial rebellions in New Caledonia (see report on Kanak freedom movement, p.2) and the Caribbean, and mass worker and youth protests at home—the genuine "independent forces." Having lost the constituency that elected him, the week after Gorbachev left he returned full circle to his "socialism" of the 1950s, when he served as Minister of the Interior during the Algerian War. He revived the neo-fascist "11th Shock" regiment, disbanded in 1962 after collaboration with the OAS (Secret Army Organization) in attempts to kill DeGaulle, and gave it sole charge of France's top-secret "Action Division." He even named as its commander Colonel Lesquer, the organizer of the attack on the *Rainbow Warrior*.

## GORBACHEV'S RUSSIA: WORKER RESISTANCE

What about Russia's Gorbachev, whose proposals for "drastic cuts" in strategic arms have drawn such attention? He is the man Margaret Thatcher declared she could "do business" with. And yet what history has shown us, ever since World War II, when it became clear that Russia was a state-capitalist society, is that the one power that can do something about the massive nuclear arsenal controlled by the Kremlin lies within Russia and East Europe itself.

The continuing resistance by Russian workers to production speed-up may not often be able to take the form of open strikes. But their dissatisfaction with conditions in the shops and the standard of living as a whole finds a distorted mirror in government pronouncements. Thus, Gorbachev's general statements on increasing worker productivity of this spring were underlined last month when he lauded a group of Stakhanovists on the 50th anniversary of the date in 1935 when Alexis Stakhanov supposedly mined 103 tons of coal in six hours, launching Stalin's most notorious speed-up campaign. "The traditions of the Stakhanovist movement are not obsolete," Gorbachev said, "but correspond to the needs of our times." (*Le Monde* 9/23) It is still true that within Russia, low productivity is no sign of working class backwardness, but rather a measure of its underground resistance.

At the same time, Russia's most troublesome satellite has still not been brought to heel, nearly four years after Jaruzelski's imposition of martial law in Poland. There, some 40% of the eligible voters reportedly braved police state reprisals to boycott the Oct. 13 parliamentary elections. Zbigniew Bujak, leader of Solidarity's underground section, who has eluded police capture since martial law was declared, told reporters that Solidarity's underground now involves 75,000 directly, with another 200,000 volunteering time and money.

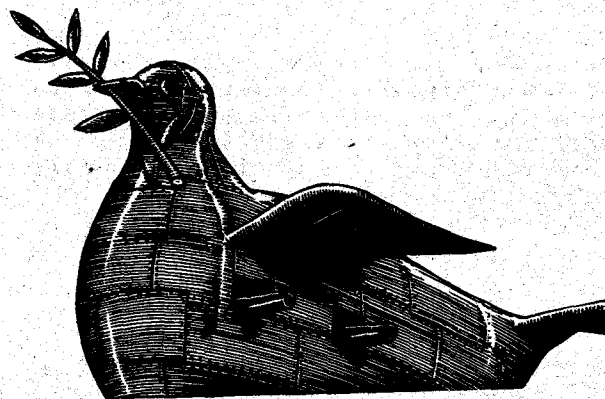
Nor is Poland the only trouble spot. So widespread are Moscow's headaches, that even Russia's most faithful Warsaw Pact ally, Bulgaria—the site of Gorbachev's "pre-summit" meeting with his bloc—has come in for harsh criticism. Russia's ambassador in Sofia lashed out at Bulgarian workers, accusing them of spending "too much time working on their personal plots of land," declaring that the "Bulgarian working class is not proletarianized enough," and charging that "costly machines are only functioning at 10% to 15% of their capacity."

## REAGANISM AT HOME AND ABROAD

Such attacks are all too familiar to American workers in the era of Reaganism, with its concessions agreements, its demands for ever-greater speed-up and its phony "new management-worker cooperation." Reagan's rhetoric speaks only of his "great prosperity," of how many have been added to the rolls of those working. What he never mentions are the eight million officially listed as unemployed, the additional six million underemployed or who have given up looking for work and

the fact that unemployment for millions in America today is permanent unemployment. Indeed, Reaganism has come to be synonymous with attacks on workers, Blacks, women and youth on all fronts.

In foreign policy, however, Reagan is supposedly riding high, having restored, he says, "confidence in America among our allies," through demonstrations of U.S. muscle. Defense Secretary Weinberger even concluded that the main value of the Geneva summit would be a chance for Russia "to see at first hand the kind of man the President is, the resolve that he has, the determination that he has that America will retain its military strength."



Yet a closer look at Reagan's latest show of "determination"—his use of F-14s to force down an unarmed Egyptian plane—reveals that, in Flora Lewis's words, "The victory was brief." "The aftermath," she says, "of the capture of the Achille Lauro hijackers is proving a lot trickier and perhaps more dangerous than the bold, successful military operation." (NY Times 10/18) The ramifications from that one act range from Italy to Egypt, Tunisia to Israel, Syria to Russia—most of them unfavorable to Reaganite foreign policies. It is clear that the U.S. has nothing going in the "Middle East peace process" when even Egypt's Mubarak, who gets more U.S. money than any other Arab ruler, can demand an apology from Reagan.

U.S. attempts to re-build its power in Asia, ongoing ever since its defeat in Vietnam, have met with little or no success. Even Pentagon planners concede that SEATO is a non-existent entity, and the site of the biggest U.S. military bases in the Far East, the Philippines, is in turmoil. Thus, Reagan's crony, Sen. Laxalt, was sent to Manila to meet with Marcos, hoping to convince him that the path to future stability lay in "reforms" that would restore the confidence of the Philippine bourgeoisie in the Marcos regime. What motivates such journeys is first and foremost the growing mass struggle against both Marcos and U.S. imperialism, with guerrilla forces now appearing virtually everywhere in the country—even on the perimeters of U.S.-leased Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base. Another factor lurking in the background, however, is the question mark now hanging over U.S. relations with China, where Gorbachev is interested in blocking the U.S. from ever being able to play a "China card."

Whether one looks at West Europe or the Middle East, Asia or Latin America, all Reagan's supposed great victories now appear very shaky. Far from having achieved the Nixon dream of "Pax Americana," the myriad meetings and trips these past weeks reflect both the undercurrents of revolt on every continent and the growing recognition from America's allies that Ronald Reagan double-crosses all, friends included.

Nowhere is his foreign policy more brutally exposed than in the continuing attempts to white-wash Botha's neo-fascist regime in South Africa, even as its execution of Black activist Benjamin Moloise aroused an outpouring of protest within South Africa and around the globe. Reagan would do well to remember that the spirit and passion of revolutions do not stop at national boundaries. Today's challenge by workers and youth within Black South Africa issues a call to those fighting for freedom and against war everywhere to uproot this capitalist society in all its forms—whether East or West, pretenders to power, client states or the behemoths themselves. Summit talk of peace, while building ever-newer weapons of war, is no way out. The only way out is with the forces fighting for human liberation within Gorbachev's Russian bloc, within, Reagan's "West." Their protests—in the streets of Britain's Black neighborhoods, in South Africa's townships, in Russia's factories or on U.S. picket lines—are reaching for the future in a way that no ruler ever can.

# EDITORIAL Reagan's reactionary agenda

The pernicious right-wing ideological bent that has characterized Ronald Reagan's five years in office has assured that almost every issue of human concern within America has faced the onslaught of his reactionary agenda. From civil rights and labor rights to health care and a woman's right to abortion, from Black people's joblessness and poverty to Hispanic people's attempt to retain their bilingual/bicultural identity, and from the huge increase in poverty among the very young to the astronomical increase in those without homes and without medical insurance—in all these areas and others, Reagan's reactionary racist agenda is now being imposed in quite ruthless and selective ways.

Protests against Reaganism, which have been occurring with greater frequency among workers, youth and women, are certain to increase under the impact of the following truths of Reaganism:

- A whole new generation of poor youths have now emerged in the United States. Close to 14 million youth, or 22% of Americans under the age of 18, live in poverty. This is up from 14% in 1970. An astounding 48% of all Black children live in poverty.

- The Reagan administration is once again trying to compel the Supreme Court to reverse its 1973 decision that women have a constitutional right to abortion. In two cases this term, the administration has intervened before the Court seeking to let states set up their own prohibitions against abortion.

- Reagan's Education Secretary, William Bennett, has launched a campaign against bilingual education, calling for changes in the Bilingual Education Act so that all emphasis would be placed on "learning English" while the student's native language and cultural traditions would fall by the wayside.

- By appointing right-wingers, Reagan has transformed the United States Commission on Civil Rights into an ideological mouthpiece for his racist view. The very small gains Black and women workers made under affirmative action programs are under attack through the administration's intervention in cases before the Supreme Court on seniority rights vs. minority rights. The latest figures for Black unemployment, more than double those of white unemployment, speak to the malignant neglect of the Reagan administration to problems of Black America.

- The National Labor Relations Board has been turned into an advocate of the most reactionary anti-labor sectors of American capitalism. Where they do not render outright anti-labor decisions, they so entrap the appeal procedure in a bureaucratic morass that years pass before union elections can be held, or labor grievances granted a hearing and a decision.

- Health care for the poor has become an impossible nightmare, with death often the result, for some of the 35 million uninsured poor in America. This represents an increase of some six million uninsured poor and near-poor not covered by Medicaid since 1969.

- With the Reagan administration's refusal to provide federal aid to build low-income housing, there has been a dramatic rise in the number of homeless people in the most recent period. Tens of thousands will be without shelter this winter.

- The White House Office of Management and Budget has for more than a year blocked a measure to protect the public from one of the most dangerous of compounds, asbestos, which causes cancer and asbestosis. At the same time the Department of Interior's Office of Surface Mining has allowed close to 6,000 strip mines to avoid any environmental regulation, and has not collected some \$200 million in fines imposed on other violators.

This list showing the Reaganite ideological stamp upon the life and labor of the American people is, of course, no complete catalog of the horrors he has perpetrated. Whether in the workplace, the schools, the environment, not to mention the arts, Reagan is determined to impose his single-minded ideological will.

America has, of course, long been a country of two worlds, as is all of capitalist class society, East or West. The new of Reagan is that this characteristic has now become an open wound of oppressed and oppressor. Reagan has been waging his battle, and not by ideology alone. The key for the next period is not so much the suffocating character of Reaganism, but rather how the battle will be joined, by the second world within America. New stirrings have recently been seen, in the shops, on the campuses or in the streets. The full joining of the battle remains the task in the period ahead.

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## YOUTH

## Participating in divestment: a Marxist-Humanist view

By Ida Fuller, youth columnist

In this intense month of anti-apartheid protests across the country, News & Letters youth committees have been involved in numerous activities. (See stories on pages 1, 8, 11.)

What is evident in all is that the South African reality is not alone over there, but has a dimension here at home. I could feel this sharply right here at the University of Illinois at Chicago campus, where several days after we protested at the Board of Trustees meeting for divestment of all funds in businesses that invest in South Africa, five activists from our campus divestment coalition were arrested. It tells much about the right-wing atmosphere that the Reagan Administration and its supporters are trying to create on American university campuses.

It was, in fact, to fight this kind of atmosphere and to create a quite different, revolutionary one, that we as Marxist-Humanist youth have been participating in divestment activities. The outrageous act of the arrests sparked a press conference of the arrested students, which was joined by young divestment activists from other universities in the area. However, the issue at the press conference still kept within the narrow confines of divestment and the need to develop "strategies."

### FORUM ON TWO-WAY ROAD

It was because we as Marxist-Humanists were determined to create a very different ground for our response—both on South Africa and on the need for fundamental social change here—that during the anti-apartheid week activities we decided to sponsor a panel discussion not on divestment, but on the "Two-way road of freedom struggles and ideas between Africa and the U.S.," with two speakers who represented that two-way road: Professor Thamsanga Sithole, a South African Zulu activist, and Lou Turner, "Black World" columnist for News & Letters.

Professor Sithole began speaking to us in Zulu because he wanted us to know that solidarity with South Africa means learning a new language: that of the creative nature of the Black mind. Throughout his talk on the freedom struggle in South Africa in the 20th century, what came out sharply was the "never-ending fight of Africans," the creativity of youth, and their Black Consciousness as the search for a philosophy of freedom.

Lou Turner spoke on the impact of the freedom thought of such thinkers as Steven Biko and Frantz Fanon, not only on Africa, but on America, and how Marxist-Humanism had singled out their thought as crucial to the new stage of struggle unfolding today. As one Black student from the full-room audience expressed it: "the very idea of this panel, 'the two-way road,' was enough to bring me here."

### CLEARING OUR HEADS

In fact, it was precisely because in that week of various direct activities we felt it most urgent to clear our own heads about what we are fighting for that in the midst of participation in South African support activities, we sponsored a lecture on Raya Dunayevskaya's *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* by Olga Domanski, the National Organizer of News and Letters Committees.

Domanski began by quoting from a chapter on South Africa which sounded quite todayish even though it had been written 25 years ago, and then took us on a journey through the whole book to show that there is not a single question facing the movement that is not addressed, precisely because this book, in continuity with Marx, "is about a multi-dimensional dialectical view and a never-ending search for new pathways to a total uprooting."

So serious was the interest of the audience in this topic that the first questions they asked were: "What is the relationship of Marxism and Humanism, and Marxism and feminism?" "What is the difference between an unfinished and a 'finished' revolution?"

### Youth and the Dialectics of Revolution

A News & Letters Youth pamphlet

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- In-person reports of anti-apartheid and anti-militarist protests

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Even more exciting to the audience was the way Domanski answered those questions. Thus in response to the last one, she took us through a journey of discovery from the Paris Commune of Marx's time to the Russian Revolution of 1917, to Cuba, Iran and today's Nicaragua to show that "it is not that you do not face hardships in a revolution, it is that you do not muddy the vision of revolution...It is when you take backward steps and claim that that is 'socialism' when the counter-revolution comes from within the revolution that more damage is done."

Now we could understand why Domanski had begun her talk by emphasizing that it was today's spirit of activism, because Spirit to Marxist-Humanism meant Mind that set the tone of her discussion of *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*. It is that idea of becoming thinker-activists that the youth audience was interested in making real.

## Ky. youth fight low pay jobs, unemployment

Lexington, Ky.—I recently returned from a trip back to my home in Kentucky, and what I saw there shocked and angered me.

The evening I arrived, I watched the TV news and heard the "good" news that the official unemployment rate was "down" to 7%. This was supposedly the sign of good times "just around the corner" (no apologies to Herbert Hoover). It was obvious to me that this talk of economic recovery was a blatant lie.

Almost no one I knew had a job. Those who did were working for low pay under horrible conditions: for minimum wage at McDonald's; as a 24-hour live-in aid for an elderly woman, at \$40 a day; in a headlight factory.

My hometown of Covington, Ky. (basically southern Cincinnati) has died. The downtown has the appearance of emptiness, with at least half of the shops closed. In the neighborhoods, at least one of every three houses is for sale. Everybody I talked to asked me the same question before they talked about anything else: if they could get there, was there work in California?

I went to the Cincinnati unemployment office and talked there with laid-off young workers. One man spoke of the degradation of the process of applying for unemployment, and said, "Now I'm getting only half of what my wages were, and that was barely enough to live on before."

At a party of some friends, the conversation quickly turned to working conditions when they heard that I was with News & Letters, a labor paper. One 18-year-old woman described her job making headlights:

"I work on the assembly line and make \$3.35 an hour. The filth is hard to believe, with dust in the air and no ventilation fans; there is grease and oil all over the floor. The heat is incredible. In the Ohio Valley, 90% humidity is the rule in the summer, with temperatures in the factory well over 95 degrees.

"The boss is now trying to raise production 20%, so he's got this fascist supervisor running around pushing us to the point of exhaustion. Half the time on my breaks or at lunchtime I just sit down and don't move. When I get home I have to rest for an hour or more."

She had read News & Letters before and decided to buy a subscription from me because, she said, the paper was trying to "get rid of this type of conditions, and work out something completely different."

It's that effort to "work out something completely different" that I discussed with everyone I met. Another young woman who subscribes to News & Letters is now in school, but told me that she can't see a future for herself once she graduates. There are no jobs except restaurant work or being a clerk. She bought the new Marxist-Humanist book *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* because the idea expressed in the subtitle, *Reaching for the Future*, meant so much to her.

—Gary Clark

## Wayne State editor fired

(continued from page 1)

ads, recognition of a way to oppose Reaganism had been expressed in many ways.

One Black student at the speakout who got involved in the issue said, "She didn't just write an editorial, but she took action. She took action that would involve more students." And a South End student journalist said, "This is not just a local issue, we have received calls from the Univ. of Missouri, the Univ. of Texas and the Univ. of California."

This sentiment was also repeated after Maceroni changed her stance, when one student summed-up October's support action: "The whole thought of support wasn't over any person per se, but for an editor to ban military ads."

## Anti-Bush protest at Mich.



Ann Arbor, Mich.—When Vice-President George Bush came to the University of Michigan Oct. 7 to commemorate 25 years of the Peace Corps, 5,000 protesters shouted their outrage that he claimed to stand for peace. Bush, standing on the same Michigan Union steps where John Kennedy had proposed the Peace Corps in 1960, faced a sea of angry students.

"I couldn't hear a word he said because we were shouting," one student said. "Some people were for him, but the rest of us shouted, 'U.S. out of El Salvador!' 'Embargo South Africa, not Nicaragua!' and other things."

The growing resistance to Reaganism at the University of Michigan has been accompanied by formal and informal discussions on how to organize. The Latin America Solidarity Committee grew this year from a very small group to one drawing up to 150 students to meetings.

At a recent meeting, some members proposed that just a few people plan actions for the group. Others insisted that everyone participate fully. As one member said later, "At meetings only a few people seem to go the talking. And the discussion is all on when is the next civil disobedience. I'd like to have a teach-in or something."

Yet an educational forum on Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) research held Oct. 4 showed that a forum or teach-in cannot automatically answer organizational questions. This forum, held by Campuses Against War in Space, drew over 2,000 students. Six "experts" spoke, including three SDI and Reagan supporters and three SDI opponents, including Michio Kaku, a physicist who declared that Reagan's Star Wars "defense" is in reality doublespeak for the most treacherous first strike weapons system yet. His words of opposition were met with a standing ovation.

Some students there, while excited at the turnout, wondered about the merit of giving the floor to spokespeople for Reagan, whose views are known.

No doubt opposition to every aspect of Reagan's militarism will continue. Indeed, 300 students demonstrated on Oct. 11, the international day of solidarity with South African freedom fighters. Yet in between these protests students are asking many hard questions about developing a movement that isn't just anti-Reagan, but can truly express our ideas about changing society.

—Laurie Cashdan

## Youth in Revolt

"It was so much racism on the post that I felt the only two options I had were to kill myself or to go AWOL (Absent Without Leave)," said Pedro Dunagan, the latest in a series of Black and Latino soldiers who found racism in the U.S. Army so oppressive that they contemplated or actually committed suicide. Dunagan, and several others who fled the Army and are facing court-martial, have organized the Afro-Latino Equality and Justice Committee with the help of other veterans to demand action on the situation.

Outraged Du Sable High School students and their parents compelled the Chicago Board of Education not to give in to the demands of anti-abortionists to shut down a health clinic that dispenses birth control devices. They are now battling the Chicago City Council's move to take money away from the clinic.

Fearful of a new stage of student activism being born, the right wing has set up a corporation called Accuracy in Academia, Inc., headed by a retired government official. Their aim is to "report on" leftist professors and those who do not toe the Reaganite line. Their first targets are well-known academic Marxists like Bertell Ollman.

On Oct. 21, hundreds of people from around the Midwest took part in a "Shut down the arsenal" protest at the Rock Island Arsenal near Rock Island, Ill., the Army's largest weapons factory. Eighty-eight were arrested trying to blockade the arsenal. The arsenal is the army's largest conventional weapons factory.

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Filipinos by the tens of thousands rallied, marched and organized "people's general strikes" to mark the infamous anniversary of Ferdinand Marcos' imposition of martial law in September 1972. Students took over streets in Manila near the presidential palace, burning effigies of Marcos and Reagan and protesting a government plan to legislate required courses in "patriotism." Anti-government marches and strikes took place in Cebu, Davao, Bacolod and many other cities, the central demand being an immediate end to the U.S.-supported Marcos dictatorship.

The most significant confrontation happened in Escalante, on Negros Island, when demonstrators on Sept. 19 organized a human barricade in front of the town hall as part of a two-day general strike. Local police initially agreed not to intervene, but on the second day forces from local paramilitary units, funded in part by Negros sugar cane barons, joined the police and moved to break the strike barricade of 4,000 people.

They could not dislodge the mostly youthful protesters with water hoses, and when the water ran out and the crowd cheered, the police began firing tear gas. One woman—a leader in a local Christian youth organization—picked up a tear gas canister and threw it back at the police. In an instant she was shot and killed. Suddenly, the po-

## Philippine masses fight Marcos and Reagan

lice and private soldiers opened fire. When the shooting finally stopped, at least 27 demonstrators lay dead.

The protest and slaughter in Escalante is a measure of the depth of the crisis facing the Marcos dictatorship. Sugar production on Negros was once a mainstay of the Philippine economy. But the sugar industry and the semifeudal conditions of life and labor of the sugar workers are now disintegrating. Part of the sugar decline stems from its price collapse in the world capitalist market, and part from the rampant corruption among the sugar growers' monopoly organized in 1974, under Marcos' patronage after he declared martial law.

Most small cane farmers have been forced out, and half of Negros' workforce of cane cutters and mill workers are permanently unemployed. They and their families are facing literal starvation; the government showed its concern by portioning out spoiled rice. Those still at work on the large sugar haciendas make about 60¢ a day. Union organizing among cane workers has gained in strength, as has support for the indigenous guerrilla forces of the New People's Army. The response of the big sugar growers has been to form private armies.

Marcos' answer to his opposition has always been military force. But beginning with the assassination of Benigno Aquino in 1983, even Marcos would appear to have overreached himself. He has since engineered a

phony trial of Aquino's killers which has absolved the military, especially his former chauffeur, General Ver, of any guilt.

However, there is a marked difference between the anti-Marcos protests two years ago and those this September. Now the mass opposition is coalescing much deeper human forces of Filipino society, including rural as well as urban workers, the unemployed, and youth. The middle class opponents of Marcos who hoped to find an opening for reform in the wake of outrage over Aquino's murder have largely been displaced by a movement for more fundamental change. Supporters of Aquino led a march in Manila separate from the more massive protests which Bayan, the non-electoral left coalition formed last May, helped to organize nationwide.

The different voice of the September protests was lost on no one—except perhaps Marcos. His increasing isolation even within his own ruling circle has certainly not been lost on Reagan, whose overriding "interests" are always counter-revolution, and in the Philippines are not limited to the two enormous U.S. military bases there.

Whatever Reagan's plans for U.S. imperialism's reach in the Philippines (and some in his administration have been covering all bets by floating references to Guantanamo naval base, which the U.S. held on to after the Cuban Revolution), the Filipino people have their own message: nothing less than fundamental social change.

### Defiant Korean students

South Korean students scorned the renewed crackdown on their movement and took their demands for an end to General Chun Doo Hwan's military dictatorship to the streets. Chun has renewed the repression against the students along with professors, elementary and secondary teachers, labor activists, artists—any and all dissidents. That did not stop students from battling police in October at the showcase World Bank/IMF meeting in Seoul.

Chun has reserved the most insidious program—the Campus Stabilization Law—for the outspoken students. This proposed legislation calls for internment in "re-orientation and re-education" centers for anyone charged as "Communist subversives."

The Chun regime has already imposed severe sentences on the students who took part in the peaceful sit-in last May in the U.S. Information Agency library. The prosecution zeroed in on Ham Un Kyong, a student at Seoul National University, who took part in the occupation. He was dealt seven years imprisonment under the National Security Law, which previously had been reserved for alleged North Korean agents.

But throughout the kangaroo court proceedings, the students held fast to the original focus of the May occupation. One student shouted, "We cannot accept this trial so long as the perpetrators of the massacre in Kwangju are not first brought to justice."

The students had occupied the USIA library to call public attention to the U.S. approval of the use of South Korean soldiers in the bloody suppression of the Kwangju uprising in 1980, through

which General Chun came to power. The students' parents continued the resistance throughout the lopsided court proceedings by singing protest songs during the court recesses: "We thirst for freedom...We dream of freedom...Don't grieve, sons and daughters, you are children of fighters."

### Bolivia: state of siege

27,000 Bolivian miners called off their strike at the beginning of October. Thousands of other workers, their families and supporters also ended a two-week mass hunger strike. The "active resistance" called for by the Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) ended after Pres. Paz Estenssoro agreed to talks with COB over features but not "objectives" of his austerity program.

The current wage freeze is sending many workers to starvation under Bolivia's runaway inflation. The government also began releasing hundreds of union leaders from internal exile, begun during the military state of siege imposed against the longest general strike in Bolivia's history.

Now a political state of siege has set in. Shortly after the miners ended their strike, the governing MNR party announced an agreement to share power with General "Butcher" Banzer's right-wing ADN party, which supported the government in calling the military state of siege. When Paz Estenssoro first put his "new political economy" into effect in August, he proposed a "social truce" of workers, the state, and private enterprises. But as Juan Lechin, leader of COB, said before the general strike, "it isn't possible to reconcile the interests of these three groups." That truth remains.

### Solidarity marches in Chile vs. Pinochet



Workers and students held marches throughout Chile in early October to demand the release of union and student leaders and community activists imprisoned by the Pinochet regime after September's wave of anti-government demonstrations. The largest march took place from Chuquicamata to Calama, where 8,000 miners and their families were joined by students from Santiago in calling for the release of Rodolfo Seguel, head of the miners union and the National Workers Command, and 23 other union leaders.

### Dutch anti-nuke

The Dutch government of conservative Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers last month announced its intention to approve the planned deployment of 48 cruise missiles at Woensdrecht air base in 1988, under a five-year treaty with the U.S. The deployment still has to be approved by the Dutch Parliament.

On Oct. 13, a small contingent of 100 demonstrators had gone to the air base where missiles are to be installed; some tried to gain entry by cutting holes in the fence and they were arrested.

An anti-cruise petition signed by several million Dutch citizens was handed over to Lubbers on Oct. 26.

The anti-nuclear movement in Holland until now kept the Dutch government from giving a go-ahead to deployment, long after cruise missiles had been rolled into other West European countries.

### W. German anti-Nazis

When Frankfurt police killed anti-Nazi protester Gunter Sare, this outrage brought hundreds of demonstrators into the streets to battle police in 16 cities. Sare was run over by a police water cannon truck while he and 700 other protesters were trying to stop the neo-Nazi National Party of Germany (NPD) from meeting in Frankfurt. The bourgeois courts had given the neo-Nazis massive police protection, but youth were determined to stop it.

Since Sare's death, more established groups such as the Green Party have sharply attacked the SPD and the Christian Democrats for Sare's death. Thousands of people came out on Oct. 9 for Sare's funeral in Frankfurt, turning it into a massive anti-Nazi and anti-government protest.

### Yugoslav Marxists

The fight by this land's independent Marxist intellectuals, many of them Marxist-Humanists, against the Communist authorities continues to develop new elements. Thus, a year after six dissident intellectual activists were put on trial, and three convicted, not one has actually had to serve time.

Once again, in October, the carrying out of the sentence was delayed for three months. After a widely circulated petition by a group of "friends of the convicted men," and their promise that all six would start a hunger strike the day any started to serve their sentences, the supreme court granted them a delay for several months. The two who have been sentenced are Milan Nikolic and Miodrag Milic.

In spring, the national meeting of the Writers' Union had taken the offensive against "dogmatism," "repression" of literary and political writing, and the new political trials. More recently, even National Assembly members from Slovenia have called for the revision of Article 133 of the Constitution which, in pure Stalinist terms, forbids "hostile propaganda" against state-capitalism.

### Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear armed world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. We organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead." The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today, is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

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