

Editorials

Stop Reagan's ominous attacks in Persian Gulf!

Ronald Reagan's naval intrusion into the Persian Gulf, highlighted by his attack on two Iranian oil installations there on Oct. 19, is the most ominous event to occur in this nuclear world this year.

In sending four destroyers to hurl no less than 1,000 5-inch shells at two Iranian oil platforms (in retaliation for an Iranian attack on a U.S.-flagged Kuwaiti tanker), Reagan has made the U.S. a direct participant in the seven-year-old Iran-Iraq War. His arrogant, imperial action has set the stage for more military confrontations between the U.S. and Iran, heightening the perilous nature of today's changed world that emerged with his attacks on Libya in March and April of 1986.

Nothing can sow more illusions than to follow Reagan, the Congress, and the press in considering the bombardment a "mild reaction" to Iran's constant attacks on shipping in the Persian Gulf. The Persian Gulf today is a tinderbox of armed powers large and small, with the reactionary regimes of Khomeini's Iran and Hussein's Iraq locked in deadly combat, while a U.S. armada of dozens of ships and some 25,000 troops lurk in the vicinity offshore. In fanning this tinderbox with his attack of Oct. 19, Reagan has once again shown that he is determined not to leave office before he, as commander-in-chief, presides over an actual war.

What is just as shocking as the event itself is the fact that the U.S. press has paid little attention to the attack, as if it were of secondary importance to the news of the collapse of stock prices on Wall Street, which occurred the same day. Both television and press coverage of the attack were almost nil, with hardly a murmur of disapproval heard. Within 48 hours of the attack, news on the Persian Gulf vanished from the front pages of the major dailies.

The deafening silence on the part of the capitalist press is not alone due to the fact that "in general" they are mouthpieces of the ruling class. It is also that so ingrained in their very consciousness has Reagan's counter-revolution of the last seven years become, that they are unable to recognize a new and dangerous turn in the objective situation.

In fact, what we are witnessing on Reagan's part is (continued on page 9)

Stock market crisis rooted in production crisis

The 500-point plus fall in the Dow Jones Industrial Average has put a sharp end to the grand illusion that Reaganomics has given five years of uninterrupted growth. Instead the American economy has been shown to be the most artificial of prosperities, financed by: 1) a \$150-\$200 billion annual budget deficit which has translated into a decade of a declining standard of living for the American worker, including outright pauperization for hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, in this "richest land on earth." 2) An absolute dependence on attracting foreign capital, Japanese especially, to finance this budget deficit as the trade deficit continues to grow.

Indeed, as Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in our Draft Perspectives in July 1986: "The basis of the economy of the most powerful imperialist land, the U.S., is that it is now a debtor nation. The global ramifications of that fact, as well as its implications at home, have not been seriously dealt with." It is these implications which have now come front and center.

In explaining what happened to the \$500 billion "loss" in the stock market, New York Times economist-reporter Leonard Silk wrote: "In a certain sense the wealth never existed. It was an entry on a computer tape, a mark in a ledger, a dream in the back of a mind." One investor remarked, "They can't stop the selling once it gets going, it's just computers selling to computers." But exposing that the "great American prosperity" of the Reagan era has been built on computerized stock market and false super-profiteering through mergers, does not get either to the very real damage that may be done to the working people of America by this plunge, or to the fundamental contradictions of a value-producing capitalist economy, whether in private or state-capitalist form.

Millions upon millions of American workers have their pensions tied into investment funds with bil- (continued on page 4)

South Africa: new stage of repression; new stage of trade union struggle



—News & Letters photo direct from South Africa.

Men and women of Thomas Bandag Co. demand their jobs back after being fired during a strike.

by Lou Turner

The trial of the militant General Secretary of the newly-formed, 140,000 strong, National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), Moses Mayekiso, for treason—a charge that carries the penalty of death—was due to start Oct. 19 in Johannesburg. Mayekiso's treason trial in many respects illuminates the latest developments in the irrepressible struggle that is ongoing beneath the cloak of press censorship that the Botha regime has thrown over South Africa, and which the West all too easily acquiesces to. That censorship conceals the despotic military apparatus that has been installed at every level of state and society to carry out Botha's "total strategy."

Into the vacuum left by the brutal suppression of the political and youth organizations in the past year has stepped a politicized trade union movement, led by such revolutionary labor leaders as Moses Mayekiso. Indeed, the draconian imprisonment of Mayekiso stems not only from his trade union activities but as well from his political organizing as a trade unionist with the Alexandra

Action Committee in forming self-governing structures among residents in "Alex" (Alexandra Township).

POLITICAL STAGE OF TRADE UNIONS

The ever-deepening Black mass upsurge which has reached a new political stage within the powerful Black trade union movement parallels a corresponding new stage in Botha's drive to install a fully militarized state apparatus, innocuously called the National Security Management Service, headed by his State Security Council.

The Botha regime believed its crisis-ridden economy had gained a breathing space with the state's brutal repression of the township rebellions of 1984-86 and the mass detention of political activists. Then in August and September it was rocked by the largest and costliest mineworkers' strike in South African history. The inescapable fact that white South Africa now realizes, is that its economy is more dependent than ever on a Black labor force that is increasingly revolutionary.

With gold accounting for 60% of South Africa's export earnings, which represents two-thirds of the West's gold reserves, the mineworkers' strike cost the goldmining industry \$7.5 million a day—a fact that even the recent stock market crash could not ameliorate. However, even before the mineworkers' strike, four times as many work days had been lost to South African corporations due to strikes in 1987—the year of sanctions—than in the previous year.

In recent weeks, News & Letters has received report after report direct from South Africa on spontaneous, as well as official strikes throughout the country. In one of them our South African correspondent writes:

"Four hundred workers at the Vaal Transport Corporation (VTC), members of the Transport and Allied Workers Union (TAWU) went on strike because they were being made to pay busfare on VTC buses to work. They also have not been receiving their leave pay. Thousands of commuters in the Vaal Triangle near Johannesburg were left without transport to work. A shop-steward and many other workers were injured when the police were called in to 'remove' the workers from the company's premises. Police moved in with dogs and rubber truncheons. The arrested workers had to pay a fine of R20 (\$11). The dispute continues. The latest is that 2,000 workers, members of TAWU, went on strike because management decided to get rid of 297 workers."

The overwhelming reactionary mandate that South Africa's white electorate gave the Botha regime in last May's elections empowered it to suppress such spontaneous developments. In reality, the May elections only (continued on page 9)

Starvation is now a full-time job



by John Marcotte

How come with all the "good" news about unemployment being its lowest in eight years—officially 5.9%—we just haven't seen all that good news in our daily lives?

The gap between the official economic news and real life has never seemed so far apart. But then, there are other numbers behind that "magic" 5.9%.

Reagan boasts there are 12 million more jobs than when he took office. But of these new jobs, fully ten million are in services: retail, restaurant and food, maintenance, cashier and clerical, hospital attendant. A third of these are in retail, where the average wage is \$4.39 an hour. Minimum wage jobs have increased by 2.7 million since 1981. Manufacturing, which pays better, has permanently lost two million jobs in the Reagan years.

MINIMUM BECOMES NORMAL

So, of 118 million Americans counted as working, 18.5 million earn less than \$4.40, what the minimum would be if it had kept up with inflation since 1981. The official poverty rate for a family of three is \$9,044 a year. That's \$2,000 more than you'd make at \$3.35 an hour, 40 hours a week, 52 weeks a year, if you could get work that steady. Over 40% of American workers make less than \$11,000 a year. That's 40% of American workers working hard, damn hard, and nothing to show for it but poverty!

Yet there's all this opposition in Congress against raising the minimum to \$3.85 by 1988. They're yelling bloody murder, saying it'll ruin the economy. When GM (continued on page 3)

On the Inside

Raya Dunayevskaya on emergence of Marx's Humanism in the post-World War II world p. 4
Burying Marx's American roots p. 9
Youth protests p. 11

Women and the 1917 Russian Revolution

by Terry Moon

November 1987 is the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The fact that this, the only successful proletarian revolution, became transformed into its opposite—a state-capitalist country where workers, women and minorities are all oppressed—does not take away from what it is that the Russian Revolution did achieve.

That we want a revolution today made me turn to Raya Dunayevskaya's work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, specifically the chapter "The Task That Remains to be Done." There she focuses on "the two



A demonstration of women laundry workers in May or June of 1917. They are marching in Petrograd along the Nevsky Prospekt as one contingent in a huge demonstration.

pivotal questions of the day; and, I might add, questions of tomorrow, because we are not going to have a successful revolution unless we do answer them. They are, first, the totality and the depth of the necessary uprooting of this exploitative, sexist, racist society. Second, the dual rhythm of revolution: not just the overthrow of the old, but the creation of the new; not just the reorganization of objective, material foundations but the release of subjective personal freedom, creativity, and talents. In a word, there must be such appreciation of the movement from below, from practice, that we never again let theory and practice get separated." (p. 108)

You can see that dual rhythm of revolution when you look at Russia, March and November 1917. March 8, International Women's Day, reveals women as masses in motion for freedom demanding a total uprooting of Tsarist Russia. It was then that the women textile workers of the Vyborg district against the advice of all the parties, went out on strike instead of only holding a meeting. That strike sparked the beginning of the Revolution.

WOMEN IN NOVEMBER 1917

By November 1917 women made up almost one-half of the labor force. Women leaders, like Alexandra Kollontai, were so anxious to build an independent socialist women's liberation movement that they proposed the first All Russian Congress of Women to begin only five days after the Bolsheviks planned on taking power. The complexities of the Revolution postponed that meeting until the next year, when 1,000 women, mostly workers and peasants, jammed into the hall where only 300 had been expected. By 1919 women had formed the Zhenotdel (women's section or department).

While the Party men, except for Lenin, wanted to confine the role of Zhenotdel to bringing women into the Party, the women wanted it to do much more and do it autonomously. And so it did.

Richard Stites, in his comprehensive work, *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia*, quotes women of Central Asia speaking of their lives to Zhenotdel workers: "Our fathers sold us at the age of ten, even younger. Our husband would beat us with a stick and whip us when he felt like it.... Our daughters, a joy to us and a help around the house, he sold just as we had been sold." In spite of the men's violent reaction to Zhenotdel—including the murder of over 300 women in three months—"each May Day or International Women's Day, thousands of women would assemble in the market places of 'eastern' Soviet lands and defiantly tear off their chadras, paranjas and veils."*

The hostility to Zhenotdel was not limited to men outside the party whose wives and daughters began demanding freedom. After Lenin's death, Stalin and others moved as fast as they could to destroy it. The destruction of Zhenotdel—the attempt to destroy women's fight for full freedom—was not separated from the destruction of the revolution as a whole. By 1930 Zhenotdel

was dissolved; that same year the official slogan for International Women's Day became "100% Collectivization."

WHAT HAPPENS AFTER REVOLUTION?

Gorbachev's slogan is not "collectivization"; it is more and more production. Fundamentally, little has changed since Stalin dismantled the revolution—including Gorbachev's much touted "glasnost." In Russia-controlled Poland women textile workers in Lodz work a three-shift system in obsolete, poorly ventilated factories. In Russia working women spend more than 20 hours a week standing in endless lines to feed and clothe a family of four. As for the women in Central Asia, 30 women burned themselves to death in the last three years protesting "gross violations of their humanity." (See October, 1987 News & Letters.)

When we look at the Russian Revolution with eyes of today's world we see that women were integral to revolution. We see as well that despite their deep and creative activity, the Russian Revolution was transformed into its opposite. We certainly have a continuity with the women of 70 years ago. We also have what they did not: the experience of a successful revolution transformed into its opposite. What happens after the revolution is indeed what we want to be working out now today.



Workers, most of them women, protested their firing from a Blacks-only hospital in Johannesburg, South Africa, Oct. 2, for their participation in a pay strike—part of a wave of strikes across the country in the battle against the government's apartheid system. They wore T-shirts saying "An injury to one. An injury to all."

"Last hired, first fired" has cut the number of women miners from 3,874 to 2,000 in the 14 years since their persistent demands and legal struggles finally got them into the mines. Coal companies are still fighting to keep them down and out, as an imminent decision from the West Virginia Supreme Court will decide whether to overturn that state's Human Rights Commission ruling awarding a promotion to a woman miner. If the promotion is upheld, it will be the first court victory for women miners on the issue of promotions.

The first General Assembly of Women for Caribbean Liberation is being planned for International Women's Week 1988 by the newly-formed Women for Caribbean Liberation. Made up of women from Puerto Rico, Haiti, Belize, Panama, Jamaica, Antigua, Dominica, St. Lucia, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Suriname, Guyana and the Caribbean in North America, the group supports not only their own freedom struggles but also pledged solidarity with "the women of Nicaragua defending their independence against U.S.-backed contra forces, and the women of South Africa struggling to end the anti-human system of apartheid."

—Information from *Woman Speak!*

Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on the Russian Revolution include women's thought and activity:

From *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*:

The death of Natalia Sedova Trotsky marks the end of the generation that achieved the greatest, and only successful, proletarian revolution in history—the Russian Revolution in 1917...

(In 1961 Natalia Trotsky) hit out against both Khrushchev and Mao...She rose to her full stature and declared both countries (Russia and China) state-capitalist, warning that all "de-Stalinization will prove to be a trap if it doesn't lead to the seizure of power by the proletariat, and the dissolution of the police institutions, political, military, and economic..."

From *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*:

The greatest of all events were the March and November 1917 Russian Revolutions. We saw in the last chapter how very conscious (Rosa) Luxemburg was of those revolutions and how totally she practiced the principles of proletarian revolution in her call for the revolution in Germany. However, the last chapter did not describe in any detail the March Revolution, which was initiated by women...on International Women's Day, against the advice of all tendencies...Those five days that toppled the mighty empire demonstrate that it is never just a question of leaders, no matter how great. Rather, it is masses in motion.

Both books for \$20—save \$7.

Order from: News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707 Chicago, IL 60605

Indian women to meet

Bihar, India—Greetings from Bihar. For the next five months I am going to work on the preparation of the national women's conference that will be held in February 1988 in Patna, Bihar. I will go around to different women's groups so that the greatest possible number of South Bihar tribal women can participate. The topics for the conference are Women and Work, Women and Violence, Women and Land, and Man-Woman Relations.

In one of the meetings I attended I felt rather discouraged because most of the feminists in India want to adopt a common civil code for women against the Hindu law, Muslim law, etc. But the women from this particular group were strong in their desire to keep their own tribal customary laws. They fear that by adopting the common civil code, their own tribal identity is threatened and they will be washed away.

Though I support the movement of indigenous people that is picking up in this area, sometimes I feel that can become a refuge for many traditional and fundamentalist forces. There is a real tension between their search for identity and the urge for women's liberation.

In a nearby village women are very eager to get organized and are very vocal. The day I reached there, a woman had been accused of being a witch. In this area, they don't kill such women as they do in the Lonjo area, but they demand a big amount of money from them. This happens very often with the result that they have to sell their fields to pay the money.

There is the terrible problem of drought in many areas of the country and Rajiv Gandhi, the prime minister, is coming on the TV daily to tell people that there is nothing to be worried about, we have plenty of grain to "face the situation." But the poor people know very well that the grain will not reach them.

—Correspondent, Bihar



News & Letters photo

Over 1,000 demonstrators participated in a lively "Stop Bork Rally" on Oct. 6 in downtown Chicago. One sign read "Stop Bork! Fascism is close enough!" and people yelled, "Stop Bork! Dump Bork! Fork Bork!"



WRITE ON!

Kitchen Table: Women of Color Press, issued three pamphlets in 1986, all part of a group called "Freedom Organizing Series": The Combahee River Collective Statement: Black Feminist Organizing in the Seventies and Eighties; and two by Audre Lorde, I am Your Sister: Black Women Organizing Across Sexualities and Apartheid U.S.A. with a part two by Merle Woo.

The Combahee Statement is the most familiar to the women's liberation movement and was originally written in 1977. Its 1986 forward by Barbara Smith takes up the Statement's decade-long history and why they republished it today. The most recent demand for it came out of the 1985 "Decade for Women" UN Conference held in Nairobi, Kenya.

The Statement takes up a range of ideas in Black Feminism: "We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in Black women's lives as are the politics of class and race." They state they are socialists, yet the question remains: has there been a dialogue on their assertion that Marx's theory needs to be "extended further"?

Audre Lorde's speech, given in 1985, on Black Women Organizing, is on homophobia and heterosexism among Black women and men and her involvement in the movement from the 1960s to today.

Her essay *Apartheid U.S.A.* confronts racist oppression in South Africa and the U.S. Although Black consciousness is taken up, Lorde deals mostly with recent racist attacks under Reaganism in the U.S.

All three pamphlets are part of a "Freedom Organizing Series." But if organizing is the key question, why is the statement by Merle Woo of the Freedom Socialist Party, "Our Common Enemy, Our Common Cause," left to be seen as the organizational document for these works? Although Woo's essay tried to have a nationwide scope, I found it to be the most distant and remote in relation to Black women's lives.

Woo concludes: "As feminist educators, we've got to forge the link between women's issues and the other mass movements. We must build toward creating a bona fide socialist society... so that we can truly begin to impart knowledge and skills that will help students..." The pamphlets are creative, but Woo's statement has little to do with Black women as self-developing, thinking revolutionary subjects on campuses today.

—Diane Lee

* *The Women's Liberation Movement in Russia* by Richard Stites (p. 339-349).

OSHA leaves, killer asbestos stays

Los Angeles, Cal.—At the roofing tile production plant where I work, the earthquake has given the company the excuse to make some long-needed repairs, spending a little money with the approval of the corporate office in Tampa. Still the company has to stay within its "low budget/high productivity mode" to keep the gates open and to give us "job security." That is a joke.

There is no job security when workers are being poisoned every day because of bold abuse of workers' health and safety. A few days after the earthquake, OSHA made a tour of our plant and inspected the asphalt heating kettles in the area where I work. They found holes and cracks within the insulation of the number 3 kettle, and said that asbestos dust was in the air and that the area needed to be sealed off.

All the workers are saying that these cracks have been in the insulation for years, that OSHA is too late for many of us and that OSHA must have had the ap-

proval of the company before they let us know what was really going on.

We feel that asbestos should be removed from all of the pipeline and kettle and replaced, not repaired and patched up. That should be the law. But the law under capitalism is a lie and under the control of the greedy companies who rule, not the working people who create and pay for everything with our sweat and blood.

While the front of the number 3 kettle was repaired, the company and OSHA ignored other holes and cracks in another kettle just 15 feet away. A fellow worker passed me the number for a doctor whose specialty is checking for asbestos poisoning. The company doctor is a "quack" and cannot be trusted. Many of us want to know now what is happening to our health and not wait 20 years down the line to find out we are dying from all this deadly dust and gases.

In the News & Letters pamphlet **Workers Battle Automation**, Charles Denby writes: "I keep asking myself, will I ever be able to collect my social security when I'm 65? Will I be able to live till 65 working in the factory? I doubt it. That Automation machine is killing me. Those men in Washington must be having a good time laughing to themselves, knowing how many workers won't be around to collect."

That was written 27 years ago and is more true today than when written. The lawmakers and politicians need to be put on trial and found guilty of murder, for the murder of working people.

Until we the working people have a voice at the point of production we will never have control over our own lives or the destiny of our country. —Gene Ford

Aftershocks at LA P.O.

Los Angeles, Cal.—I work in the bulk mail section of the Post Office. We handle everything from novels to books going through the mail. The work has never been safe, but since the Oct. 1 earthquake, conditions are worse and as usual not much is being done about it.

When the downtown Los Angeles post office was crashed in the quake all bulk mail was stopped and the workers weren't called in. Now all the bulk mail is coming through the City of Industry post office and we are working 12 hours a day, six days a week. While the overtime is not mandatory, most of us need the money to work it.

The carts of bulk mail are very heavy and the floors are crowded with machinery. Accidents like bruised legs, smashed fingers and feet run over by carts were common before. Now, with the push and increased workload, the place is even more dangerous. We also have noted structural damage to the building following the earthquake. We asked that OSHA be called in to inspect the place but found that government agencies are exempt from OSHA inspections!

In our section we routinely handle lab work. Blood and urine samples, a large amount infected with contagious diseases, comes through and the packages break regularly. Workers' hands are often raw and covered with paper cuts so we know we can be infected. When we complain we are told we can wear gloves, but that is discouraged as that makes the job harder to do. Now there's talk of sending AIDS test through the mail. That really frightens us. Maybe the test people don't know the conditions here but I'm sure there's a better way to ship the test materials.

People in minimum wage jobs dream of passing their civil service postal exams. They study months so they can get a steady decent-paying job. Well, in today's world the money doesn't go very far and the work is very draining. This country is way too conservative and is affecting our lives. We just don't have the freedom we were taught we have and I know it's getting worse.

—Postal worker

Jobs still insecure at Ford

Detroit, Mich.—What the UAW says is at the center of our new contract with Ford is "job security." Given the cyclic nature of the auto industry, and the permissibility of layoffs when sales drop off, one is apt to wonder how stable this "job security" will be. What really is solid about it? Hoping that sales will remain strong? That the corporation we work at doesn't lag behind?

Tens of thousands of fellow auto workers have already been axed. What is to prevent our being "rimmed" should there be a downturn in the economy of our particular company?

What we should beware of is this job security merely being a guise to give the companies further control over working conditions in the plants, assuring and strengthening their control over production.

The automobile is often touted as allowing individuals greater freedom and liberty to go where they want. Yet these inanimate critters can be a nuisance to maintain, sure and drive in life-threatening traffic-congested situations. Wouldn't there be a greater degree of liberty to have reliable alternative means of transportation readily available so that we could have the freedom of choice to take a car or leave it, even to the extent of disowning it if one so desired.

This is the direction we should be heading, for the auto companies are failing in substantially increasing levels of employment. Sweeping changes in transportation as revolutionary as was the transition from horses to automobiles are overdue, and the auto companies themselves can be seen as hindering this progression by maintaining control over their system to perpetuate the automobile as a necessity.

In this day and age, overtime should not be tolerated at any auto plant in any nation. The eight hour day is no longer justifiable as it is not socially responsive to lifting employment levels. And yet a shorter workday is only attainable if attained universally. The need for international labor solidarity is as great as ever if we are to progress as a class, and not be used against us another economically and militarily.

—Joseph Blough

I see my life in 'Matewan'

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

I recently saw the new movie *Matewan*. It is the story of the events leading up to the Matewan mine shootout in West Virginia in 1920. Many of the events and characters in the movie are true, including sheriff Sid Hatfield being on the side of the miners against the owners and their Baldwin-Felts thugs who were trying to prevent the workers from organizing a union.

LABOR STRUGGLE TO BE FREE

Miners who joined the union in those days were fired from their jobs and evicted from their company-owned homes. In the movie you see the miners living in a tent city they had set up for themselves. The movie shows how Blacks from the South and Italians straight off the boat from Italy were brought to Matewan to act as scabs, and how they became part of the union. It shows you that real American history is the struggle of labor to be free.

The history in the movie was very real to me because I grew up in the coal fields of Kentucky. My dad was a coal miner. I grew up in the mining struggle to organize in the 1930s.

I could relate very well to the 14-year-old boy in the movie, Danny, who is working the mines. By the time I was 12 I was doing the work of any man. But I couldn't relate to the idea that Danny was a preacher. In my growing up in the 1930s, we were so busy learning how to use a gun, that preaching was left for those who were too crippled to work or to fight. In the 1930s a person could starve to death preaching. Danny's widowed mother is also a very real character and stands for all the strong women in the mining communities.

TWO KINDS OF NON-VIOLENCE

The person I am not sure about is Joe, the union organizer, who preaches non-violence. I like how the movie showed that Joe was a Wobbly from the IWW in the early days of American labor with their slogan of "one big union." Of course, capitalism labeled Joe a "Red," a "Communist."

He had been put in jail for refusing to go off to fight World War I. He was against killing other workers in another country so the capitalists could profit from it. In Kentucky in the 1930s we knew we had to be armed because the capitalist class and their gun thugs, as well as the federal troops were using arms and violence against us.

What happened in *Matewan* in 1920 was just the beginning of the coal country wars. Federal troops and even airplanes were called out to suppress the workers' struggles. This was how I grew up in the 1930s, knowing that the working class had to fight.

This fight has continued on to today. In the movie we see the beginning of the division between the trade union organizer and the rank-and-file workers. It is just this division that reached its climax in the 1949-50 general strike of the coal miners against Automation when the great union leader, John L. Lewis, told the workers to go back to work: "You can't strike against progress," he said. The miners, instead, asked: "What kind of labor must workers do?" *

Today they kill us many more ways than they did then. They don't need the gun thugs. They kill us through chemicals, workplace accidents, Automation and plant closings that force workers and their children to live and die in poverty, not even able to afford medical care. The chemicals produced since World War II and used at the point of production have transformed all of America into one big chemical dump. Thousands of workers are killed on the job each year and thousands more get sick from every type of poison.

I was born in 1921, the year after the story in the *Matewan* movie. This whole time of history I've been writing about is my lifetime. Can life itself stand another 65 years of capitalism? Labor has to uproot capitalism, and transform this system into a society that is for human beings, what Marx called "human power which is its own end."

*See *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*, a News & Letters pamphlet.

Fight in UFCW goes on

Chicago, Ill.—United Food and Commercial Workers Local 100-A voted on new local union by-laws on Oct. 14. There were two proposals, one from the union Executive Board, which would concentrate authority in the Board's hands, and another written by a rank-and-file group, Kinfolk. The Kinfolk proposal would have given us some tools to work with—getting negotiating teams together and controlling the pay of union officials.

The union began with telling people that we (the Kinfolk) were Communists, that we wanted to take over the union, that workers would lose their pensions, that plants would close and they would lose their jobs. The union rented buses and brought in people from second shift at the plants and arranged with the companies that they would get paid for those two hours.

These workers were instructed not to talk to us or to read our literature. Some people said, "I'll read what I want," and seemed independent, but they weren't sure if the union would know which way they voted and were afraid of losing their jobs or of a backlash from the union.

The vote was 180 for the Kinfolk and 584 for the union. I don't know what to think of it. We gave people information the union denied them. We gained communication and found people who felt the way we do, but not as many as we hoped. I am re-evaluating, but I am not defeated. —Local 100-A member

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

execs shared \$169 million in bonuses last year, or Ivan Boesky and his friends dipped their hands in the till for millions, no one said that would wreck the economy. But after eight years, we're still waiting for this stuff to trickle down.

That 5.9% unemployment hides some other figures. Louis Uchitelle reported in the Sept. 27, 1987, *New York Times* about "America's Army of Non-Workers." These are some six million "invisible people" who want a job but aren't looking. Half of these are single mothers with young children on AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children). Half are "discouraged workers."

Then there are another 17.9 million counted as working but who worked less than half of 1986, earning less than \$10,000. They are described as "marginally attached to the job market," "they float."

The big worry to the economists and businesses here is the thousands of jobs unfilled at \$4.00 and \$4.50 an hour. The Star supermarket chain in Boston alone claims it has 1,950 jobs unfilled. They say it takes a job paying \$6.50 an hour to keep a mother off welfare.

Would the economists or politicians try to raise a family on any less than that? I'd say all these \$4.00 and \$4.50 an hour jobs going unfilled is a measure of the rebellion of American workers. They're just not going to work for those wages and are withholding their labor.

Another area of rebellion is the two-tier wage, where new workers coming in after the contract was signed get much lower wages. Suddenly American Airlines is upping new pilots' wages 29%. Giant Foods supermarkets raised its lowest paid workers 70 cents. In 1985, 10% less contracts contained two-tier wages than in 1985. What's happening?

TWO-TIER REVOLT

Since 1983, enough new workers have been hired in at two-tier that they're a sizable force and their picket line is right at work, in the form of high turnover, "hostility" to the customers, pressure on the unions, and simply refusal to work more than they're paid for. Heck, if you're getting \$8.00 and I'm getting \$4.00 to do the same job, I'll just do what I have to to get by, and you can pull up the slack, it's not my problem. American Airlines' chairman Robert Crandall admitted, "You can tell that the anger is there." No kidding.

The Congressional Research Service concluded, according to the *Times*, that "if the unemployment rate continued to fall, companies may have no choice but to do away with two-tier systems altogether." Makes you wonder if the stock market tumbled because of that magic 5.9% figure: workers are getting too rebellious, let's give them a bigger dose of unemployment, time to cool down the economy.

Subscribe to and write for

News & Letters

Only \$2.50 per year

Send coupon to: News & Letters
59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, IL 60605

Enclosed find \$2.50 for a one year subscription.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

Ed. note—This column has been established by the Resident Editorial Board so that the voice of the founder of Marxist-Humanism will be heard in every issue of News & Letters. The following article is a discussion Raya Dunayevskaya had prepared for the 'Humanism and Marxism' session of the Midwest Sociological Society, co-sponsored by the Association of Humanist Sociologists, April 17, 1987. Its discussion of the class nature of Russian society as well as its tracing of pathways whereby Marx's Humanism re-emerged in the post-World War II world in action and in thought, provide a sharp departure from illusions being put forth about Gorbachev's glasnost. For an expanded view of this same period see "A Post-World War II View of Marx's Humanism, 1843-1883; Marxist Humanism, 1950s-1980s" in N&L, July 25, 1987.

It is an important first for the Midwest Sociological Society to create time for discussion of Marx's Humanism as articulated in the post-World War II world, and it would have delighted me to have been physically present. Though it's impossible for me to be present, I do consider it important enough to have Marxist-Humanism articulated, and therefore I ask you to please read my discussant comments.

The emergence of theoretical ideas which Marx called "a New Humanism" when he first broke with the Left Hegelians, which was followed by his break with capitalism, was indeed the discovery of a new continent of thought and of revolution. The Russian attack on this at first appeared in their major theoretical organ, *Pod Znamenem Marxizma* (no. 7-8, 1943) but was shrouded as if it were a question, not of Marxism, but only of the

"The Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union" was first published in *Pod Znamenem Marxizma* (Under the Banner of Marxism), No. 7-8, 1943.

1. A. A TITLE OF PUBLICATION: NEWS & LETTERS
 B. PUBLICATION NO. 0028-8969
 2. DATE OF FILING: September 30, 1987
 3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE: Monthly except bi-monthly January-February, August-September. A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY: 10. B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$2.50
 4. LOCATION OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION: 59 E. VAN BUREN, ROOM 707, CHICAGO, IL 60605
 5. LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OR GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHERS: 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605
 6. NAMES AND COMPLETE ADDRESSES OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR: *News & Letters*, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605; Olga Domanski and Mike Connolly (Co-National Organizers) 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605; Eugene Walker, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605
 7. OWNER: *News & Letters*, an Illinois non-profit corporation, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605
 8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING ONE PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES: NONE
 10. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION:

	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES PRINTED:	6370	7,000
B. PAID CIRCULATION:		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers street vendors and counter sales	2438	2365
2. Mail subscriptions	3233	4156
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION:	5671	6521
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies	244	179
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C & D):	5915	6,700
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED:		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted spoiled after printing	457	300
2. Returns from news agents	NONE	NONE
G. TOTAL	6370	7,000

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager or Owner, Michael Connolly.
 12. FOR COMPLETION BY PUBLISHERS MAILING AT THE REGULAR RATES (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual) 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4539 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this sub-section unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail such matter at such rates."

In accordance with the provision of this statute, I hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1 at the phased postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager or Owner.
 Michael Connolly, Business Manager

Emergence of Marx's Humanism in the post-World War II world

way Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, was being taught to the youth.¹ When I translated "The Teaching of Economics in the Soviet Union" for the *American Economic Review*² I commented that this was the first time that Stalin had laid hands on Marx's greatest theoretical work, *Capital*, totally revising Marx's analysis of the dominant law, the law of value and surplus value as if it was something applicable to "socialism." Nevertheless, he ordered that the first chapter of *Capital* not be taught as Marx wrote it. I insisted that thereby this violated the dialectical structure of *Capital* itself in its most crucial chapter which projected the reconstruction of Hegel's theory of alienation as the fetishism of commodities. I had been working through, from original Russian sources, the three five-year plans and had come to the conclusion that Russia had been transformed from a workers' state into a state-capitalist society. It is this analysis that I brought into my commentary on the Russian revision of the law of value, which led to a debate over that commentary in the *American Economic Review* that lasted for over a year, at which time I was glad to get the opportunity for a rejoinder.³

UNTIL THE 1950s all this seemed not to interest the West, who considered the whole debate a question of "hair-splitting." The climax came, however, in 1955, when this time there came a direct attack entitled "Marx's Working Out of the Materialist Dialectics in the Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of the Year 1844," by V.A. Karpushin,⁴ claiming that that was the young Marx who was still tainted with Hegelianism. To the Western philosophers, who still continued their silence, I wrote a letter to the editor of the journal *Philosophy of Science*, objecting to the fact that we are acting toward Communists exactly as they are acting towards us.⁵ Instead of seeing the reality involved in an ideological struggle, they were consigning reality itself to a matter of "hair-splitting" over the "negation of the negation." Reality, however, should have made them realize that, though the first-ever open revolt from under totalitarian Communism, the June 17, 1953, East German revolt, had been put down, all of East Europe remained very restless, and that this new attack on the negation of the negation meant some revolt, somewhere in East Europe, was about to happen. The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 soon followed, and, with it, the re-discovery of Marx's *Humanist Essays*, but this time putting it on the live, historic stage.

Where the first discovery of this unknown but actual birth of that new philosophic moment of Marxism was very nearly buried altogether because the outbreak of World War II put all discussion to an end, this post-World War II re-discovery meant the creation of philosophy and revolution as not just an abstract unit, but a freedom to be fought for right here and now. It was the period that led me to translate Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, written when the shock of the Second International's betrayal sent Lenin to dig deep into Marx's Hegelian roots. No publisher was interested in Lenin as a philosopher. To me the fact that at every great turning point in history there was a re-birth of dialectics, of the negative factor as a creating factor, and the making of Hegel into a contemporary, was most sharply exemplified in the case of a great revolutionary materialist like Lenin turning, of all things, to the Hegelian roots of Marx and writing that no Marxist had understood *Capital* "especially its chapter one" and that "cognition not only reflects the world, but creates it."⁶

BY THIS TIME, I had expanded my 1940s studies on the nature of the Russian economy to the whole of Marxism, especially its philosophy, tracing the relationship of philosophy and revolution, from the American and French Revolutions of the late 18th century to our post-World War II world of both automation and the Black Revolution. Where I couldn't find publishers for Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* earlier, I now appended this as well as the first English translation of Marx's 1844 *Humanist Essays* to my theoretical study, *Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 to Today*. It announced

its goal in the Preface as "to re-establish Marxism in its original form, which Marx called a 'thoroughgoing Naturalism, or Humanism,'" and to re-establish its American roots, from Abolitionism to Automation.⁷ This work of Marxist-Humanism has been continuous ever since.

The most exciting and profound African statement of new passions and new forces—and calling itself, precisely, Humanism—was Frantz Fanon and *The Wretched of the Earth*. He wrote, "This new humanity cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others."⁸ The point is that whether it is Africa or East Europe, Humanism is the philosophy that captures what Marx in his day designated as "revolution in permanence." Take Poland in the late 1950s, when *Towards a Marxist Humanism* by Leszek Kolakowski appeared. By the end of the 1960s, throughout Africa that was the cry of the struggle of the independent countries from Western imperialism, when they said they did not want their struggle confined to choosing between the stultification in Russia and the West's monopolization or what was in America, capitalist democracy. They wanted something new, totally new human relations, focused not only against class society and racism, but on Man/Woman relations. Indeed, Marx raised this fundamental concept in his great *Humanist Essays*, and we of the present live when Women's Liberation is not only an Idea but a movement.

HUMANISM HAS BEEN CHOSEN in many different forms; thus, in 1959 Castro embraced Humanism. He then said, "Standing between the two political (continued on page 5)

⁷Marxism and Freedom: From 1776 to Today, by Raya Dunayevskaya (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1982), p. 21.
⁸Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York, NY: Grove Press, 1966), p. 197.

Stock market crisis

(continued from page 1)

lions in the stock market. Where previously these pension funds were supposedly "overfunded," allowing companies to stop pension contributions for workers, now these same funds are in severe danger of being underfunded, with the loss of retirement monies for tens of thousands of workers.

The stock market plunge is not an isolated phenomenon. Rather, it is deeply rooted in the current global economic crisis that began with the 1974-75 worldwide recession. We analyzed that economic crisis as so indigenous to the structure of the capitalist economy that there would be "no more booms." (See ad for *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* by Raya Dunayevskaya, below.) Today, bourgeois economists who know the dangerous falsity of the Reagan-type prosperity based on deregulated speculative markets, speak of "managing" the economy. They proclaim that currency, trade debt and aid, especially to the Third World, are all closely connected, are internationally interdependent.

But they continue the greatest illusion not only about the American economy, but the whole state-capitalist world economy, Russia included: the illusion that all is not strictly tied to, dependent upon, based upon, labor, living labor. Alienated, sweated labor is the one and only basis of the surplus value from which their profits come.

Because the post-World War II world has meant high technology, unimaged, robotized production, the bourgeois economists think that these machines, plus exchange of services and different colored monies on a world level are what creates value—independent of the workers.

Instead it is capitalist production from labor that is the key, and no amount of market manipulations or state-capitalist planning can escape the fact that our post-World War II era of automated production and a thoroughly militarized economy has not "solved" the economic problem—it has only made the crisis more intense.

This crisis will not be solved outside of production, and it cannot be solved without living labor, the working class in each country taking control of the production process, smashing the value-form of production that is at the heart of capitalism, and creating a society of freely-associated labor, where labor power is not a commodity, but a means for the self-development of all humanity.

News & Letters

Vol. 32 No. 14 November, 1987

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 10 times a year, monthly, except bi-monthly January-February and August-September for \$2.50 a year (bulk order of five or more — 15¢) by *News & Letters*, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone (312) 663-0839. Second Class Postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *News & Letters*, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
National Editorial Board (1955-1987)

Charles Denby, Editor (1955-1983)

Olga Domanski, Mike Connolly, Co-National Organizers, News and Letters Committees
Eugene Walker, Managing Editor
Felix Martin, Labor Editor



News & Letters
is printed in
a union shop.

The World-Wide Economic Crisis

What is "behind" the stock market plunge?

Why have we not emerged from the global economic recession of a decade ago?

Are we on the precipice of an even deeper world-wide recession/depression?

Read two works by Raya Dunayevskaya on the current crisis:

- "Alienated Labor and the Present State of Chaos in World Production" from the "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87" 75¢
- *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis* \$2

Order from *News & Letters*, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605. Add 50¢ for postage

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

and economic ideologies or positions being debated in the world, we are holding our own positions. We have named it Humanism, because its methods are humanistic...this is a humanist revolution, because it does not deprive man of his essence, but holds him as its aim....This revolution is not red, but olive-green."⁹

Clearly, the post-World War II world and the new passions and new forces that were arising in the struggle against what is, were not just a question of remembrance of things past, not even the past as glorious as the birth of Marx's new discovery of a new continent of thought and of revolution. Rather, it is a two-way road. It is the reality of today that makes us see that the period of 1843-83—from when Marx first pronounced his philosophy to be a New Humanism to his very latest Notebooks on anthropology, the *Ethnological Notebooks*, the concepts as well as struggles, passions as well as thoughts—has laid a trail for meeting exactly the contradictory reality of the post-World War II world and its myriad crises, including the fact that what Marx called pre-capitalist society we see as life and rea-

son of the Third World.

The wretched of the earth—whether they are from Africa or China¹⁰ or the Philippines, or from Latin America to the East Europeans, or from the Middle East to right here at home, and let's not forget the rich, well-to-do intellectuals whose thought has been so polluted by the Reagan retrogression that they go to drugs rather than to philosophy—were all expressing the frustration at the total alienation from the reality that is so stifling. They were expressing the twilight that is not the night, but the new dawn that is about to arise when the self-determination of the Idea and the self-bringing forth of Liberty unite as a single power of Reason against this exploitative, racist, sexist society, to create a society of truly new human relations. In writing against the alienation of labor, Marx placed not a new property form, but "the full and free development of the individual."

⁹For the left-wing statement to China's state-capitalism, the Sheng-wu-lien, see my *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1982), chapter 5.

¹⁰See *New Left Review*, Jan.-Feb. 1961.

Mammoth gay, lesbian march against Reaganism

Washington, D.C.—In the largest protest against Reaganism since 1982, several hundred thousand gay and lesbian activists and supporters marched on Washington, Sunday, Oct. 11. They poured into the capital from every state in the U.S. to demand civil rights and oppose the retrogressionism of the Reagan era in all areas of human freedom. The message was clear: "For love and for life, we're not going back!"

Thousands stayed in Washington to confront the Supreme Court two days later. Over 4,000 activists, including many people with AIDS, demonstrated outside the Court. In an act of civil disobedience, 600 men and women defied police orders to vacate the Court premises. They were arrested by police—whose wearing of yellow rubber gloves can only be interpreted as publicly fomenting prejudice.

It was the first time such massive arrests had been made at the Supreme Court since 1971. Not only did the protestors oppose Reagan's nomination of Judge Bork to the Supreme Court, but they demanded a reversal of the 1986 anti-sodomy decision. In the Hardwick case, the Court upheld a Georgia state law which outlawed anal and oral sex—a law which thus far has only been used to invade the privacy of gays. The protestors challenged the constitutional myth of the Court as a neutral body.

MANY DIMENSIONS OF PROTEST

That challenge added to the many dimensions of protest and expression which made Sunday's mammoth march so significant. The exhilaration of the march, the strength of so many gay men and women together demanding an end to discrimination against people who love others of the same sex, was not separate from the soberness and grief which filled the air around the "Names Project."

On the lawn of the Mall, next to the march route, lay over 1,900 quilts sewn together in patchwork fashion, memorializing people who had died of AIDS. The tears, the reaching out, the hand-worked quilts—some with just a name, others with poems or portraits of loved ones—underscored how the AIDS epidemic has been used by the Right to bolster attacks on gays. Money for AIDS research was a major demand of the march.

Many people hoped that the march will initiate a more militant gay rights movement. As one young man from New York said, "I came down on a bus with the Gay Men's Health Crisis Center. There is a feeling of real militancy among us. We're very anxious that this will make an impact."

MORE SOLIDARITY

Another man, this time from San Jose, Cal., described to me the rash of attacks on gays there. "When I go back," he said, "I want to see if we can organize people to have more solidarity."

At the same time it was clear that within the gay and lesbian movement many different concepts of civil rights exist. Not everyone linked civil rights for gays to transforming society. One man told me he was from the "West Point school of capitalism," and the Gay Republicans got a round of applause. On the other hand, many men and women considered themselves radicals. Chants of "Money for AIDS, not for war!" rang out. A group of high school students from Montreal, Canada shouted slogans against homophobia, racism and war, and even made up a chant which spoke to the divisions between gays and lesbians: "Gays and lesbians together, no more problems at this border!"

On my bus back to New York, few of the students on it were ready to jump to conclusions about what direction the movement would take. Yet all were moved by the experience of this demonstration. —Laurie Cashdan

HEAR AND SEE RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA SPEAK ON HER OWN MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES A Videotape Is Now Available For Only \$15



"Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts"

—A special lecture by Raya Dunayevskaya, delivered on March 21, 1985 at the Wayne State Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

- PART I: Introduction: Archives and Archivists.
- PART II: The excitement of Becoming Trotsky's secretary and the Break with Trotskyism.
- PART III: The Marxist-Humanist Newspaper, *News & Letters: Worker-Editor*, Charles Denby: His Autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*; and the pamphlets, *Workers Battle Automation and American Civilization on Trial*.
- PART IV: The Trilogy of Revolution — *Marxism and Freedom; Philosophy and Revolution; Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. The Unchaining of the Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts.

"The question was how could an archivist know what the participants in most of the events perceived the dialectics of revolution to be? In this Marxist-Humanist Collection, the dialectics of revolution range from the 1905 Russian Revolution and its ramifications in the 1906-11 Revolution in Iran; to the November 1917 Russian Revolution and its international impact; to the beheaded 1919 German Revolution; as well as to the revolutions in our own era. And dialectics relate not just to those revolutions that were successful, but to the many revolutions that were aborted."

(from Part I)

"I am not writing the history of the past in the future tense. I have no intention of analyzing an historic personage like Leon Trotsky only as I see him after my break from Trotskyism. I have always strongly opposed any re-writing of history. I do not deny that I certainly considered it the highest moment in my own development up to that time to have become Trotsky's secretary and to have been a guard and translator as well."

(from Part II)

"The concept of having theory and practice together dictated our refusal to put theoretical articles only in a theoretical journal. Our point was that the intellectual should not only read, but write, for a workers' newspaper like *News & Letters*; that is, that intellectuals would talk to a working-class audience which has a great deal to contribute to the intellectual if the intellectual knows how to listen to the new voices from below. The goal became the new principle of combining workers and intellectuals—neither of whom would be stopped by a McCarthy retrogression. That was the ground for our Marxist-Humanist newspaper, *News & Letters*, when it was established in 1955."

(from Part III)

"Two points are involved in this remembrance of things past: One is that embedded in embryo in the past is the presence of the next step, whether or not one is fully conscious of it. Two is that presence of the future inherent in the 'Here and now' characterizes also the first instinctual reaction which is philosophically called 'first negation'. What makes you move to the second negation creates a new humus for future development. Marx's magnificent, original, historic unchaining of the dialectic was the creation of such a new humus."

(from Part IV)

To order the videotape, send check or money order to:
News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL. 60605

- I would like to receive a copy of the March 25, 1985 videotape.
- Send a subscription to *News & Letters* for 1 year (\$2.50 for 10 issues/yr.)
- Send a copy of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection - Archives Guide For \$2.00

(see full literature list on page 7)

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____
 CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

HOW TO CONTACT NEWS & LETTERS

- CHICAGO:** 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, IL 60605 (312-663-0839)
Meets Wednesdays 6:30 p.m.
- DETROIT:** P.O. Box 27205
Detroit, MI 48227
Thursdays, 7:00 P.M.—Central Methodist Church,
Woodward and Adams
- OAKLAND:** P.O. Box 3345
Oakland, CA 94609 (415-658-1448)
Sundays, 7:00 P.M.
3120 Shattuck Ave. (rear) Berkeley
- LOS ANGELES:** P.O. Box 29194
Los Angeles, CA 90029
Sundays, 6:30 P.M.—People's College of
Law Building, 660 S. Bonnie Brae
- NEW YORK:** P.O. Box 196
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10163 (212-663-3631)
Mondays, 7:00 P.M.—Outer Space Gallery
2710 Broadway (104th Street), Manhattan
- SALT LAKE CITY:** P.O. Box 8251
Salt Lake City, UT 84108
- FLINT:**
P.O. Box 3384
Flint, MI 48502

THE MYRIAD GLOBAL CRISES OF THE 1980s

I was alarmed at Reagan's foray into the Persian Gulf, but I am also angry at the Left, which seems to be ignoring the event. Contrast how much attention is being paid to the chaos on Wall Street as against the virtual absence of discussion on the ramifications of Reagan's armed attack on Iran. Is the Left really so short-minded as to think it can stop Reagan by exposing the roots of the economic crisis, while letting him get away with armed attacks on other countries?

The events of the past month got me thinking more about the category Raya Dunayevskaya created in the Spring of 1986, when she said Reagan's attack on Libya's Gulf of Sidra so exacerbated global tensions that it "changed the world." Is the inability so far of the Left to face what is new in the objective situation connected to their refusal to confront philosophy? I recall a column by Raya of last year, when she said in order to grasp the meaning of world events, one must grasp what Marx meant by "history-in-the-making." She wrote, "Dialectics discloses, if you probe deeply enough, the process of development, objectively and subjectively." Is that why you published her essay on "Dialectics of Revolution" in the new column "Writings from the Marxist-Humanist Archives" in the Oct. issue?

**Marxist-Humanist
Illinois**

I heard some Iranian revolutionaries in exile say Reagan's attack of Oct. 19 wasn't such a bad thing, because "maybe that will bring down Khomeini." One even told me, "to get rid of a Hitler, you need acts like that." People who talk this way don't see that the attack may strengthen Khomeini, as he can once again pose as the alternative to the "Great Satan," the U.S. They don't realize what a lethal situation we are in.

**Revolutionary
Chicago**

The bourgeois press has a lot of experts telling us the reason for the stock market crash. The experts think this crash might bring on a depression. Under capitalism, the working class lives constantly in depression. The pension funds suffered the most. Reagan's way out for capitalism includes stealing workers' pension funds. The stock market loss falls on the backs of the working class, as does dying in the wars.

The crash of the stock market won't bring an end to capitalism. Raya Dunayevskaya wrote, "It will take a hefty push to uproot it by the working class." The job falls on the backs of the working class to rid itself of this racist, sexist, thieving system that robs workers of their production.

**Retired autoworker
California**

We always hear about how Russia tries to manipulate its people by printing only some of the news some of the time. But with this stock market thing, it is all just a big fantasy—wealth being reduced to numbers jumping up and down on a big computer board. Any time we hit a crisis, our minds are drawn into this kind of fantasy, and the government and press tries to make us forget the real things that are going on, like people getting killed in these wars.

**Black woman
Chicago**

The lead article on "Grave Dangers of Reagan Agenda: Bork, contras, Star Wars" by Olga Domanski (see Oct. N&L) did a fine job presenting us with the situation we now face. When you look at what Reagan has done with Bork, with his attack on Iran, with his refusal to abide by the War Powers Act, you can see these last 15 months of his term in office are not less, but more dangerous. Reagan just let "slip out" what everyone knows—that his next nominee after Bork will be just as reactionary as he. We aren't finished with Reaganism by any means.

**Activist
New York City**

Reagan's reason for interfering in the Persian Gulf is to protect imperialist interests—like the oil passing through the

Gulf. These interests are perhaps why the press and Congress have backed off from any effort to invoke the War Powers Act. But because the bombing of Iran on Oct. 19 was an act of war, those who have always asked why the fetishism of commodities is such a bad thing must now look upon the Persian Gulf and weep.

**Student of Marxism
Chicago**

Just a few days before the crash on Wall Street, the Nobel Prize in Economics was awarded to one Robert Solow. It was a fitting moment for him to receive such an award. Solow was economic advisor to the Kennedy and Johnson administrations, one of the architects of their policy of fueling economic growth by rapid increases in military spending. As we know, it was the push for such massive military expenditures in the Vietnam period which helped wreck the American economy by the time of the 1974-75 global recession. We're still seeing the results of that economic downturn in the chaos in the economy today. What an interesting lesson in history the Nobel prize committee has inadvertently bestowed on us!

**Environmentalist
Chicago**

There is a deep difference between words pronounced in a "Gorbachevian" spirit here and the reality of "real socialism." Besides East Germany, Czechoslovakia is the most conservative and slowly moving country of the Eastern Bloc. Hope is glimmering very faintly that things would change in the near future.

**Correspondent
East Europe**



**LATIN
AMERICA'S
REALITY**

I heard Daniel Ortega speak at Columbia University in October. He said very interesting things about opening *La Prensa*. He said their criticalness can enrich the revolution. I'm glad they opened it, but he said the last editor worked for the CIA. He said they closed it because they called for the Americans to come in, and that they pray \$100 million will be given to the contras. He said they can criticize all they want, but if they actually print a request for U.S. help they will close them down again. Ortega got a standing ovation, which was nice to see. Very few there were pro-contra.

**High school student
New York City**

In a bi-polar world, Latin American revolutions can't just oppose the U.S., because you can see Russia coming in under the banner of helping the revolution. What is important are the demands of the masses. After seeing what happened in Iran, the question of "what happens after you get rid of the U.S." cannot be dismissed.

**Concerned
Bay Area, California**

I have always been uneasy with the uncritical stance many Leftists take toward the Cuban Revolution, and I'm constantly struggling with native Latin Americans to criticize Castro without appearing reactionary. Of course, I am then accused of being "utopian," "idealistic" and "impractical" for not considering the "Real-politik" of the U.S.-Russian world domination. With a Marxist-Humanist philosophy I don't have to take a compromiserist "either-or" position, but can stand on new ground with the goal of truly new human relations.

**Student activist
Los Angeles**

Raya's passing is, without doubt, a very sad loss. I want to thank you for the material you shared with me. Looking it over we were greatly disturbed not to have a single copy of the *Ethnological Notebooks of Marx* that Raya discusses. These writings will have a big impact, not only on the Latin American level, but especially on our scene. An

Readers' Views

appraisal is now being revived concerning the revolutionary potential of the Bolivian peasant and, thusly, one of the problems to be solved theoretically is that of the ethnic diversity which the peasantry comprises, and its joining with the rest of the popular forces...

**Activist and scholar
La Paz, Bolivia**

Our publication would like to stress that the contributions of comrade Raya Dunayevskaya in rescuing the humanism of Marxism was all a stage in the recovery for the working class of genuine socialism, based on the developments of Marx... Our publication knows that comrade Dunayevskaya cannot be easily substituted, not only because of her erudition and political sensibility, but because her voice was present for more than three decades in the analysis of the principal events and struggles of the proletariat and all of the "wretched of the earth." Naturally, we would be interested to know if there are some writings of Raya that you could send us for publication in our journal.

**Alejandro Galvez
Críticas de la Economía Política
Mexico City, Mexico**

VOICES OF YOUTH

I spoke with a 13-year old girl who had bought a bracelet at Riverside Church with Nelson Mandela's name on it. When she went to school many of her friends started questioning her about the bracelet and wanted their own. She said students as young as fifth grade wanted to know about the bracelets and what they were for. Part of the beauty of this story is that some of these youngsters did not just take everything at face value, they themselves researched some of the "lifelines" on Robben Island. Of course, bracelets with Nelson Mandela's name have been the most popular, but names of others on Robben Island are being worn on the wrists of New York school youth.

**Solidarity Activist
New York**

Are you a socialist paper or a communist paper? We studied socialism and communism last year. I'm for socialism, but I'm against communism. To me, communism is totalitarianism, and socialism is democracy. What I want is real socialism. Is that what your paper is for?

**Lane Tech High student
Chicago**

Our youth is in deep trouble. Education is just another way for training in the capitalist system. Real talent is being wasted. I know a ninth-grader who was a gifted and talented student who is making F's because he has no interest in what is being taught him. Since the law says children must attend

school, why not let them have a chance to say what they are interested in? How can we call America a "Land of the Free" when we have no control over what happens to us?

**Working Woman
Oklahoma**

I come from a "liberal" Southern university town. The youth there idealize the 1960s as a scene from "Hair." The kids I hang out with want to change things. You don't expect kids to do that, but they come to realize at a point in their lives what they want to believe. So one of the importances of social movements is to educate kids that there are bigger problems.

At my school there were race problems. We formed a committee on inter-racial equality. It seemed to quiet things down, but they didn't know what they were fighting for. My point is, we really have to educate the youth.

**Catherine
15-year old new subscriber
Chapel Hill, N.C.**



**GAY AND
LESBIAN
PRIDE 1987**

As a gay man I have had to be political as a fact of life. As an oppressed group gays have had to struggle for our civil rights and to live in peace with our neighbors. If certain left groups want to take up our cause, others want nothing to do with us. Homophobia is so rooted in the Judeo-Christian culture that so-called progressives get really shook up over us, and it is no secret how gays have been treated in Communist countries. I have always had socialist sentiments and I come from the working class, but I have a hard time identifying with Marxism. If Marxist-Humanism does indeed believe in the self-determination of oppressed groups and for truly new human relationships then I applaud you. Now it is a matter of life and death, with the right wing playing games with the disease of AIDS which threatens our population as well as all sexual people. And they must be stopped.

**AIDS victim
San Francisco**

When I attended the Gay and Lesbian freedom march in Washington D.C. in October, I was surprised at the turnout—200,000 according to the *New York Times*, but 800,000 according to the organizers. I am wondering about its historic significance. Is it a new stage? When does quantity become quality? Is there a hunger for a philosophy of revolution? There was a rowdy student and labor contingent, but there were plenty of conservatives there too.

**Protester
Washington DC**

TO A VANQUISHED REVOLUTIONARY

On Sept. 20, Neusha Farrahi, an Iranian Marxist, set himself on fire at a demonstration to protest the visit of the president of Iran to the U.N. and to condemn the Reagan administration policies. He died ten days later.

Neusha, like many Iranian youth, was uplifted by the experience of the Iranian revolution. He was especially moved by the way the "poetry reading sessions" in the universities were turned into protest meetings. He insisted that poets like Saeed Sultanpour, who was later murdered by Khomeini's death squads, not be forgotten. In 1982 he translated for an Iranian Marxist-Humanist journal, the poem by Walt Whitman, entitled "To a Vanquished Revolutionary" about how the idea of freedom does not leave a place as long as the last human being remains there. He never stopped writing and agitating against Khomeini.

In the early 1980s, when Raya Dunayevskaya's book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was first published, Neusha was intrigued by the

challenge Raya was posing to revolutionaries to distinguish Marx's Marxism from what post-Marx Marxists had done to it. Neusha interviewed Raya in June of 1982, asking how did Raya dare to challenge all post-Marx Marxists, and what in the Iranian revolutionary history during the 20th century enabled her to "prove" her point. Raya's response opened a lot of new doors in tracing through 100 years of the development of the practical and theoretical struggles of freedom.

Neusha's last statement was a condemnation of the atrocities of the regime, of Reagan's policies, and of the monarchist Iranian opposition. Most people I talked to are wary of seeing another human being abused and destroyed. But his pain and anguish shocked the exile community. Thousands came out to mourn his death. His brother, who was closest to him at the time, summed it up best at his gravesite, when he said, "Nothing has meaning apart from the struggle for freedom." We mourn the death of Neusha.

**Cyrus Noveen
Los Angeles**

TODAY'S REACHING FOR PHILOSOPHY

In Raya Dunayevskaya's essay on "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies," I was puzzled trying to figure out what she means by calling Marx's last decade a "trail to the 1980s." Does she mean that what he saw in his last decade—new forces of revolution and thought in the Third World and Women's Liberation—are what has come alive today?

I liked what Marx said about "ruthless criticism of all that exists." Dunayevskaya discusses this in relation to Marx's critique of bureaucracy. To me, it means that you can't be shy about criticizing the movement, either, because otherwise it might become just one more bureaucracy.

Subscriber
Los Angeles

I spoke recently with a student in the "SOS Racism" group at his high school, who said they had become more active recently, involving Black as well as white students in their activities. He was very excited about that development. He also told me he was reading *Marxism and Freedom*, and wanted to discuss its first chapter, because he "wants to avoid aborted revolutions, which that chapter speaks to." We will be getting together soon to do that.

Marxist-Humanist
New York City

Raya's writings really had me thinking about the philosophic nature of movements. I never thought of the philosophic dimension of any movement before. I was surely looking forward to her new book and its form of describing organization and revolution. Recently, I read her *Philosophy and Revolution*, concurrently with my schoolwork. Although it was written as if the reader should have a background on the subject of Marx and Hegel, I struggled with it as I struggled with Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*.

Student
Jamaica

Enclosed is my sub. I am majoring in philosophy at the university here and am part of a group called Renaissance of Philosophy and Arts. Our objective is to make students aware of the relevance of philosophy. We disseminate a wide range of thought, from Plato and Aristotle to St. Aquinas, from St. Augustine to Kant, from Descartes and

Hume to Marx and Sartre. I have noticed that Marx's thought and ideas seem always to attract students. I am excited about your organization because it is giving me new insights into the teachings of Marx, especially his Humanism. May we all prosper together.

Student
The Philippines

I always considered Raya one of the giants of Marx scholarship, and was particularly appreciative of her role in making Marx's 1844 Manuscripts available to the English speaking world (as you know, hers was the first translation) and for insisting on the centrality of the views and theories found there for the whole of Marx's later work. At a time when Marx's dialectics and his theory of alienation are perhaps more ignored and/or distorted than they have been since the 1950s, her voice and writings are very badly needed. Now we have only her writings, and together with the work of others who she has inspired and influenced we will just have to do. I consider it a great privilege to have known Raya. Her life as well as her work sets the highest possible standard for those of us who follow.

Bertell Ollman
New York University

I feel proud and privileged to have met Raya. Her compassion, revolutionary zeal and dauntless courage were infectious. At an intellectual level, her vision of freedom and dignity for all people based on radically new human relations is profoundly moving. I continue to read Hegel and Marx differently from her, but there is no denying the power of her analyses.

Joseph Prabhu
Cal. State Univ. at Los Angeles

I think that *News & Letters* is perhaps the only Left newspaper in the U.S., maybe in the entire world, that gets pictures and articles on a regular basis directly from the freedom movement in South Africa. You shouldn't be shy about that.

Anti-apartheid activist
Chicago

LABOR DIALOGUE

The people in this country have been geared by the press and other forms of media to believe whatever is good for

business is good for the people and that isn't always (never) true. I think people are or should be first, and we need to explain or show how these profits from companies go to destroy other people and to make people aware that the South African worker, Mexican worker, Korean worker and even the Black belt Southern U.S. worker are all human, too. They need to raise their families and need food, shelter and clothing, too.

These permanent two-tier wages are making the younger ones more broke than we were when we started. It's one heck of a way to stop dissent.

Woman meatpacking worker
Madison, Wisconsin

I want to thank you for sending me your supplement on meatpacking. I definitely feel that workers need to establish a line of communication not only in meatpacking, but in all industries. I do think P-9 has exposed the International UFCW for what it is, along with the NLRB and the entire court system. Because of the will of workers in meatpacking to take on the Hormel's, Cudahy's, IBP's and Morrells along with Oscar Mayer, the UFCW is in complete disruption and is losing its ability to keep packinghouse workers in line for the barons of food processing. The international bureaucrats are so busy covering up their lies, they can no longer engage in creative productivity. That is why we as workers must communicate so we can educate each other to lead the struggle to maintain a lifestyle we deserve. *News & Letters* is an avenue we need, to open up this line of communication. Keep up the great work.

Packinghouse worker
Nebraska

Ed. note: For a copy of our meatpacking supplement, send \$1.00 to N&L.

From the recent developments you can see that the Korea situation is very exciting. There are many groupings of farmers, students, workers which are getting together to assist each other. In Korea, a lot of times you can't distinguish workers from students. Students who were expelled from the universities got factory jobs. Their goal was to be in the factory, and to help organize the strikes. Another development are the small education groups, both for study and to develop strategies on how to confront the martial law. Small groups of workers organize in this way, with churches supplying rooms. The students try to agitate through literature. The

government has declared these groups illegal.

Organizer,
Korean Labor Association

N&L is enlightening on the struggles of workers in other parts of the globe. The articles on automation are timely in explaining the meaning and concrete manifestation of how it affects workers. What strikes me most about N&L is its stand for "new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism."

New reader
Philippines

I first received the Memorial issue of N&L (July 25, 1987) to Raya Dunayevskaya from a Latino worker on my line. It's funny, because I didn't think he was very political. But he came up to me and said, "you see this paper—this woman was a remarkable person. You have to read about it." I've been going through the issue since and reading about her ideas.

Oscar Mayer worker
Chicago



**SUPPORT
BRIAN
WILLSON**

We are writing to involve you in a support effort on behalf of Brian Willson and the Nuremberg Actions initiated at Concord. Brian lost two legs and suffered severe head injuries when he was run down on Sept. 1. In the weeks that have elapsed, he has been fitted with artificial limbs and moved to the rehabilitation section of John Muir Hospital. Daily demonstrations and arrests continue at the Concord site, and the Navy has been forced to dispatch under military escort all further train and truck shipments to the contras.

Brian's medical expenses are projected to exceed \$150,000. He has no private insurance, and has refused services from the Veterans Administration. The public's help is badly needed to ease the burden on his family, and we hope you will aid in this effort. Contributions can be made payable to "The Brian Willson Fund," c/o Larson and Weinberg, Attorneys at Law, 523 Octavia St., San Francisco, CA 94102.

Dave Cline
Vietnam Veterans Against the War
PO Box 74, Brooklyn NY 11215

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
- The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion by Raya Dunayevskaya 75¢ 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 New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o \$3 per copy
- The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitriyev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 20¢ postage
- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1.00 per copy
- 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
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- Subscriptions to News & Letters Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year \$2.50 per year
- Bound volume of News & Letters (Aug. 1977 to May 1984) \$20.00 per copy

ARCHIVES

- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—A Half-Century of Its World Development A 10,000-page microfilm collection on five reels \$100
- A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development \$2 per copy

BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future 294 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution 234 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 to today 1982 edition. New introduction by author. ... 381 pgs. 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. ... 372 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal life in the South and North. ... 295 pgs. by Charles Denby \$7.50 per copy

MAIL ORDERS TO:

News & Letters 59 East Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605

Enclosed find \$_____ for the literature checked. Please add 75¢ for each item for postage. Ill. residents add 8% sales tax

Name _____ Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

• *News & Letters* is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.
• *News & Letters* and most other publications are available on tape for the blind. For information, write to *News & Letters*.

Black/Red View

The defeat of Bork

by John Alan

Last November, Black voters went to the polls, and proved themselves to be the pivotal force in defeating Reagan's plan to keep control of the Senate by electing a Southern bloc of conservative Republican Senators. Reagan lost every crucial Senatorial election because of the Black vote. This column noted, at that time, that the overwhelming support that Blacks gave to Democratic candidates, none of whom were overtly liberal, was in fact an anti-Reagan vote. It is now the mass power of Southern Black anti-Reaganism that is the major factor in disciplining those Southern Democratic Senators who would ordinarily vote for Robert Bork.

The rejection of Bork by the Senate is now at the center of the political storm between Reagan and Congress. But in truth the opposition between them is in no way fundamental. The defeat of Bork lies in the hands of anti-Bork mobilization nationwide.

That there is no unbridgeable conflict between Reagan and the Democrat-controlled Senate is seen in how Democrats are now eager to point out that they have "unhesitatingly" voted for conservatives, such as Sandra O'Connor and Anthony Scalia. Conservative Democrats like Robert C. Byrd, majority leader in the Senate, and liberal Senators like Christopher J. Dodd have stated publicly that, although they're anti-Bork, they would vote for a Reagan conservative nominee. The flaw in Bork, they say, is not his conservatism, but that he is an "extremist" out of the "mainstream."

In this paradoxical concept—the placing of "true" conservatives in opposition to "extremist" conservatives—the Senators have manufactured a neat formula by which they can support the conservatism of Reagan by opposing Bork. They're acting as if Bork's legal ideology is not in the "mainstream" of Reagan's six and a half years of continuing attacks upon the civil, human and economic gains that the masses of Blacks, women and labor have fought for over the last four decades. A good deal of Reagan's success in undermining these gains is due to the political retrogression of the Democrats and their fear of Reagan's popularity.

The invectives being hurled back and forth like missiles between the Senate and the White House around the Bork issue are not a serious, direct confrontation with the racism, sexism, poverty and the militarized economy into which Reagan has plunged this country.

And, neither Congress nor the Supreme Court has been the crucial pathways toward Black freedom.

Howard Beach: NY on trial

New York, N.Y.—The trial of four young white racists for the murder of Michael Griffith, one of three Black men beaten by a white mob in Howard Beach last December, has begun. The trial itself tells worlds about the racism permeating this city.

The testimony of a surprise witness cracked the foundation of defense attorney Stephen Murphy. The witness, a white woman, told how she saw one of the Blacks, Cedric Sandiford, fleeing the mob, asking for help. She drove her car around the neighborhood unsuccessfully looking to find and carry him to safety.

Murphy later insulted the other surviving victim, Timothy Grimes, implying that he deserved a beating because of his "true character." The white defendants laughed at Grimes as he sat on the witness stand. Murphy earlier had tried to use the jury selection rules to pack the jury with whites.

But all watching this trial can see that American justice is a system that is really unjust. In a New York Newsday story a friend of Griffith, Jerry McCullough, is quoted: "I'll tell you that if they don't bring in murder convictions then there is gonna be a war in this city." Another friend said that Griffith "grew up in 'do or die Bed Stuy.' He lived through the crack and poverty and the violence and the discrimination and he fought to get a job and got one and he was doing fine and then where did he die? He died in a white middle-class neighborhood."

But Howard Beach is only the tip of the iceberg. Police reports show a doubling of the number of racist attacks in New York. In September, three Black and two Hispanic youths were chased out of Carrol Gardens by 10 whites, and a young Black worker was struck in the head with a baseball bat by someone in a white gang in Ozone Park. Two Black men escaped a pipe-wielding mob on Staten Island in June, and KKK flyers have turned up on parked cars in Queens.

One hundred and fifty demonstrators marched through the Canarsie section of Brooklyn Sept. 20 in outrage over the beating of three Black teenagers there by 20 whites. Most of the demonstrators live in the integrated neighborhood and most were teenagers.

One told me he knew many of the whites jeering across the police lines at the marchers and had been jumped by the same gang that sparked the demonstration. Everyone I spoke with had a story to tell about unreported racist assaults: "They just don't like Black folks doing well enough to move here," said one Black woman.

Clearly, what the statistics on racist attacks do not show is the passion of Blacks to uproot this capitalist, racist USA. One friend of Michael Griffith, echoing Jerry McCullough, said, "Going to be a war if they walk," in reference to the whites on trial for Michael Griffith's murder. Whether they "walk" or not, this racist New York City remains on trial.

—Jim Mills

These arms of the capitalist state have only recognized Black freedom after Black masses have started on the road toward self-emancipation. In short, we should not forget that the Court's doctrine of "separate but equal" lasted until the Civil Rights Movement "declared" it "unconstitutional."

Long before Robert Bork's name was widely known, Reagan's Attorney General Edwin Meese was peddling Bork's legal ideology about how the Constitution should be interpreted, claiming that for the last 60 years all federal judges have deviated from "its intent."

The real ground of battle is, and has been, in the concrete struggles of Black Americans to prevent Meese from rolling the civil rights clock back to the last century by revising the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to the extent that it reduces minority voting strength, to oppose the Justice Department's outrageous charges of absentee vote fraud against civil rights activists in the South, as well as to stop Meese's relentless attempts to "jackhammer" affirmative action out of existence.

Free Moses Mayekiso!



News & Letters photo

We need a workers' charter that will say clearly who will control the farms...the factories, the mines. There must be a change of the whole society...Through the shop stewards councils people are opposed to the idea that there will be two stages toward liberation...It's a waste of time, a waste of energy and a waste of people's blood. —Moses Mayekiso

Chicago, Ill.—"Free Moses Mayekiso! Free ALL political prisoners in South Africa!" This was the slogan of a spirited picket line organized by News and Letters Committees with several other groups in front of the South African Consulate here Oct. 15 and attended by about 100 people of varying ages, women and men, Black, white, Iranian, African, Caribbean.

Moses Mayekiso, General Secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers and chairman of the Alexandra Action Committee, has—along with four others—been charged with high treason by the apartheid Butha regime. If convicted by the racist, fascist Rand Supreme Court, they will face the death penalty and could be executed by the end of the year.

It was almost exactly ten years ago that Steve Biko, founder of the Black Consciousness Movement, was murdered while he was in South African police custody. That state's continuing eagerness today to kill those who articulate the deepest revolutionary vision is what makes it so urgent to come to Mayekiso's aid now. That the publicity is sorely needed is confirmed by the failure of any of the major local media to cover it, save the Black daily, the Chicago Defender.

The rally ended with talks on Mayekiso's situation and on meetings to plan future protests on his behalf. Immediate action is required, before his life is taken.

—Franklin Dmitryev

Trial of the lonely hours

for Raya Dunayevskaya

Sing my songs
Raya
I thoughts I scream
And sing your dirge
To the rhythm of the "halam"
You could have waited
And see the flying birds
Heading to Washington in pain
The trial of the lonely hours
The angels to beckon you
Might go on lingering towards your footsteps
In hours of might, power of history
Iraq standing still
Washington at defence
The loud laughers of Iran
Anger your pen
To repeat the old stories
Raya
At counting hours
The youths of ages
Mounting your fronts
But shall see you
In their thoughts,
In their comrades' eyes
And in their arms
From Moscow, Washington awakes
To the drum beats of your thoughts
And in you, I can see
The pains of freedom and justice.
Ba-Karang from Sopee Ku, #3 The Gambia

South Africa:

Growth of labor movement

Los Angeles, Cal.—Let us look at some very sensitive labor issues in South Africa. While we expect the growth of the labor movement, there is at the same time a high level of government repression, of leader control, of regional-political influences on the labor movement from neighboring states and the so-called homelands: all these affect the trade union movement in South Africa.

Look at the recent National Union of Mineworkers strike, a very significant strike that attracted a lot of international attention; it could have shown a direction not only to people inside the country but to the whole world. There was, however, a great failure to address regional problems, especially the problems of the migrant workers.

During the 1982 miners' strike we had faced the similar issue with the migrant workers, specifically miners from Lesotho. When migrant workers go on strike and return home, it is not easy for them to get visas to return back to work later. In the recent strike, many of the Lesotho workers did not support the walk-out.

Another issue is the rise of strong leaders in the union federations, COSATU and NACTU, who are moving towards various political-organizational alliances, and stifling the independent development of the unions. In the trade union movement there are two major poles of political belief: there is a strong Black Consciousness wing and a strong wing that adheres to the African National Congress and its "Freedom Charter."

In the formation of the union federations in 1985-86, the major issue was that all small unions come together and form one big union. Now, the leaders are taking sides on political alliances without the general consent of the workers. But it is worker control that is key.

The union movement in South Africa is just beginning. Its members are those who are allowed by the law to enter the industrialized working areas. The greater majority of people are in Bantustans and are not represented. These are the issues we face that will determine where the movement is going.

Are workers having a say in the final decisions? Several unions, like MAWU and NAAWU, have passed resolutions that both state their commitment to building socialism, and at the same time claim that the Freedom Charter is a good foundation for a working-class program. But if you read the Freedom Charter, you'll see there is a problem of defining these concepts. There is a disregard of the workers' role as those who will make the final decisions.

Is that due to haste, uncertainty, or fear of coming to an abrupt end by government repression? There are those like Moses Mayekiso who strongly advocate workers' control. He is a strong leader, a worker who understands the trade unions, unlike a lot of the petty bourgeois trade union leaders who are driving the movement in their own direction. These are the problems we need to look into.

—Duke Moore,
Former member of AZAPO,
Presently, League Secretariat of BCM in the U.S.

Steve Biko Memorial

New York, N.Y.—There were two large meetings here on the tenth anniversary of Steve Biko's murder by the South African government, one in Brooklyn and one in Harlem. The highlights of both were talks by Saths Cooper of the Black Consciousness Movement. He discussed the trade union and youth movements, saying that unity in the South African struggle must be principled, for land and for total change.

He got his biggest hand at the Harlem meeting when he said that to only eliminate apartheid would leave South Africans no better off than American Blacks. "Blackness is a state of mind that sees itself in positive action," he said; "we don't want just to change white rulers for Black, like in Zaire and Kenya." He was particularly critical of Russia and its followers for trying to limit the struggle to "one man, one vote" within the present system.

Most of the American speakers did not discuss or share Biko's ideas about the need for "Blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self," and for a movement which does not "accept the dilemma of capitalism versus communism." In Harlem, Maoist speakers only urged the audience to join a party and to support Black nationalism. They did not mention a concept of Frantz Fanon's which Biko lived for, that "national consciousness, which is not nationalism, is the only thing that will give us an international dimension."

In contrast to the sloganeering of these speakers, many lively discussions ensued in the lobby. A group of young Jamaican students were present who had come not only to commemorate Biko, but to use the occasion to look for literature on philosophy of Black liberation. They wanted to work out how revolution in their country could avoid falling into the trap of Africa's neo-colonialism, or Haiti's post-Duvalier reality.

—Marxist-Humanists

Subscribe to News & Letters,
see ad, page 3

Review: Paul Buhle buries Marx's American roots

Marxism in the United States, From 1870 to the Present Day, Remapping the History of the American Left, by Paul Buhle (Verso, 1987).

With a title so comprehensive, chosen by the editor of *Radical America* and head of the "Oral History of the American Left" at Tamiment Library, New York, one is led to expect that the book will present both a serious historical analysis and a perspective out of the present crisis in thought that permeates the Left. Unfortunately it does neither of these things.

The book's tone is set in the preface, where the conclusion is first put forth that Marxism in the U.S. is a story of defeat and tragedy, of "betrayals and disillusionment." One can't help thinking that it is a very "personal" view—a sort of "unhappy consciousness"—the New York intellectual estranged from the mass movement, from the worker. "The chief error of Marxism, beginning with Marx" says Buhle, who does not view Marxism as a theory of liberation, "has been the economic limitation of a class model to the immediate means of production." It is this sort of truncated version of Marxism that characterizes the book.

MARX AND THE U.S. CIVIL WAR

It seems clear that Buhle wants to bury Marx, and thinks he can do it with a little juggling of dates. Why does he begin the book in 1870? Or according to the first chapter, 1865? It is conveniently at the end of the Civil War in the U.S., leaving out what Marx did and wrote about the Civil War—including the restructuring of *Capital*, the impact of the Civil War on the birth of the First International, the struggle for the eight-hour day, and so on.¹ It's an attack on the American roots of Marxism: Buhle wants to exorcise Marx's organic relationship to America, portraying Marxism as a "foreign import," and Marx as a "very European intellectual."

Buhle's pre-occupation is with America's "peculiar circumstances" that Marx "could scarcely appreciate." (57) "Socialism's future rested in something more complex, and something deeper in the American grain." That "something" is not the centrality of the Black dimension to the "American grain" but the need to "come to grips with the pervasive religious and cultural values." (58) And though he speaks of the relationship between the Women's Rights Movement and the Abolitionists, he fails to connect it to the Underground Railroad, the actual activities of Black slaves fighting for their freedom.²

Marx, himself, did not want to separate the Black struggle for freedom from the actual military aspect of the Civil War, writing, "a single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern

nerves..." Buhle ignores this, and when he does quote Marx on "Labor cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded," he wants to cut Marx down to size by writing: "But he could not at a distance comprehend the problems posed by racism at all levels of the society, and the complexity of a solution particularly for the labor movement." (63)³

In Chapter 4, "Leninism in America," the impact of the Russian Revolution on America is reduced to "the supreme faith in the revolutionary leadership of a new state in the making," and within the space of a page he skips from 1920 to 1930, without a word on the Stalinist counter-revolution.

POST-WORLD WAR II WORKERS

When he does get into the post-World War II age Buhle speaks of the "mundane consciousness of the U.S. working class," dominated by the "consumer society." The American worker, to Buhle, is backward and not only has no independent thoughts but can do little without leaders.

Because Buhle cannot recognize a revolutionary subject that can transform society, history is "a meta-historical process which has taken place behind the backs of the left." "We" according to Buhle "have all been made fools of in the ruses of history."

³ Here is more of the quote from *Capital*, which Buhle leaves out, which shows what a serious perspective Marx was putting forward: "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the republic. Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the black it is branded. But out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first fruit of the Civil War was the agitation for the eight hour day..."



Brian Willson, maimed by a munitions train at a protest demonstration September 1, returned to a rally at the Concord, California Naval Weapons Station.

Buhle's total hostility towards Marx, and disrespect for the American proletariat, are expressions of the fact that Buhle is the quintessential intellectual suffering outside of history—history, which Marx viewed not merely as past, but history in the making.

—Fred T. Shelley

Persian Gulf attack

(continued from page 1)

an institutionalization of his global counter-revolution, which we pointed to as part of a "changed world" in Spring 1986 with his attack on Libya's Gulf of Sidra. (see April 1 1986 N&L.) The latest step in that drive to institutionalize his global counter-revolution is seen in Reagan's blatant disregard of the War Powers Act. At first, the administration said the Act did not apply to the situation of the Persian Gulf; then, it announced that even if it did apply, the President would not adhere to it. The Boland amendment (which restricted aid to the contras from 1984-85) is clearly not the only law Reagan has been out to circumvent! The difference is that while he tried to get around the Boland amendment by creating a clandestine state-within-a-state in the basement of the White House, he now feels emboldened to refuse to adhere to the law openly.

In this he is helped by the Democrats in Congress too. They have refused to force him to invoke the War Powers Act, settling instead for a "compromise" resolution that will give Reagan a free hand in the Gulf for months. Whatever their respective position on the War Powers Act, the Democrats have shown full affinity with Reagan's actions, as reflected in the Senate vote in favor of the Oct. 19 attack on Iran, which passed 92-1.

Reagan would no doubt prefer his target for a war to be Nicaragua, but for the moment obstacles have come into his way. He therefore has singled out the Persian Gulf as his sphere of action, as if he can both harness Khomeini and signal to Russia that the Gulf is his lake. None of this will achieve anything except to intensify the perilousness of the whole global situation.

Reagan's adventures in the Persian Gulf must be stopped, and stopped now. That begins by recognizing the seriousness of the present situation, not allowing the movement to be lulled into placing the events there on the back burner. Nor can we let the fact that Khomeini's reactionary Islamic theocratic regime is one of full counter-revolution, impede the necessity for an opposition to Reaganism that is unequivocal. Marxist-Humanists have analyzed and opposed Khomeini's effort to usurp and dismember the Iranian Revolution since 1979, but at no time was that separate from opposition to U.S. imperialism and solidarity with the indigenous forces of youth, women, workers and national minorities struggling for freedom.

The time not alone to act, but to think, is now. It is a challenge demanded of us by today's changed world.

South Africa: new repression, new trade union struggles

(continued from page 1)

increased the momentum of the state's drive toward unlimited totalitarianism.

Internally, this has taken the form of strengthening the state apparatus with the National Security Management Service, a military bureaucracy which now controls all branches of the government, much of private enterprise, and determines all foreign, as well as domestic policy. To keep this development out of the public forum, Botha has even postponed the 1989 elections.

This tenth anniversary of the state-murder of Steve Biko and the banning of the Black Consciousness organizations that he led, also marks a new point of transition in COSATU's (Congress of South African Trade Unions) and NACTU's (National Council of Trade Unions) emergence into the political vacuum left by the fascist repression of the UDF (United Democratic Front) and the Black Consciousness Movement, this past year. So solid is the democratic foundation laid by Mayekiso and others in the Black trade union movement in effectively placing control of the union structures in the hands of rank-and-file workers that Mayekiso has said, "When the power remains with the workers on the shop floor, there is no head to cut off."

Although the well-organized trade union movement is not a political party or front that can be decapitated, because the capitalist system is dependent on a stable labor force, the militarized state machine did not hesitate to brutally attack striking mineworkers, including the state-sponsored terrorist bombing of COSATU offices in downtown Johannesburg, earlier this year.

A CONTINUOUS STRIKE WAVE

Despite Botha's overriding efforts to prevent the trade unions from becoming politicized, his neo-fascist crackdown has only hastened that development. This year we have seen major sectors of the Black working class in one continuous strike wave. The SATS (South African Transport Services) railway workers' strike, which coincided with a nationwide strike of retail workers in the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA), was followed by postal and telecommunication workers' strikes, followed in August and September by the largest mineworkers' strike in South African history.

Two weeks before the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) went out on general strike, its parent federation COSATU, held its second annual congress, marking, in

its 18 months of existence, a growth in membership from 450,000 to nearly one million. At the congress, COSATU president Elijah Barayi set the workers' congress in the context of the current political struggle:

"This Congress is taking place at a time when the conflict between the forces trying to maintain the system and the forces of social progress is hotter than ever; when masses of our people are in a state of near permanent upsurge...Our history and experience has shown us that the working class cannot be independent from sectors of the democratic movement which have occupied and transformed schools, universities, and the streets of our townships into trenches of struggle. We have seen in the last few years how the streets, factories, schools and universities have become laboratories of new forms and methods of struggle. To us, the emergence of alternative structures on the political horizon shows a new qualitative leap forward in the struggle for the transfer of power to the democratic majority."

It was at this congress in July that COSATU adopted the ANC (African National Congress) Freedom Charter as its minimum program for a democratic South Africa. However, at the founding congress of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, held in May, which united the seven major Black metal and allied workers' unions and elected Moses Mayekiso its general secretary despite his imprisonment, the workers also resolved, in adopting the Freedom Charter, to create a "Workers' Charter" to go beyond its limitations.

Community organizations like the Alexandra Action Committee have been marked by the democratic structures that militants such as Mayekiso and rank-and-file workers had developed in their trade unions. That is why Mayekiso's Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU) was so concerned about the silencing of political debate in the movement that at its last congress, before entering NUMSA, it passed the following resolution: "The working class must have open and free debate on all issues, all ideas and all policies...We must build a tradition of democracy and free debate for the future. Sectarianism can suppress free debate and can be a stumbling block in our efforts to build democratic socialism."

The debate over the relationship of political to economic issues and tendencies is not only a question before workers in South Africa. The month-long mineworkers' strike in Namibia, which ran concurrently with the NUM strike in South Africa, has shown the ad-

vanced political nature of the trade union movement in that South African-occupied land as well.

The arrest of union leaders and SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization) leader Hendrik Witbooi, grandson of the Herero chief who led the struggle against German imperialism in the decade before World War I and the Russian Revolution, brings to mind Rosa Luxemburg's graphic description of the Herero war: "...in 1904 came the glorious Herero war. The Hereros are a Negro people who for centuries have clung to their native soil, and made it fertile with their sweat. Their 'crime' lay in this: that they would not spinelessly surrender themselves to the rapacious robber barons of industry, to white slave owners; that they defended their homeland against foreign invaders."

THE NATIONAL QUESTION

Unfortunately—and this is what is central to the current debates taking place within the struggle in South Africa today—in Luxemburg's view such national liberation movements were either "utopian" or a stage of "bourgeois nationalism." Proletarian struggles and national self-determination were opposites which could not, in her view, be reconciled. Nor did she grasp that such seeming opposites could develop into the type of relationship articulated by Ben Ulenga, general secretary of the Mineworkers Union of Namibia during this year's strike: "We believe the workers' movement can only function as part and parcel of the national liberation struggle."

It is, as Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in her critique of Luxemburg's diversion from Marx's concept of the "National Question," "a question of dialectics, of the methodology in approaching opposites. Any question of dialectic methodology and the relationship of that to the dialectics of liberation...had been judged 'abstract' by Luxemburg. As she searched for new theory to answer new 'facts,' dialectics of liberation entirely passed her by. Unfortunately, so did the new forces of revolution in the national struggle against imperialism."

What Dunayevskaya has posed goes beyond the question of economic and political demands, to the philosophic method that is indispensable to making them inseparable. This is the question confronting workers in this new political stage within the Black trade union movement in South Africa. A philosophy of revolution will assure that they will answer it.

Malta: The island and its politics

Valletta, Malta—The population of the Maltese Islands is somewhere around 329,000. Malta's history is full of invasion and occupations by larger countries: the Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, Normans, Angevins, Swabians, Aragonese, Castillians, then after the Order of St. John, the French, and, finally, the British. On September 21, 1964, Malta became "independent" within the Commonwealth.

During the 1960s, Malta was ruled by the Nationalist Party, a Christian Democrat organization, which is presently in power since May 9, 1987. The Nationalist Party then did bring about a certain degree of industrialization and economic development but, as can be expected, did nothing to improve the standard of living of the steadily increasing Maltese proletariat. By 1970-71, the resentment of the Maltese working class was beginning to manifest itself in strikes and stoppages, notably at the Dockyards, which were then central to the economy.

In the 1971 elections, the Maltese threw out the Nationalist Party from the government and instead elected the Malta Labour Party. There was no doubt that the election of a Labour government engendered high hopes of a fundamental change in the balance of class forces amongst a substantial section of the Maltese working class. The slogan "Marxism is the road for Labour" which was scrawled on the entrance to Valletta—the archipelago's capital—symbolized these aspirations.

LABOUR TINKERS, SYSTEM STANDS

Yet, it was clear from the very start that Labour's leadership had other plans in mind. True, they did carry out some significant reforms during their first legislature: nationalizations of banks, broadcasting, supply of energy were carried out; the role of the state in the economy was increased through the formation of parastatal corporations like AirMalta, Sea Malta, TeleMalta, EneMalta, etc.; new social services were introduced and most existing ones improved; civil marriage was introduced and homosexuality and adultery ceased to be criminal offences; N.A.T.O. was thrown out and an agreement negotiated with Britain for the withdrawal of troops by March 31, 1979,—now Malta's National Day.

Significant though these reforms were, they amounted to little more than tinkering with the system; that is, there was a complete failure to take measures to destroy the capitalist system. Furthermore, the government, in attempting to speed up industrialization, relied heavily on import controls, thereby seeking to propagate an artificial conflict of interest between Maltese and "foreign" workers when the workers' interest is one and the same in all countries: to destroy capitalism.

Moreover, Labour encouraged a number of multinational companies to invest in Malta and brought pressure to bear on its trade union equivalent, the General Workers' Union, not to insist too much on wage increases and improved working conditions as these would discourage investments. These reactionary policies were further intensified in the subsequent legislatures.

FROM REFORMS TO COUNTER-REFORMS

During the second and third legislatures, the Labour

Salvadorans win return

On Oct. 10, 4,500 Salvadorans from the refugee camp of Mesa Grande, Honduras, began their long-awaited return to the towns and villages of their birth. Their caravan included 150 buses full of people and 50 trucks of belongings (generally consisting of two to four laundry baskets per family). Accompanying them were 11 members of the U.S. religious community, concerned for the refugees' safety.

Days before, supported in part by the recent Arias peace plan, a large number of refugees had met with delegates of Duarte's government and of ACNUR (a United Nations program for refugees) to demand a safe return home. Duarte's delegates proposed that the refugees resettle in specifically designated towns under government military control, rather than return to their own villages. The refugees refused this proposal and were offered another: return to their preferred locations after entering El Salvador one small group at a time rather than en masse. The refugees again refused.

The representatives of Duarte announced that no further negotiations would take place, and ACNUR decided not to offer transportation. When the report was taken to a meeting of the rest of the refugees, the entire hall raised an outcry, and one woman stood up and yelled out that if they had to they would go by foot to the border and wait to be let in. Finally, Duarte's government acceded to the demands of the 4,500 determined refugees.

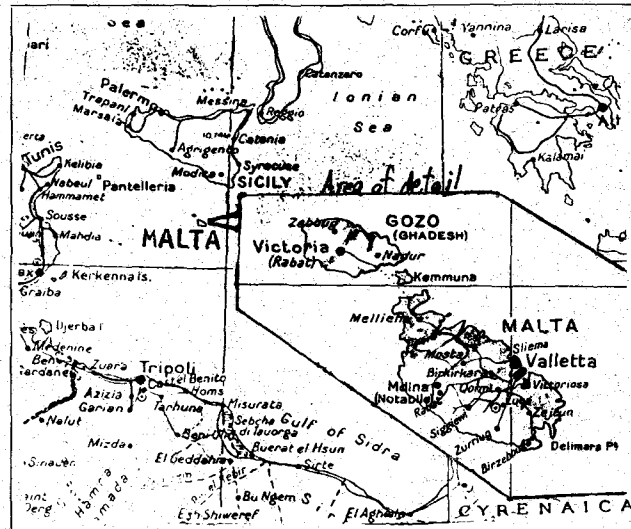
On May 14, 1980, after a massacre at the Sumpul River which left three Salvadoran villages burned and bombed and hundreds dead, the first refugees made their way across the border to "safety" in the heavily guarded camp of Mesa Grande. Children have been born and raised in this miserable landscape, crowded with corrugated shacks. Seven thousand refugees still remain at Mesa Grande, hoping and waiting for good news from their comrades.

Many of those returning are prepared to help each other rebuild homes destroyed by the army. Among them are many courageous women whose husbands, children and other relatives are among the 65,000 Salvadorans murdered or "disappeared" by the Salvadoran military in the past seven years.

—Mexican revolutionary in Los Angeles

leadership passed from reforms to counter-reforms. Shortly after Labour was re-elected, industrial action by workers was ruthlessly suppressed through vindictive suspensions, lockouts and transfers in 1977, a witch-hunt launched against dissident left-wingers in the party and bringing the General Workers' Union more firmly under the control of the Malta Labour Party. Labour paid the price for these reactionary measures in the 1981 elections, where it lost the majority of votes although a loophole in the electoral system permitted it to obtain a majority of seats. The Constitution was amended in the beginning of 1987 and the possibility of such a result repeating itself has been provided for.

Throughout these last five years, Labour has continued on its merry drift rightwards: imposing a wage freeze on workers, banning new collective agreements, introducing streaming (tracking) at nearly every level of education, refusing to discuss a private member's bill on the introduction of the equal rights amendment into the Maltese Constitution, engaging



Malta, an island in the Mediterranean Sea.

in organized thuggery against opponents, etc. Given all this, the Nationalist Party's victory at the polls on May 9, 1987 was a foregone conclusion even if it was a very narrow victory. The Nationalist Party was clearly able to exploit all the deficiencies of the Labour Party whilst demagogically claiming to represent the interests of the working class.

Plainly, therefore, the May 9 elections may well represent a watershed in Maltese politics. The Labour Party faces internal dissensions which may well lead to a disillusioned minority within its ranks embracing Marxist—or what they think to be Marxist principles. This year and the years to come may well hold some surprise in store for us.

—Maltese correspondents

Immigrants organize

Los Angeles, Cal.—I came to this country about ten years ago from Mexico. I worked in the garment industry here for many years, and was involved in a strike that lasted nine months. I became involved in the ILGWU and found people who shared the same ideas that I had, especially on the need to organize undocumented workers, although this is very difficult.

One of the things that has changed the situation is the new immigration law. Working conditions in the garment industry were bad before the new law went into effect, and the situation is getting even worse now. Several months ago, before the new law, some workers came to the union and told us their story: they had not been paid for four weeks!

Now the new law aims to create even more divisions and exploitation of the undocumented workers. The current strike at Ideal Textile is very important. The workers went on strike before the new law went into effect, but even though most don't qualify under the amnesty law, that hasn't stopped them from fighting and organizing.

We have formed immigration committees in the union, and we conduct training with the workers about what to do in case of INS raids. And we've seen greater participation from the union members. We feel we need to address these problems outside of everyday shop problems; then union members identify themselves more and more with the union.

We are trying to establish ties with other trade unions from other parts of the world, especially Mexico. We are sponsoring a tour of the women from the 19th of September garment union from Mexico City. (See July 1986 N&L) We have been inspired by what they have accomplished through their own self-organization, the workers themselves. Those unions are the kind of union that will support us, and they need our support.

That organizing is the kind of approach we need here in the U.S. This is the approach that unions had here initially, but unfortunately things go a different way as time goes by. We want to have this exchange of experiences with them so our members here have a different perspective of what a union is, that it means their own thoughts and their own participation.

We also met with a representative from the Coca-Cola workers in Guatemala. Three of their leaders have been murdered in their union struggle. We need to see these different struggles so we don't lose sight of the importance and need for what we do. I'm here to learn and to share with others.

—Antonio Orea, ILGWU organizer

Chile in poverty, revolt

On the eve of the Sept. 16 general strike in Chile, called by the National Workers Command and very successful, I spoke to my uncle by phone. What he told me left even me, who knows the misery in Chile under Pinochet, wondering, "How do they live?"

The minimum wage is 12,000 pesos, or sixty U.S. dollars, a month. The strike was demanding 20,000. The PEM and POJ public make-work programs pay 3,000 pesos, or \$15 a month, for single people, 5,000 pesos for married. Meat to make the national dish, cazuela, is 480 pesos a kilo, (2.2 lbs) bread 100 to 150 pesos a kilo, soup bones 300 a kilo.

The low wages among the marginal neighborhoods is one reason for the great increase in delinquency and prostitution among youth. There are also drugs, but not as we know them. The youth have no money to buy drugs. They sniff the neoprene glue the shoemakers use. It makes them forget or accept for awhile.

You have to pay 500 pesos to get your identification card. If you don't have it, and don't have it marked that you voted, you'll be labelled anti-junta. You go to look for a job, that's the first thing they ask you for. If you didn't vote, you won't be hired, and you may even be arrested.

My uncle was saying he really doesn't know where this will all end. At one and the same time there is such a great desperation and such a great silence among the people. Not many more days can pass before something has to give. There is nothing left that the people couldn't be disgusted with.

—Chilean exile, New York

Protest Philippine murder

New York, N.Y.—Filipinos and Americans picketed the Philippine consulate Sept. 23, the first time since the revolution of February 1986, to express their sorrow and outrage at the murder of Leandro Alejandro, head of Bayan, a coalition of cause-oriented groups who was gunned down in broad daylight in the streets of Manila.

The sponsoring Alliance for Philippine Concerns said he was killed "because he called for protests against increasing military incursion in government; killed because he called for stricter control over the military; killed because he called for an end to American military aid."

A few days earlier, at a conference on "Filipino Women and the Militarization of U.S. Foreign Policy," Violeta Marasigan of the National Council of Churches in the Philippines described the recent coup attempt, the oil price increase which caused strikes all over the country, and the atmosphere of fear facing activists.

"We expected the government after the revolution to be revolutionary," she said. Instead, there is no economic recovery in sight and human rights violations have increased. She spoke of the rise of right-wing vigilantes and the rape and sexual abuse of women by the military, along with killing and burning, as part of the counter-insurgency campaign sponsored by the U.S.

She described the enormous sex industry maintained for the U.S. military bases, through which AIDS has been introduced in the Philippines. Prostitutes were not told they had AIDS until a Navy doctor, defying orders, broke the story. Now they are demanding the U.S. pay their medical expenses.

A militant women's movement is protesting these atrocities and the U.S. militarization of their country. Gabriela, a coalition of 100 women's groups, is organizing the urban poor, workers, and in the churches. Marasigan said, "The forces that oppress us at home are international, and to be feminist, one must also be an internationalist."

—Anne Jaclard

Letter from Manila

Metro Manila, The Philippines—The major recipients of our services are workers. Our library, with its extension service, the bookmobile and our Databank, serve as a resource center of materials for trade union education work as well as for ventilation of issues and organizing work.

To give you an example, we recently held a bookmobile at a cluster of big factories. We were able to arrange a coordination on the following: 1. Display of relevant materials on women's issues, trade unionism, etc. 2. Circulation of at least 20 books among union members to be coordinated by the union's education offices. We value education work among workers because as a sector they can assume a constructive role in society.

With regard to what's happening in our country after the revolution. First and foremost it must be clarified that the February 1986 revolution was actually an anti-fascist uprising, backed by rightist-military turned anti-Marcos (Enrile-Ramos).

To have rid the Philippine government of a fascist was our victory. However, and months later, the realization of our people's nationalist and democratic aspirations remained to be asserted by the people themselves because of doubts over the consistency and persistence of present government officials to pursue the demands or some decisive changes in government and in society as a whole. For instance, the question of land reform and genuine nationalist industrialization geared to alleviate the people from poverty; the question of economic dependency on foreign capital at the expense of nationalist industrialization.

Thus the revolution continues, part of which, I believe, is stretching what could be asserted in the parliament of the streets and in Congress; at the same time testing the limits of the liberals in government as to how far they would uphold and realize the demands of the people.

—Librarian

Youth

U.S. students view youth revolt in South Africa, South Korea

by Sheila Fuller

The continuous revolts of South African and South Korean youth have captured the hearts and minds of many youth in the U.S. They are making us ask: how can we have a youth movement of that intensity and continuity in the U.S.? How can we solidarize with them by helping to uproot Reaganism's backing of the counter-revolutions of Botha and Chun Doo Hwan? What can we learn from the revolutionary experiences of these youth? This month I have been talking with several student activists in Chicago about these questions, and would like to share these discussions.

One young anti-war activist from Northern Illinois University (NIU) told me: "There are a lot of debates about whether students can change things. But when you see that all over the world, youth have so much power, you see that just because you are young and a student, doesn't mean you are insignificant."

When I asked him what he thought of Raya Dunayevskaya's description of South Korean youth as "a new kind of radical...looking philosophically for a revolution that would overthrow not only their military dictatorship but would clear the ground for a new society that differed both from North Korea and from South Korea—totally different from either East or West," he responded: "The day I read about how some South Korean youth are discussing the book *Philosophy and Revolution* was the day I had started reading *Philosophy and Revolution*. I feel a lot like them too. I am beginning to realize how complex our problem is in challenging the powers that be."

STUDENT-WORKER RELATIONS

He was excited by the way some South Korean students have established actual relations with workers, by going to the factories and participating in workers' strikes. "This summer I worked in a cannery in Alaska and met many workers who were a lot more progressive and open-minded than the students at universities are. Students have to start thinking along the lines of supporting workers especially on their own campuses."

"At NIU, we have been attempting to have a relationship with the food service and janitorial workers and when the university was selling out our food service to outside non-union vendors, the union and our John Lennon Society got together and stopped them. What I'd like to see is if American and South Korean youth could exchange letters and newspapers and have an actual correspondence so that we can help each other."

When I asked several student activists why they thought our student anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. had quieted down over the past year, they all thought one reason has been the U.S. media's toeing the line on Botha's censorship, not allowing the U.S. public to see or hear of the continuous revolt in South Africa. But one 19-year-old NIU student, who had helped invite a representative of the South African Domestic Workers Union to speak on this campus last year, told me: "In the schools that divested, we thought our solidarity work was done, instead of continuing our work. It is the racism in the U.S. that is tied with it. You can't scream about South Africa when you are

High school activists speak

Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts from a presentation by two LaGuardia High School students, members of SOS Racism, at a New York News and Letters Committee meeting.

New York, N.Y.—Ever since I've been involved in politics I've been noticing that our high school is a mini-version of our society. The administration of the school tries to segregate us, to push us down. Even those in elitist honors classes get the feeling you can't have your own opinions...

Our school is supposed to be artistic, and they tell us we're supposed to think freely. Then when we think freely they get very upset. They've gotten down to a science making people think they're thinking for themselves, when they're just going along with exactly what they're supposed to be doing. More and more kids all over are breaking out of this.

The government, the adult world and our school administration portray adolescence as a freakazoid stage you go through. Suddenly you're all screwed up and have so much energy you have to get out. If you have a problem they say, "Don't worry honey, it's just a stage. Then they tell us, you're kids and you can't vote, you can't drink and you can't drive, so therefore you can't speak out."

There's the classic image of the rebel teenager, and I think it has to do with the fact that the government, to a certain extent, realizes how much power students have. We're the future and they're scared of that.

When you go to a movie about teenagers, you see kids drinking, having sex and talking about how much money they're going to make. It's diminished youth to such a low, contemptible form that they're not worth listening to, supposedly.

But I've felt a lot more students have moved me, in their speeches, in the way they talk, with their passion, than a lot of adults who have learned to curb their feelings more. That's one reason why youth are really something to look at, because they haven't been curbed by the society they live in. Their feelings are more naive, maybe—or more pure.

practicing forms of racism here."

FREEDOM AND EDUCATION

What the students I spoke with were most interested in discussing was an article by a South African thinker-activist, Jongilizwe, published in the December 1986 issue of *News & Letters*, and specifically his critique of the South African youth's slogan: "Freedom Now, Education Later," which he thought "prevents the alternative of education for liberation from happening."

One young woman human rights activist told me: "Jongilizwe is raising the question of what happens after the revolution. And that is the most important question. He says that Marxism is Humanist. That in developing a philosophy lies the answer to what happens after the revolution."

A Black student from NIU, however, thought that the South African students' slogan is not a negation of education but a very profound statement. "Look at schools in Chicago and all over the U.S. and how education is used to distort one's knowledge of freedom."

Many American youth are concerned about and excited by the youth movements in South Africa and South Korea, and want to relate these movements' search for new human relations to the need for a youth freedom movement right here in the U.S. I would like to invite other young readers of *News & Letters* to send us your thoughts on this discussion.

U. of Chile: Rector out!



Univ. of Chile students demand rector's ouster.

During a continuing series of student/faculty protests and campus takeovers in Santiago, Chile, opposing the appointment of Jose Luis Federici as rector of the University of Chile, police have attacked demonstrators with tear gas and water cannon, and shot student Maria Paz Santibanez in the head, leaving her partially paralyzed.

Federici, who as hatchet man for Gen. Pinochet presided over the firings of thousands of workers at the national railroad and coal companies in the 1970s, has already fired four deans and 36 tenured professors active in faculty opposition to the Pinochet dictatorship. Students have been holding clandestine meetings to discuss the creation of an alternative to the university's governing structure.

Fight education cuts, tuition hike!

DeKalb, Ill.—To protest the \$53 million cut in the state higher education budget and a tuition increase of \$150, about 200 Northern Illinois University (NIU) students blocked Highway 38 on Oct. 21.

This action was part of a statewide protest on 15 campuses and at the Illinois General Assembly, involving thousands of student associations. Seven hundred students, faculty, staff members and administrators gathered at the state capital to rally and lobby for higher education funding. The crowd at Illinois State University was estimated to be as large as 1,000.

The action at NIU, however, was the only reported case of mass civil disobedience. The day's events began with a rally organized by the Student Committee for Political Action. The tone of the rally became radicalized as student speakers repeatedly stressed the effects of the budget cuts on minorities and the working class.

Speakers from both the organization of Latin American students, and El Movimiento Estudiante Chicano de Azlan (MECHA) bitterly denounced Governor Thompson and President Reagan. They said the budget cut would have a bad effect on the Latin American and Chicano communities.

Student Association Welfare advisor Julie Stege said, "Women today take their right to vote for granted, but condemn the use of direct action to gain their rights. This is a contradiction."

Chicago school strike rally

Editor's note: On Oct. 2, some 800 students, as well as parents and teachers, rallied in downtown Chicago around the issue of the strike by teachers and other school employees. Later that month the strike was settled. Below we print some of the comments of high school students at the rally.

Chicago, Ill.—Over 430,000 kids are out of school and this is the first time anyone has ever asked us what we think about the school strike. We are not getting an education. Frankly, we aren't getting one in school either. But being out of school is like living in the Twilight Zone. No one cares about whether we are learning anything. It is like we don't exist.

The school strike is messing up the lives of the students. It is especially hurting the seniors who have to take SAT and ACT exams, which are scheduled for October. Deadline for college applications is also coming up. If you are not in school you won't make it.

We have already lost one week of Christmas Vacation. The whole Spring Break is lost, and they are talking of a week into summer. There is also talk of adding an extra hour each day. All of this is only to make up the time lost so far.

I want to know why there is no money for our education. There is money for the school board to pay administrators \$50,000 to \$60,000 a year, but in our school there isn't even money to pay for club activities, like band. And another thing, why are we the only school district that is out of school? The suburbs are in school. I think it is because our district is mostly Black. But no one ever talks about that as the reason.

What about Governor Thompson? If this was an election year, he would be here instead of in Europe on vacation. What really gets us mad is that he took his daughter, whose school is also on strike, with him to Europe. Thompson and Mayor Washington are all politicians. You have to blame them both.

Some of us are hurting both in home and school. My mother is a teacher and she hasn't brought home a paycheck since June.

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Fifty Israeli men and women aged 17 and 18 informed the government in October that they would refuse to serve in Israel's "army of occupation and oppression" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. Meanwhile, that same army temporarily closed down two Palestinian universities because of large student protests over the killing of four Palestinians in what the army called a shootout.

Black students at Harvard protested the scant punishment meted out by the university to two football players who, using the name "Negro hit squad," harassed a Black student. One was put on probation but allowed to play for the team, prompting two students to write, "The message to black students is that their safety is of lesser importance than the politics of football."

Student, faculty and community protests in September and October forced the University of Rochester in New York to reverse a May 22 decision ending its seven-year moratorium on investments in South Africa-linked companies. Not satisfied with a divestment deadline of June 1988, protesters promised to maintain their campus shantytown until divestment is complete.

Jacek Czaputowicz, a Polish dissident imprisoned in 1986 for supporting draft resisters, put would-be U.S. president George Bush to the test and found him wanting. Invited to dine with Bush at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw, Czaputowicz was disinvited when the embassy found out he was going to protest the imprisonment of U.S. draft resister Gillam Kerley.

John Lennon Society activist Jim Fabris told the crowd they were involved in a freedom struggle because it is impossible to have freedom without education, or education without freedom. He said this struggle began when slaves illegally taught each other to read. "Obstructing people from getting an education is a far worse crime than obstructing traffic on any highway," Fabris said.

Rally organizer Todd Kuzma told the protestors, "The single most effective tool students on this campus have had is student action and civil disobedience. The day before the police had threatened to arrest Kuzma for "conspiracy," if students blocked the road.

The final speech was drowned out by the crowd chanting, "March, March!" The whole group marched down a campus street to the highway. They filled up an intersection stopping traffic.

A red Buick which refused to detour drove through the crowd forcing several protestors to jump out of the way. Freshman Art Zempke was hit and slightly injured. Later Zempke said, "Instead of hitting the brake, the driver hit the gas. I rolled over the hood and onto the sidewalk."

Police ordered the protestors to disperse. Students sat down in the roadway for seven minutes before they continued marching. The crowd continued marching through campus buildings and ended with a meeting in the bursar's office.

—Student activist

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

"America's purpose is to foster true constitutional government and free elections, and to this end strong moral support will be given to established governments against revolutions." The above words were those of a U.S. president toward Nicaragua. The year was 1912, not 1987. President Taft's honeyed words were carried by the U.S. Marines as their "justification" for invading Nicaragua in 1912. They occupied that country until 1933, even then merely turning power over to the U.S.-created Somoza dynasty. Genuine national liberation came only with the Sandinista revolution of 1979.

Such are the facts of history which even Reagan cannot reverse. More than 40,000 human beings have been killed since 1981 in Reagan's contra war against the revolutionary government of Nicaragua. Most are civilians massacred by the contras or blown up by land mines. Yet Reagan and the whole U.S. political establishment, including the media, dare to speak of these U.S.-created murderers as freedom fighters.

Bourgeois Latin American leaders are in a bind: their own masses press them to do something to show solidarity as Reagan bleeds Nicaragua, while at the same time Reagan threatens to undermine or topple them if they aid Nicaragua. For years Mexico's Contadora peace plan was a compromise rejected by Reagan but accepted by Nicaragua.

Moroccans in France

On Oct. 1, a one-day nationwide coal strike against mine closings and layoffs took place. But on Oct. 2, Moroccan immigrant miners blocked the entrances to two mines. As the last hired (since 1975), the Moroccan workers will be the first fired when these two mines close at the end of 1987. Ten days later, the Moroccans were still on strike, but had gained little support from their French colleagues. "I don't want to be treated like a plastic bottle that you throw away after drinking the water," said one striker.

Many of the Moroccans have lived a decade in France, have French-speaking children and their families there, and wish to remain. But with unemployment in the mining regions at 15%, they have little chance to find work. For this reason their protest strike remained solid, 100% effective among the Moroccans at the two mines. Yet some production continued as French workers crossed their lines. The deepest and most oppressed layer of the working class, these miners have surprised the country by their determination to fight the layoffs which violate promises made to all the workers of lifetime employment.

Burkina Faso coup

In response to the bloody overthrow of Thomas Sankara, who along with 12 aides was murdered on Oct. 15, thousands of people gathered at the unmarked grave site. Soon flowers and crosses covered the grave. Hundreds of students shouted "assassins" and "ban-lits" when soldiers tried to bar the public from the cemetery. Primary and secondary schools were closed when students threw stones at representatives of the new government, headed by Blaise Compaoré. Opposition to the new government is present in the military as well as among civilians.

New Fiji coup

"I am not a racist," whined ethnic Fijian Col. Sitiveni Rabuka, leader of a recent military coup. But a few days later, on Oct. 7, Rabuka scrapped the island nation's bourgeois democratic constitution in favor of a racist system where ethnic Fijians (47% of the population) would automatically control the government despite the presence of a huge Fijian Indian community (49% of the population).

That Indian community had backed Left-oriented ethnic Fijian Timoci Bavadra, whose multi-racial coalition won the May 1987 election easily, on a platform of social reform as well as opposition to French and U.S. nuclear presence in the South Pacific. Rabuka staged his first coup in May, toppling Bavadra, gaining popular support by fanning the flames of anti-Indian racism. By September a rotten compromise negotiated by Britain would have limited Indians to one third of the parliamentary representatives.

But even this was too much for Rabuka and the gangsterish anti-Indian Taukei movement which supports him.

Will Reagan succeed in sabotaging the Central American peace plan?

This year another Central American peace plan was unveiled by President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica. It calls for all governments where there are armed struggles—not only Nicaragua, but also the U.S.-backed rulers of Guatemala and El Salvador—to grant amnesty to their opponents and to democratize. All governments must cease allowing military aid to insurgents from their soil, including Honduras, where the contras are based.

Reagan has sometimes openly, sometimes covertly, opposed this immensely popular peace plan all along. It is popular both in Central America and in the U.S., plus Arias has just won the Nobel Peace Prize. Yet Reagan does seem to have succeeded in pressuring Arias to create new conditions which are unacceptable to Nicaragua, such as negotiations with the contra leaders—something they can never agree to since the contra terrorists represent Washington, not any significant constituency in Nicaragua.

At the same time, startling new developments are taking place in Central America. In Nicaragua, Miskito Indian insurgents who had sided with the contras are now reaching agreements with the Sandinistas. In El Salvador, 4,500 peasant refugees who had fled

to Honduras to avoid military massacres have now forced the U.S.-backed Duarte government to allow them to return peacefully to an area dominated by leftist guerrillas. (See article p. 10.) Even in Guatemala, the timid civilian leader Cerezo risked the anger of the military, that land's true rulers, to hold one day of negotiations with leftist guerrillas. The fighting has gone on ever since the CIA helped the military overthrow the last Guatemalan civilian government in 1954.

Reagan wants to make sure, however, that none of this means any genuine revolutions or even social reform measures in Central America. As Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in her last column on Central America (N&L, 4/10/87): "Ronald Reagan's attitude to Central America and the Caribbean, as if it were his lake and talking as if democracy ruled those lands, is much like Gorbachev's shadow-boxing in Afghanistan when he talks of having the Russian troops withdraw and a 'pluralistic' regime be installed in Afghanistan. These two-of-a-kind nuclear superpowers have actually only one thing in mind, and that is each other's race for world nuclear supremacy."

Having increased the size of the army from 2,500 to 6,000 men, with many Taukei among the new recruits, Rabuka staged another coup. While the U.S. and Britain issued mild protests, French imperialism, which has plenty of problems of its own in its nearby colony New Caledonia, sent ships to Fiji for a joint naval exercise, openly welcoming a new ally for imperialist domination of the region. Timoci Bavadra, the legitimately elected leader who had tried to break down racism, is under arrest.

British trade unions

The British Trade Union Congress held at the beginning of September was clamorous, the central issue being whether the unions should endorse a policy of "no-strike" clauses in their contracts or not. The "no-strikers," led by the electrical union—a union that for two years has accepted no-strike clauses because the Japanese electronic companies that invest in England threatened to leave the country if they did not—maintained that socialism, with its ideals of class struggle and working class solidarity, was dead and that the only way the unions can gain new members is through a policy of industrial peace which guarantees gradual wage increases in conformity to the inflation and seniority rights.

According to these union leaders, the modern worker is only interested in consuming more and not at all in affirming themselves through protest on the job or with strikes. At the same time, the unions are offering their members credit cards, loans from financial companies owned by unions and the creation of co-operatives that would give union members discount coupons. What's more, some unions have begun buying entire popular housing units

which were constructed by the government as cheap housing for the poor and now are being sold as part of the government's policy of privatization. Union members can buy apartments, borrowing at low interest rates. If this is the way the union movement is going, the unions might as well close shop and set themselves up as private clubs for privileged members.

The no-strikers won, while the leader of the miners' union walked out saying, "We're going on strike."

—Margaret Ellingham

India in Sri Lanka

As Indian troops closed in on Jaffna, the main Tamil city, the stark reality of India as new oppressor set in. The Liberation Tigers, the main Tamil guerrilla group, were engaged in all-out war with the Indians, who had sought to control the nature of the autonomy granted to the Tamil areas by the June 1987 treaty between the Indian government and the racist Sinhalese-dominated Sri Lankan government.

While atrocities have occurred on all sides in this war—with the victims innocent Tamil or Sinhalese Sri Lankan citizens—the key question underlying the fighting is simple. Are or are not the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka to gain independence or at least genuine autonomy from the Sinhalese government of Sri Lanka, which has murderously persecuted them for decades? At first it appeared to some that autonomy could emerge under Indian tutelage.

But that was illusory. The class nature of India as a sub-imperialist power in South Asia is revealed to the world by the concrete human toll of Tamil civilians in Jaffna. What effect will this have upon the already shaky rule of In-

dia's Rajiv Gandhi, mired at home by a war with Sikh separatists and mass discontent fueled by financial corruption scandals?

Unrest in Tibet

On Oct. 1, China's national day, more than 2,000 Tibetans fought with security forces in the chief city of Lhasa in a bloody confrontation that left six demonstrators and 19 police dead, according to official figures. This was the largest of a series of demonstrations which prompted the central government to move army reinforcements into Lhasa.

Because the demonstrations followed the appearance before the U.S. Congress of the Dalai Lama, the self-exiled leader of Tibetan Buddhism, Chinese leaders were quick to blame him—and there's no doubt that marches of lamas from their monasteries began the protests. But just one week before, authorities had held their own demonstration, publicly trying Tibetan dissidents and executing one of them, indicating they were determined to stifle ongoing unrest.

In the years since China suppressed armed resistance in Tibet in 1959, Tibet has been autonomous in name only. At various times China has packed Tibet's officialdom with officials from the central government or, as now, moved so many ethnic Chinese into jobs in Lhasa itself that Tibetans there have become a minority with a higher unemployment rate.

China's claim to sovereignty over Tibet is well-recognized by the bourgeois Big Powers because it is based on domination by old Imperial China. But China has never measured the Tibet question against a Marxist standard, self-determination as Marx and Lenin in their day looked at Ireland and Poland.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that 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 new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. We have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead."

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today*; *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao and Rosa Luxemburg*; *Women's Liberation*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* 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.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." The development of the Marxist-Humanism of Dunayevskaya is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time. 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 mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.