

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 31—No. 2

MARCH, 1986

25¢

Black World

State of Black America



by Lou Turner

Three reports — Reagan's State of the Union message, Bill Moyers' CBS special on "The Vanishing Family: Crisis in Black America," and the National Urban League's annual report on the State of Black America — tell us much about American Black reality and American white racism.

REAGANISM VS. BLACK AMERICA

Nothing obscured the crisis in American society more than Ronald Reagan's fifth annual State of the Union message on Feb. 5, coming one week after the shuttle disaster. And nothing exposes the true dimension of that crisis more glaringly than the actual state of Black America.

What appeared as a lack of concreteness in his State of the Union speech, and near total reliance on the most cliché-ridden rhetoric ever mouthed by a U.S. President, in fact launched Reaganism's new ideological offensive for the second half of the 1980s. As we will see, what is new in all of this is that Black leaders and ideologues have begun to speak the same language as the Reagan administration.

The latest assault on the Black family has come not only from Reagan but from white liberals and Black ideologues. In a program produced by CBS, "Crisis in Black America," Bill Moyers recast the racist 1965 Moynihan Report on the Black family in the ideological setting of Reagan's 1980s. Without a white face in sight, save Moyers' liberal demeanor, a Black leader like Jesse Jackson, a social policy-maker like Eleanor Holmes Norton and a reactionary ideologue like Glenn Loury found they had a lot in common once they accepted the same moral and ideological assumptions concerning the Black family that Moynihan, Reagan and Moyers' racist documentary espouse.

MYTH AND REALITY OF THE CRISIS

That we were treated to more myth than reality in the round-table discussion of these prominent Black commentators is shown in the simple statistical studies of the NUL report.

- Black family structure, whether single female-headed or married couple households, does not in any way affect the racial inequality of Black/white family incomes. In fact, there is less disparity between Black and white single female-headed households than between Black and white married couples.

- Unlike white America, Blacks have high rates of poverty at all levels of education. The truth is that education has been no panacea for Black poverty, in a society where Blacks with college education experience higher

(Continued on page 9)

All eyes are on Hormel



by John Marcotte

All eyes of the labor movement are on the town of Austin, Minn. There, 1,500 Hormel meatpackers in Local P-9 have taken on the whole weight of the corporation, the courts, the National Guard and even their own union "leaders" in a fight not only to save their jobs, but their dignity, their "human rights." They are taking a stand that could affect the whole labor movement—a labor movement whose official leadership has viciously stabbed them in the back! United Food and Commercial Workers International President William Wynn declared theirs a "hopeless cause" and ordered other Hormel locals to cross Local P-9's picket lines.

In direct opposition to this, rank-and-file workers at Hormel's Ottumwa, Iowa, packinghouse—the second biggest after the new, automated Austin plant—risked their jobs to shut down production in support of P-9's pickets on Monday, Jan. 27. Hormel has so far fired over 500 of them (see story, p. 3).

Hormel is the greatest example of how labor's

(Continued on page 3)

As the Challenger explodes

Militarized science, technology vs. human needs, potentialities

by Eugene Walker
Managing Editor, News & Letters

The shock of the tragic destruction of seven astronauts before our eyes, especially the eyes of schoolchildren, when the space shuttle Challenger exploded, has raised questions not only of immediate causes, but of the divine power with which capitalism has credited science, while making technology king. The very path and direction on which science has been put by the hands of the global ruling powers has resulted in the demeaning of human relations at the same time that science/technology has become fetishized.

The horror of the deaths, including the first citizen astronaut, Christa McAuliffe, who left a young son and daughter, set a numbing chill upon all. Ronald Reagan moved quickly to praise the seven as space pioneers and "our space heroes," but didn't pause a moment before decreeing, "Life has to go on and so does the space program," even if this was at the risk of humanity itself. In so doing Reagan has sought to halt the kind of probing which would call into question the thrust of scientific research in this country and the use of technology, not so much on the frontiers of space exploration, but as the leading edge of a military battlefield threatening to engulf the heavens.

SPACE TECHNOLOGY, SPACE WARS

The space shuttle program has been hailed as a great technological achievement—especially as a showplace and testing ground for a complex array of computer equipment and programs. The 24 previous launches had created a "take success for granted" attitude that was not by any means the total truth. A recent flight had an almost tragic shutdown of a booster rocket. Reports issued many months ago, only now being discovered, warned of catastrophic dangers from a booster rocket burnthrough.

Despite these dangers, the shuttle had become the military's major vehicle into space. The Air Force was planning to launch a half-dozen classified satellites over the next two years, and to make continued heavy use of the shuttle flights in the years ahead. Under a directive President Reagan signed last February, the Air Force was to have occupied no less

than eight of the planned 24 shuttle flights each year beginning in 1988.

As Donald Latham, the Assistant Secretary of Defense in charge of command, communications and intelligence-gathering satellites, noted: "The Department of Defense is the biggest customer (of shuttle flights) and that's not going to change." Already the Air Force is pressing to have more unmanned rockets in its arsenal, so that its military program in space can continue uninterrupted.

This worship of technology for military purposes has

(Continued on page 10)

ON THE INSIDE



Haitians cheer fall of Duvalier.

Haiti—Toppling Duvalier dictatorship, p. 12; Exiles speak out, p. 8; The United States and Haiti: Yesterday and Today, p. 8.

Raya Dunayevskaya—completes her look at "30 Years of News & Letters: a Retrospective/Perspective" with a look at the 1980s, p. 4.

Abortion Rights—Terry Moon discusses the demand for abortion rights in the U.S. and Nicaragua, Women's Liberation p. 2.

Also—Editorial: Philippine masses oust Marcos, what happens next? p. 9; Fighting the right wing on campus, Youth, p. 11; Hormel strike rally, Labor, p. 3.

Just off the press!

This new expanded edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought* traces the dialectic road of revolution and counter-revolution in the Black world, right to the latest mass upsurges in South Africa and the Caribbean.

- The new Introduction/Overview takes up the 80s revolts in South Africa unseparated from a Marxist-Humanist Critique of post-Marx Marxism.
- Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* is discussed in relation to his critique of the leadership in the African Revolutions.
- René Depestre on "Critique of Negritude"
- Ngugi wa Thiong'o on "Politics of Language and African Literature"
- Raya Dunayevskaya on "Grenada: Counter-Revolution and Revolution"

108 pages

Only \$3

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

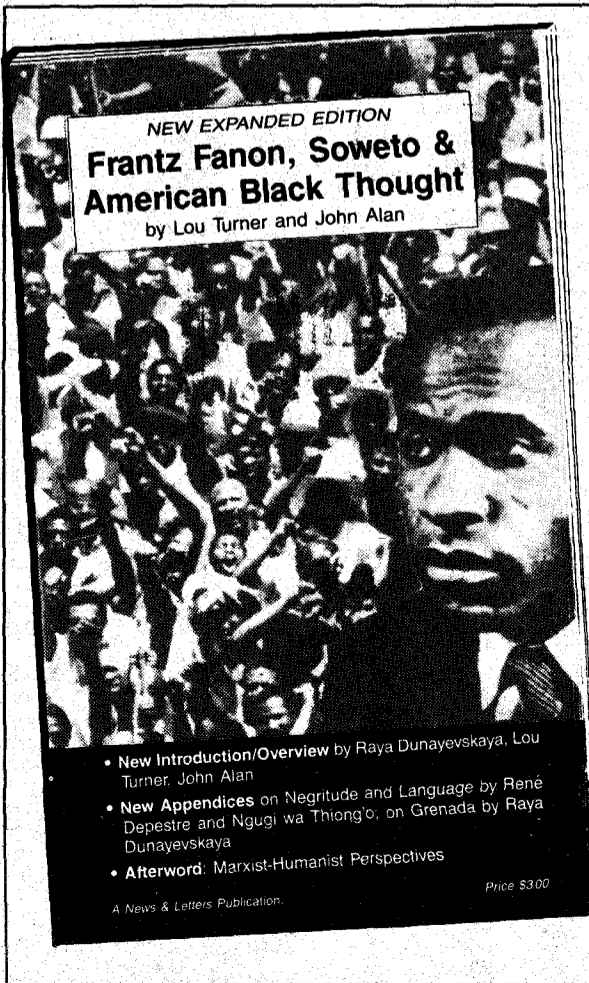
Enclosed is \$ — for — copy/copies of the new expanded edition of

Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*. Please be sure to add 75¢ postage.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____



- New Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner, John Alan
- New Appendices on Negritude and Language by René Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o, on Grenada by Raya Dunayevskaya
- Afterword: Marxist-Humanist Perspectives

A News & Letters Publication

Price \$3.00

International demand for abortion rights

by Terry Moon

Abortion. The right to safe, legal, acceptable abortion is part of what women have been fighting for since the procedure was discovered. Abortion. Finally we are not afraid to use that word. Abortion. That is part of what we always meant when we said "pro choice." When we get on the buses or planes to participate in the "National March for Women's Lives," March 9 in Washington, D.C. and March 16 in Los Angeles, we know that part of what we are talking about is abortion.

Abortion has become an issue, not because it represents all of what women demand—that is, after all, full freedom, new human relations, a whole new society. But we are fighting for the right to abortion now precisely because what we want is full freedom and as long as abortion is only a privilege for the rich, or can be given and taken away at the whim of a government, we know we are not free.

What has made that crystal clear are the words of those who would deny us control over our bodies. President Reagan, in his disgusting cliché-filled State of the Union address, called legal abortion a "wound" that he wants to heal and went on to pontificate about "struggling parents" and how it is the "welfare culture" that is responsible for the breakdown of the family.

THE WOUNDS OF REAGANISM

It is Reaganism that is the wound in this society. As governor of California, it was Reagan who restricted eligibility for welfare benefits and introduced the practice of forcing those on welfare to work, at minimum pay, for their welfare checks—what one welfare mother called "poor fare." It is Reaganism today that urged the Supreme Court to strike down state laws on disability leave and other benefits for pregnant employees.

It is Reaganism's Department of Agriculture that has deleted key sections of an extensive study of a national program for feeding children and pregnant women in order to hide the study's conclusions. The study showed that among the three million infants, children and pregnant women who took part in a \$1.5 billion-a-year program, fetal death rates were reduced by one-third and the number of premature births among poor women dropped by 15 to 25 percent. Clearly this is the kind of program that Reaganism is planning to cut.

The resistance to these attacks on our freedom is massive and international. Despite 13 years of a ruthless, lying, terrorist, anti-abortion movement that has a film travesty like "The Silent Scream" shown in the White House, the full weight and support of the president with yearly pep rallies in Washington, and an administration chock full of anti-abortion fanatics, the fact that cannot be escaped is that—just as they did 13 years ago—most U.S. citizens favor legal abortions.

NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

The passion to control our bodies and lives because we know that without that right any talk of freedom is a sham, is not confined to women in the U.S. Nowhere can one better see the internationalism of women's fight for full freedom than in the midst of revolution itself—Nicaragua. Finally, over six years after the revolution, Nicaragua has opened the discussion on abortion that until now was confined to unofficial channels. What has been revealed in the official Sandinista paper, *Barricada*, is what the international Women's Liberation Movement brought out in 1983 (see *Off Our Backs*, October 1983, and *News & Letters*, December 1983): that in one hospital in a 27-month period, over 8,700 women were admitted suffering complications from butcher abortions; that in a study of 109 women, 10% of the women died and another 26.2% required hysterectomies; that, according to one doctor, more women are dying from butcher abortions now than under Somoza.

The struggle taking place for abortion now in Nicaragua comes as the revolution is fighting for its very survival. It was almost as if *Barricada* reporter Leonel Urbano was speaking to the sexist U.S. Left and uncritical third-worldists when he said: "In dealing with this question (of abortion), there is no place for arguments about our tremendous economic limitations, the (U.S.) embargo, or the criminal military

aggression (the Contras). On the contrary, a problem is being neglected that makes the others worse."

It was the vitality of the Nicaraguan women, their insistence that the revolution deepen to include all freedoms, along with the international Women's Liberation Movement's support of that demand and struggle, that brought the debate on abortion out in the open. That victory in Nicaragua is important to us here as it confirms the urgency of our fight for safe, legal accessible abortion everywhere including right here in the supposedly freest land in the world.

It is no accident that the right wing here has decided to make their battlefield our very bodies—to take control of our most personal decisions. It is that realization that goes with us as we climb on the buses to go to Washington and Los Angeles or fight in our own cities for the right to abortion.

International Women's Day



Russian women textile workers who celebrated International Women's Day in 1917 by going on strike against the advice of all party leaders sparked a general strike which began the Russian revolution. These Russian women, in a demonstration during that revolution, demand support for the families of conscripted soldiers. On March 8, we celebrate the origins of International Women's Day in the militant struggles of American garment workers.

Chicago abortion vigil

Chicago, Ill.—On Jan. 22, 400 demonstrators, including some men, held a candlelight vigil in Daley Plaza in support of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion and as one of many national demonstrations in opposition to Reagan's proposed constitutional amendment which would reverse that decision. Marchers included members of NOW and other feminist groups, health care workers, and members of several religious groups working in support of a woman's right to abortion.

Members of the Illinois "right to life" group, the majority of whom were men, held a counter-demonstration, showing their respect for life by holding up a human fetus in a jar with signs saying, "Is this one of yours?" At one point, in an effort to divert media attention, a maniacal young man placed a fetus on a cardboard in the middle of the marchers, who closed ranks around him, chanting, "Right to life, that's a lie. You don't care if women die!"

The spirit of the marchers was quite positive in spite of sub-freezing temperatures and we were more determined than ever, when faced by the rightwing fanatics, to support our right to control our own bodies.

— Suzanne Casey

Nurses' unpaid overtime

Whittier, Cal.—I recently read an article in the January issue of *Nursing '86* that spoke about a practice that I am very familiar with. This was in the advice column, and a reader had written: "At the hospital where I work, administration won't pay overtime. A recent policy says that when we can't get our work finished, we must check out, then come back to the unit and continue working."

What really amazed me was that the person writing this letter wasn't concerned about the unpaid hours of labor she/he was giving to the hospital, but about whether her malpractice insurance would cover her while working but officially off-duty. The columnist replied that malpractice insurance covers you around the clock for nursing actions, but that you probably would not be eligible for workers' compensation unless "you could prove you were ordered back to work."

The Fair Labor Standards Act says that an hourly employee must be paid for all the hours worked. Yet I find this practice of clocking out and going back to finish one's work is fairly common practice in hospitals and nursing homes, and few people object to it. Hospitals and residential care facilities are allowed to use a 14-day, 80-hour work base and arrange schedules to limit the amount of overtime due. So why do they still find it necessary to rob workers of even more hours? Why do so many workers go along with this unfair practice?

Until people stand up for their rights and demand to be paid for every hour they work, these unfair practices will continue.

— Eve Strong



women-worldwide

More than 10,000 mourners, including many whites, turned out in South Africa to honor and bury 54-year-old Molly Blackburn, a white politician and anti-apartheid activist who died in a car crash Dec. 29. While her death is officially considered "accidental," Bishop Desmond Tutu called it "convenient" for the racist regime with which she was in constant conflict in her long-time fight "for a fair deal for all the people in our country." A member of the Black Sash civil rights group, she had been arrested numerous times for her anti-apartheid activities.

* * *

During the turbulent campaign that has now ended in the downfall of the Marcos regime, a group of Filipina women invaded the regular weekly press conference in Manila, where Pres. Marcos' Labor Minister Blas Ople was debating several members of the Aquino opposition. The women took over the microphone and demanded to know from both groups how they responded to Marcos' sexist "I shall return women to the bedroom" remark. Ople claimed Marcos was simply being nostalgic for "Maria Clara," a fictional Filipina characterized as obedient and subservient to men! The opposition did not answer the question directly, but said the fact their candidate was Corazon Aquino showed their respect for women.

* * *

Spain's Socialist Party government was embarrassed when its police attacked 3,000 Moslem women and children who were peacefully demonstrating in Melilla on Jan. 28 against a new "Aliens Bill" requiring residents to obtain new national identification cards. Melilla is a Spanish enclave on the North African coast within Moroccan territory. The bill would particularly affect Moslems, many of whom have no proof of either Moroccan or Spanish nationality. The Committee of Moslem Mothers who occupied the Plaza de Espana said their protest was modeled after marches of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina. The government has agreed to hold off implementing the bill until March 1.

Indian women's conference

Bombay, India—A couple of weeks ago we finished the National Conference on Perspectives for Women's Liberation Movements in India and I want to share with you our insight and experience. We were about 300 participants from 18 different states.

I'll start with the difficulties of such a meeting in a country like India. First there is the language difficulty, even if you are having continuous translation in English and Hindi. There are people from the south who cannot follow what is being discussed. Furthermore, such a conference, by its nature, automatically excludes working women, Dalit, and Adivasis, who cannot participate because of language problems as well as the expense of the journey.

I do believe that Women's Liberation is a great revolutionary force in Indian society that is growing fast, and one positive aspect of this movement is how democratic and free a force it is. Although we could feel a great variety of ideologies and tendencies, all were fully free to express themselves and in a multi-ethnic and pluralistic country like India, no one can claim to have the truth and try to impose it on others.

However, we did make an attempt to take a common stand on issues that affect all of us. One of those issues that is now very controversial is the case of Muslim women asking for maintenance rights. There has been a lot of reaction from male Muslim fundamentalists, so much so as to challenge the Supreme Court judgment. Because communalism is such a sensitive issue in our society, there were two extreme positions regarding this case. Some women were supporting a personal law for different religions, and some—a majority—were supporting a common unified civil law for all women.

We were having two kinds of experiences: one of raising some questions of social reform and the other of trying to challenge state power. In the latter, we have often been the losers and have had to withdraw as villages were raided, etc. and we have not been able to withstand state repression.

In the conference, we also studied the family as an instrument of state power. There has been an attempt on the part of the state to co-opt feminism and even use the same language. The state tries to use us in the elections, family planning programs, etc.

There were also some feminists for whom feminism means exclusively personal issues and the other extreme of those who see in feminism a failure to identify the "real enemy" (capitalism, imperialism for them).

What was good was the experience of being four days together struggling to find our way ahead. There were a few participants from other countries—Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Korea, to whom I gave the address of *News & Letters* as they told me they were interested in Marxism. They might write to you.

—P.

News & Letters

Vol. 31 No. 2

March, 1986

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published ten 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

Charles Denby Editor (1955-1983)
Felix Martin Labor Editor
Eugene Walker Managing Editor

News & Letters
is printed in
a union shop.



Rally in defense of Hormel strikers

Austin, Minn.—Some 2,000 people—striking Hormel workers and their supporters from throughout the Midwest and Northeast—overflowed Austin High School auditorium Feb. 15 for an enthusiastic rally at a critical moment in the strike.

Local P-9 members in Austin have been on strike for six long months in defiance of their international union, the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), which has tried to crush the strike. Other AFL-CIO unions have either ignored the strike or, like AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, been hostile to it.

Workers—including iron miners, hospital workers, textile workers and Chicago Tribune strikers—came to the rally no thanks to their own national union officials.

Within the last month, after P-9 members twice rejected a contract with two-tier wages which gutted seniority and work rule protections, Hormel moved to resume production with scabs. Gov. Perpich provided the National Guard, which remains at the plant gates, as an escort service for scabs. And Hormel's judges have issued injunctions limiting pickets at each gate—even making streets adjoining the plant off-limits to more than six supporters!

One response of Local P-9 has been to begin a national boycott of Hormel products. Another is to send



A striking Hormel meatpacker faces National Guard.

flying pickets to other Hormel plants. What most stirred the crowd at the rally was the presence of many of the 500 workers from the Hormel plant in Ottumwa, Iowa who refused to cross the picket line set up by Local P-9 members, which shut down production. Hormel immediately fired them.

Dan Varner, president of Local 431 in Ottumwa, said that they had pursued grievances over each of these firings intending to go back to their jobs as soon as P-9 removed the picket lines. But he said these 500 workers decided on their own to honor the picket line, because, as one Local 431 worker said, "There was no choice."

Shirley Quill told the rally about her late husband Michael Quill defying an injunction in the 1966 New York City transit strike. The message seemed clear from this and from other discussion, that unless Local P-9 can continue to defy the injunctions limiting picketing, Hormel will have the upper hand, boycott or no boycott.

The strikers have had to be very creative in raising relief funds and getting their message out without the aid of the UFCW. Within Austin, which had been a paternalistically-run company town, high school students announced at the rally their plans for a walkout on Feb. 21 in support of the strikers.

A national boycott of Hormel products might be most important in making more workers aware of the battle going on now in Austin and Ottumwa. The enthusiasm of people at the rally shows there are already many workers ready to help Hormel strikers do what they need to win.

—Bob McGuire

WORKSHOP TALKS

(Continued from page 1)

fight for freedom against Reaganism is heating up all over the country, in big shops and small. Here in New York, there are unreported strikes, "too small" to force the press to cover them but important too; workers at Ideal Bedsread in Manhattan have just concluded their strike (see story this page).

At Ideal, the immediate issue that workers struck over was wages. But once they are out on the picket lines, workers stress the abuses of the boss, that he harasses the women over use of the bathroom, won't let them talk to each other while they work.

At Hormel, they stress they're "not out for 69 cents" (the difference between the \$10.69 an hour they made before Hormel cut their wages, and Hormel's last offer of \$10.00). They talk about having to raise their hands to go to the toilet, about the abuses of foremen, about the incredible accident rate, about the killing pace of production in this new automated factory.

Another thing that unites Ideal and Hormel strikers is the way they've had to fight against their union officials to be able to strike. At Ideal, their Teamsters Local 819 rep was desperate to end the strike. As soon as the boss offered a couple of dollars more, he insisted "by law" the workers had to vote on the offer, even though the negotiating committee rejected it. The workers voted to stay out.

When they went back to work, it was because a majority of them voted to do so. They had been out almost two weeks, they had forced the boss to back down, and on wages of \$100 a week you live from week to week. Many owed rent, had no more food, not even tokens to come to the picket line, and do you think the powerful and rich Teamsters would give them even train fare? Not a penny did they get from the union.

When an Ideal worker sums up her strike as, "Now the boss knows he can't treat us like animals," she is raising the question of what kind of human relations we want to have at work? When she says, now that they're back at work she misses the "companerismo," the comradeship, of the picket lines, where workers who had never talked to each other discussed many things for the first time, she says this laughingly, as though sure someone will tell her that is not a serious attitude.

It is just this type of questioning and rejection that can go far beyond resisting concessions to pose what workers want for the future—and help them act to get it.

South African Freedom Journal

Powderkeg in the mines

Johannesburg, South Africa—At least 18 people, including two white policemen, have been killed and several others injured during violent clashes between angry Black miners and mine security guards—including at times the South African police—in the first three weeks of this year. More than 26,000 Black miners who participated in strikes, consumer boycotts and other actions which sparked off labor unrest have been dismissed while several others were arrested.

At the helm of this year's struggle in the mines has been the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), an affiliate of the newly-formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), with 150,000 members.

More than 23,000 miners on three Impala Platinum Mines, a Gencor-controlled mine in Bophuthatswana, went on strike on January 1 over wages, working conditions and recognition of the NUM. About 20,000 of the workforce was dismissed and bused under police guard to their homelands. Several were arrested when police fired tear gas during confrontations at the mine.

Nine people, including two policemen, were killed and scores of miners were involved in bloody clashes with mine security guards and the South African police on the Randfontein Estate Gold Mine near Westonaria on January 22. About 571 miners were fired following the incident. Management claimed that the workers had attended the illegal gathering and fought the police when asked to disperse.

About 1,500 miners went on strike at Foscor and Phalaborwa Mining Company in Phalaborwa. The workers took industrial action because they were forced to work under armed guard. Management banned union badges, tee-shirts, songs and slogans at work. Fifty people were reported to have been injured during confrontations with the police. One policeman was injured.

At Wolwekraans Collieries, some 500 workers went on strike after a boycott of beer halls was broken by management who insisted that workers buy their liquor at the mines. The incident at Wolwekraans was followed by a mass walk-out of about 1,000 miners at the adjacent mines of Matla and Bank collieries in sympathy with those at Wolwekraans. Management fired the workforce, which was later reinstated.

Wages and mine safety remain the two issues mine-workers are most readily prepared to strike over. But issues such as racial abuse, assaults and hostel conditions are also the focus of militant action by workers.

Gains at Ideal Bedsread

New York, N.Y.—The 100 workers at Ideal Bedsread and curtain factory went on strike for the first time in their history Jan. 23. The workers, the majority of whom are Latina women, rejected the company's final offer and voted 84 to 14 to strike.

They said, "The strike vote was a surprise to everyone. We even surprised ourselves. The Teamsters Local 819 representative tried to tell us it's cold out there, to convince us not to strike, to dampen our spirits. But most surprised was the boss. When he saw how the vote was going, tears came to his eyes!"

"Mitchell Slovic is a cheap —," one picketer summed up the situation on a lively picket line the second day of the strike. All the workers had the same reaction: "Everything in the economy is going up—rent, subways, everything. No one can survive on \$100 a week." Under the old contract workers started at \$3.35 an hour—the minimum wage—with \$4.50 after four years.

But the strike is not only about wages: "Those bosses are always harassing you, they stand in front of you, they watch you and push you. And when Mitchell comes in, he goes right over to check the time cards to see who was late. He doesn't see that the work is done well, that the bedsreads are coming out well, and when he speaks to a worker he shows he has no upbringing, the only way he talks is shouts and insults."

On Feb. 5, the boss raised his offer by two to three dollars a week for each of three years. A majority of workers voted to accept and return to work. "We got part of what we wanted," said a worker. "Some of us wanted to stay out. This is a miserable raise. We don't know how we'll put up with this for three years. We want to strike again before that!"

But something more was won in those two weeks than those few dollars. "Now the workers are more conscious and more united than before," said a worker after going back to work. She reported workers are not afraid of "the old man," and talk a lot more.

"I miss the strike," said another. "I miss talking with all the people. There was more unity on the picket line. Workers who had never spoken to each other in the factory discussed a lot on the picket line." Another worker observed that "the boss bothers us a lot less than before the strike. We taught him a lesson. We don't see him around much now." —Strike supporter

John Dwyer Archives link 50 years of labor

Detroit, Mich.—John Dwyer, veteran of 50 years of labor and other movement struggles and a founding member of News and Letters Committees, spoke to a new generation of students at Wayne State University Jan. 31 on "From the Sit-Downs of the '30s to the Union-Busting of the '80s." He had recently donated his archives to the Wayne State Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs. This dialogue between Dwyer and about 20 students, including several young Black activists, marked the opening of the John Dwyer Collection.

Dwyer's retrospective of the labor battles of the 1930s was personal and yet revealed much about the militant rank-and-file workers who made industrial unionism American reality. At the same time he described the diverging viewpoints within the American Left.

He vividly portrayed many heroic actions of leather and garment workers in Lynn, Mass., and the way the ILGWU and Socialist Party betrayed young women garment workers after one strike because "it wasn't profitable to keep a business agent in Lynn." He described other new creative dimensions of labor that arose in the 1930s—the Women's Emergency Brigade led by Genora Johnson during the Flint sit-down strike, the support by unemployed workers led by A.J. Muste, and the Black workers who emerged as the backbone of the CIO.

The first questioner, a young Black activist, wanted to know more about the attitude of Left organizations to the Black movement. Another student asked why Dwyer called Russia state-capitalist. Dwyer responded that any country which operates by extracting surplus value from the workers is capitalist—whether they call themselves capitalist or communist.

Clearly the heated discussion about race, class and revolutionary organization had much to do with today's movement. Dwyer himself touched on the ongoing strikes by Hormel and Chicago Tribune workers. At the same time he urged the youth in the audience to consider the necessity for any revolutionary organization to practice new human relations in its own activity and philosophy. He said he had opened the John Dwyer Collection as a contribution to this dialogue.

—Laurie Cashdan

U. S. Auto runaround

Detroit, Mich.—It's been over a month since our strike's been over at U.S. Auto Radiator and the company still hasn't called everyone back to work. One whole department hasn't been called back yet. In soldering and testing there are over a dozen people still out. And the company hasn't gone by seniority at all in calling people back.

There were around 80 people who got lay-off notices from the company Jan. 12, when the strike ended. A month later they still hadn't gotten a check from the unemployment office. They got a runaround trying to get benefits. The caseworkers kept saying that the workers were laid-off because of a "labor dispute" while the company kept saying they couldn't do anything about it until workers got someone from UAW Solidarity House to locate company paperwork and free up our benefits.

We haven't even got copies of the contract yet. So we really don't have an agreement. There are a lot of comments inside the plant about the strikes at Thorn Apple Valley and Hygrade in Detroit. People say they are glad we didn't have to go through that kind of violence when we were on strike. I'm glad to see people on strike fighting back against the police who have been arresting people on the picket line.

—U.S. Auto Radiator worker

THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board of News & Letters

Editor's Note: Below we are printing excerpts from part III of Raya Dunayevskaya's "30 Years of News & Letters, a Retrospective/Perspective." The full text will be available soon in pamphlet form.

Part III

1980, the opening year of a new decade, signaled a new development of Marxist-Humanism, not merely chronologically, but because we were throwing the gauntlet down to all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Marx's closest collaborator, Frederick Engels. The conclusion of the Retrospective article on the 1970s, in pointing to 1980 as "the year of the book," did not mean it only as a reference to the book in process, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. Rather, it referred to the actuality of the 1980s-to-be as the decade of two absolute opposites—on the one hand, new types of revolts the world over, and on the other, the threshold of Reagan's retrogression at home and outright counter-revolutionary actions abroad, from El Salvador and Nicaragua to propping up apartheid South Africa. New revolutionary oppositions continued both against U.S. imperialist tentacles and Russian state-capitalist counter-revolution from Poland to Afghanistan.

The new revolutionary struggles of the 1970s that included women's liberation that had become a Movement, and not just an idea whose time had come, happened in the period when Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* had finally been transcribed. Marx's last Notebooks revealed his "new moments" and cast a new illumination on Marx's Marxism as a totality, and thus disclosed sharp differences between Marx and Engels.

The manner in which *News & Letters* as paper and as organization—*News and Letters Committees*—grappled with this fact, while being active in all the new revolutionary struggles, will reveal the ways in which the relationship between revolutionary journalism and the dialectic philosophy are projected by Marxist-Humanists.

It would take the better part of a decade before we completed the new study, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. We thought we could do so by 1982, in celebration of the Marx centenary the following year. But we did not separate from the public the process of writing and rewriting till that day. As we saw, the January-February, 1979 issue published our first analysis of the difference between Marx and Engels. This first draft chapter was called "The Relationship of Philosophy and Revolution to Women's Liberation: Marx's and Engels' Studies Contrasted." It was to become the ground of what would be chapter 12 of the new book.

Ever since the mid-1970s, when the serious structural world economic crisis erupted, *News & Letters* was printing my analyses. By 1978 this resulted in a new pamphlet, *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*, whose Introduction was titled, "Today's Epigones Who Try to Truncate Marx's Capital."

News & Letters does not publish what the old radicals call "Internal Bulletins." Everything we publish, even in mimeograph form, is available to the public. Especially important is what we call Political-Philosophic Letters which we had originally begun as Weekly Political Letters precisely because we felt frustrated in having only a monthly newspaper. The first of these letters was one we had felt compelled to issue in order to attack the U.S. imperialist invasion of Cuba in 1961.

The revolutionary struggles in Iran in 1978 had excited me both as an ongoing revolution and because it brought so vividly to mind the 1905 Russian Revolution when its international ramifications erupted in Iran in 1906, lasting till 1911. I first detailed this in my Political-Philosophic Letter of Nov. 13, 1978, "Iran's Revolutionary Past—and Present." These letters on Iran developed throughout 1979 and 1980. Whether it was the Letter of March 25, 1979 Letter on "Iran: Unfoldment of and Contradictions in Revolution," or was a tracing of the dialectics of revolution on the Dec. 17, 1979 Letter, "What is Philosophy? What is Revolution? 1789-1793; 1848-1850; 1914-1919; 1979," or the one of Sept. 25, 1981, "The Struggle Continues: What Kind of Revolution Is Needed in the Battle Against Khomeini-IRP Counter-Revolution?"—the point was that at no time was our activity separated from our philosophy. This led Iranian revolutionary dissidents to invite me to address them.

1980—A 12-PAGE NEWS & LETTERS

The challenge from the objective situation in 1980 led us to the decision at our September Convention to transform *News & Letters* into a 12-page paper. We had already begun to have three 12-page issues each year. Thus the front page article in the January-February, 1980 issue was entitled, "Oil, Iran Crisis, and Drive for War" by Peter Mallory, while the "Our Life and Times" column also began on page one and featured an article, "Afghanistan: New Flashpoint for Superpowers."

That issue also continued our study of the dialectics of revolution with a new draft chapter, "Two Turning Points in Rosa Luxemburg's Life—1898-99; 1905-07—Be-

fore and After the 1905 Revolution."

In the spring of that year (April) another draft chapter was published, "The Break with Kautsky, 1910-1911," which stressed Luxemburg's flash of genius on the question of imperialism, with her sharp attack on Germany's imperialist outreach to what we now call Namibia. That issue of *News & Letters* also showed our present internationalism in our activities around Iran. An Iranian revolutionary in the U.S., Neda Azad, had translated into Farsi a number of my writings on women. Her introduction to those writings appeared as the "Woman as Reason" column.

The image shows the cover of the March 1983 issue of 'Theory/Practice NEWS & LETTERS'. The cover features a portrait of Karl Marx and the title 'THE MARX CENTENARY 1983'. The main headline reads 'Unemployed millions, anti-war protests, reveal a Western Europe in crisis'. Other headlines include 'Marx, Labor, Marxist-Humanism' and 'Wooding Marx'. The cover also mentions 'Special Issue on the Occasion of THE MARX CENTENARY 1983' and 'Marxist-Humanism, 1983: The Summation That is a New Beginning, Subjectively and Objectively'.

Marx centenary issue, March 1983

On the road to the 12-pager and the necessity to manifest philosophy in revolutionary journalism, we published Eugene Walker's essay, "Revolutionary Journalism: Karl Marx, the Neue Rheinische Zeitung and the 1850 Address on Permanent Revolution."...

1981—INTERNATIONALISM, MARXIST-HUMANIST SOLIDARITY

Internationalism, this time from East Europe, characterized also the first issue (January-February) of 1981, this time by an eyewitness report from Poland on Solidarnosc, "Polish Workers' New Form of Organization," by Andy Phillips. The youth page featured participant reports from Washington, D.C., Los Angeles and San Francisco under the headline "No Draft, No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador," while the youth column by Jim Mills was on "Teens Face Draft, Unemployment, Lower Wage."

Both this January-February issue and the March issue featured parts I and II of a "Theory/Practice" essay column entitled, "China's 'Gang of Four' Trial Charade and the So-Called Cultural Revolution; Media and the Global Crisis."

In April, *News & Letters* published an important essay by Michael Connolly, "The Peasant Dimension in Latin America: Its Test of the Relation of Theory to Organization."

The world situation had always been crucially integral to every issue of *News & Letters*. The May issue featured a report from Britain, "Brixton Rebellion Shakes Thatcher's Britain," while the June issue published an essay article by Neda Azad, "Middle East Women: Liberation and Social Revolution."

A central section of the 1981-82 Draft Perspectives related to "Organizational Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism." Far from that being an organizational question only, it marked the period both of Marx's last decade and our age. Put differently, the continuing importance of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* wasn't only in the Notebooks, but in how it illuminated the new moments of that last decade in relation to what he called the "new humanism" from the beginning, and what he re-articulated in his greatest theoretical work, *Capital*. The October *News & Letters* carried Kevin A. Barry's essay "The French Edition of *Capital*, 100 Years After," with many quotations from Marx's own editing which Engels had not included in his post-Marx editing of editions of *Capital*. A key missing paragraph from the "Accumulation of Capital" section had dealt with the continued mechanization and centralization of capital and the "general crisis." In projecting what we now know as imperialism, Marx related the general crisis to the expansion of foreign trade and "the world market successively annexed extensive areas of the New World, Asia and Australia..."

1982—THE NEW BOOK, OBJECTIVE—SUBJECTIVE EVENTS

In 1982, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was published. Its fi-

nal chapter (12) did a great deal more than set the record straight that Engels was no Marx. Rather, the to-dayness of Marx's Marxism concretized the trail from the 1880s to the 1980s for our age. *News and Letters Committees* made that the focal point as they organized a national tour for me on the occasion of Marx's centenary.

1982 in general was a year of new developments in the Black Dimension both in the U.S. and in South Africa. Charles Denby's "Worker's Journal" in the January-February issue was entitled "Haitians Dehumanized at Krome." The Women's Liberation page had an article by Diane Lee on "Winnie Mandela Banned Again." The counter-revolution continued also in Poland. Our front page editorial article was called "Poland: Counter-Revolution Drives the Revolution Underground; the Resistance Continues," while the "Theory/Practice" column was on "Begin's Israel Moves Further Back to His Reactionary, Terrorist Origins," and featured excerpts from my Political-Philosophic Letter.

In the same issue, the "Black-Red View" column focused on "Poland, Haiti: Freedom Indivisible," while the March issue, in celebration of International Women's Day, featured a revolutionary Polish exile, Ursula Wislanka, writing on "The Revolutionary Activity of Polish Women."

Humanities Press was bringing out a new edition of *Philosophy and Revolution* and the May issue printed my new introduction which answered the critique of George Armstrong Kelly in his book, *Retreat from Eleusis*, which had taken issue with my interpretation of Hegel's Absolute Method.

The internationalism was not only a question of what was central to us in recording international struggles and participating wherever we could, but was also reflected in the fact that our main works were reproduced in many different languages.

Thus, above the new introduction to *Philosophy and Revolution*, the May issue carried a picture of many of the editions of both *Marxism and Freedom: U.S., 1958; Italy, 1962; Japan, 1964; France, 1971; Britain, 1971; Mexico, 1976; and of Philosophy and Revolution: U.S., 1973; Italy, 1977; Mexico, 1977; Germany, 1981*. Since then, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* has appeared in Spanish in an edition of 10,000 in Mexico published by Fondo de Cultura.

The most exciting ramification of the international editions had been the publication of *Marxism and Freedom* in Japan in 1964. Not only because it resulted in an international tour by myself throughout Japan, but because Japanese revolutionaries of Zenshin published many of our pamphlets, from Charles Denby's *Workers Battle Automation*, with which Toyota workers identified, to several of my philosophic essays as well as my pamphlet on the Afro-Asian Revolutions...

Israel's imperialist invasion of Lebanon, like Khomeini's usurpation of the 1979 revolution in Iran, disclosed a new and horrible stage of counter-revolution in the Middle East. On Sept. 19, 1982, I dealt with that genocidal war upon Lebanon, which *News & Letters* published in October under the title "Down with the Perpetrators of the Palestinian Slaughter," while in the November issue the "Our Life and Times" column focused on "All Sides Cover Up Shatila Massacre: Lebanese Factions, Palestinian Leaders, Israeli and Arab Rulers."

Our writings on the Middle East were not separated from our continuing philosophic writings both in the Draft Perspectives in the July issue on the need to transform reality and in reproducing the Introduction to *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* in the November *News & Letters*.

The year ended with the front page article reproducing the Political-Philosophic Letter on Andropov's ascendancy, while "Worker's Journal" had a guest column by Lou Turner on "Namibia: Crisis and Challenge." Our Latino page featured a special section "Guatemala: the Dimension of Indian Peasants, Indian Women" which included articles by Guatemalan revolutionaries, Domingo Hernandez Iztoy, founder of the Committee of Peasant Unity of Guatemala, and Manuela Saquic, a 17-year old Ixil Indian from El Quiche.

What has always been primary to Marxist-Humanists has been to keep the paper open to revolutionaries internationally as well as to new types of audiences. Our Right to Know Braille Press, under the coordination of Steve Fletcher and Susan Van Gelder, has taped for sight-impaired people each month's issue of *News & Letters*, the major books, *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, as well as numerous pamphlets from *Workers Battle Automation* to the Afro-Asian Revolutions as well as my essays on Hegelian dialectics.

1983—THE MARX CENTENARY

By active participation with Latin American revolutionaries, East European dissidents and new revolutionary exiles from Iran, as well as by projecting the new works of Marx, we opened new doors, or more precisely new platforms for the projection of Marxist-Humanism to the Black dimension, to women's liberation and indeed, to academia. Just as the fact that 1970, the 200th

News & Letters: a Retrospective/Perspective

anniversary of the birth of Hegel and the 100th of the birth of Lenin, had opened doors into academia as well as platforms and journals for Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., so did the Marx centenary in 1983.

My national lecture tour for that centenary was not only the most extensive, but the most exciting to me because the very first lecture, at the University of West Virginia in Morgantown, was in the city which had been a center for the miners' general strike of 1949-50 in which I was active. Moreover, I could make a direct connection with Marx, since it was John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry, W. Va. that had led Marx to declare that a new world epoch had emerged as he foresaw the rising of the slaves in an actual Civil War. It not only happened, but its ramifications in Britain helped lead to the establishment of the First Workingman's International, headed by Marx. The recollection of this strike (some who had participated in the 1949-50 strike were in the audience), and the recognition that West Virginia as a state was born out of that Civil War, not only made for an exciting discussion, but led me to rethink that strike where I had been active at the very time I was digging into the Hegelian dialectic. In 1953, the combination of the activity in the 1950 strike and the continued concentration on the final chapter of Hegel's *Science of Logic*, "Absolute Idea," had led to my breakthrough on Hegel's Absolute Idea.

The fact that a 1983 West Virginia audience did not consider that 1950 general strike something just in the past, but saw it related to the present era's concern with the relationship of practice to theory, and the fact that they were grappling with my view that practice was itself a form of theory, and that it was up to revolutionary philosophers to meet that challenge, made me conclude that that historic strike must be recorded. This was further reinforced when my lecture tour reached New York, and I was asked for an interview by the Tamiment Library of New York University, which has some of my works. The library was busy recording what they called the Oral History of the America Left. The interview they took from me on that miners' general strike further reinforced that conclusion. The result was my decision to record the strike not only as I saw it, but to have the pamphlet co-authored by a former miner, Andy Phillips, who had headed a rank-and-file committee in that strike. The pamphlet we wrote was entitled *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.—A 1980s View*.

All that space permits me to devote here to the rest of that tour is to note that both at UCLA and UC Santa Barbara, Black Studies were among the important sponsors, with Professor Cedric Robinson at UC Santa Barbara creating a half-hour video interview of me on the Black movement's relation to Marxism, especially as to the origins of the American Negro Labor Congress and its paper the *Negro Champion* in Chicago.

News & Letters in its January-February, 1983 issue published the first English translation of Rosa Luxemburg's "Martinique." The March issue was a Marx centenary special which featured excerpts from untranslated excerpts of the French edition of *Capital*, a summation of Marxist-Humanist Archives by myself, an essay by Michael Connolly on the unknown *Ethnological Notebooks* and a column by Lou Turner on "Karl Marx and the Black World." The front page article was titled "Unemployed Millions, Anti-War Protests, Reveal a Western Europe in Crisis" by Kevin A. Barry.

The April issue continued with reports on new youth protests. This time Olga Domanski wrote the front page article on "Rising Campus Protests Confront Militarism, Reaganomics, Racism." In the "Woman as Reason" column, Suzanne Casey wrote on a vicious public rape in New Bedford, titling her column, "New Bedford: 'The Infinite Degradation of Man,'" while Lou Turner reported from Washington, D.C. on "Howard University: Black Writers, Student Protests in Two Worlds." The same issue printed an open letter from a Gdansk woman striker in prison, Ewa Kubasiewicz...

The year 1983 was summed up as well as projected in the Draft Perspectives printed in the July issue, "Mass Unrest at Home and Abroad in the Global Year of the Missile," which featured analyses of Central America—Nicaragua, Honduras, Panama, Guatemala—and South America—Chile, Brazil, Bolivia—as well as the Middle East, concentrating on Syria and the PLO. The third section of the draft Perspectives was entitled "Marx's Final Writings Let Us Hear Marx Thinking."

That responsibility for Marxist-Humanist ideas was not just our historic responsibility but was directly affecting *News & Letters* as paper and as Organization-Committees when on the one hand we were facing a Constitutional Convention, and on the other hand our Black production worker-founder-editor Charles Denby was lying very ill. Here are excerpts from his last letter to us:

As you know, I have been ill, and just in case the doctor will not allow me to attend and address this Constitutional Convention, I wanted to say a few words to all of you about my thoughts and feelings at this moment in the life of our organization. I feel very strongly about what this Marx centenary means to me — and what Marxism means to me — a movement to change the world totally. This year we have taken big steps in that direction, historic steps.

First, we have finally in our hands the whole "trilogy of revolution." Anyone can see and read what Marxist-Humanism has represented over nearly 30 years since our founding, since our first Constitutional Convention. All my life in the movement we have seen how many parties have turned Marx's philosophy into its opposite. But now we can say to everyone: "Here is Marx's philosophy of liberation," and we know that it is the path to freedom.

Second, we have published an expanded new edition of American Civilization on Trial. I was very glad that Raya's new essay in it took up Marx's view of the Black world, and our own work. We have always spoken about and practiced the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa in the ideas of freedom, and it is as clear in American Civilization on Trial as it is in Philosophy and Revolution and in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. But the reason I am most happy that it is being published now, is that it can help the movement reach a new stage.

The 75 years of Charles Denby's life were so full of class struggles, Black revolts, and freedom movements that they illuminate not only the present but cast a light even on the future. At the same time, his autobiography—Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal—reaches back into the period from his birth in Alabama and life in the South until the Depression when he came to Detroit to become an auto worker. It was in the 1930s, while he led a wildcat strike, that he met the Trotskyists. I first met Denby when he spoke at a Socialist Workers Party Convention when his eloquence both on his life in the South and the North, especially



Raya Dunayevskaya and Charles Denby, 1981

of the 1943 Detroit Black uprising, did more than make an indelible impression on me. It was clear that we were co-thinkers because we didn't identify all of Marxism with Trotskyism. The specific question at issue was the Black question and the Marxists' relationship to it, of which Denby was very critical. Our paths never separated. This is clear from the difference between the first part of his autobiography which ends with the decade of the 1940s, and part II, which was published in 1978, and takes up the decades when we became an independent tendency and Denby became editor of *News & Letters*.

The continuation of Marxist-Humanism's *News & Letters*, even with so crucial a loss as the death of Charles Denby, was shown in the very first issue of 1984 with the "Worker's Journal" space devoted to two new front page columns: "Workshop Talks" co-written by our Labor Editor, Felix Martin, a production worker in auto, and John Marcotte, young worker working within primarily immigrant labor shops; and "Black World" written by a Black writer-activist, Lou Turner, who had moved to Detroit, the *News & Letters* Center, at the request of Denby, to do guest columns in the last period whenever Denby would feel too ill to write...

The whole front page of the issue of *News & Letters* in December was titled "The Three Way Drive to War: Grenada, Endless Militarization, Retrogression on Black Rights." It also had a special eyewitness report from Grenada on "The Mass Freeing and Army Murder of Maurice Bishop." We reprinted in this issue the article from *Africa Today*, "Dunayevskaya on the Black World," which was a review of my *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

1984—FORCES OF REVOLUTION

In the first issue of 1984 (January-February), the "Black World" column by Lou Turner was the first part of a critique-review of the initial two volumes of a projected 10 volume collection of *Marcus Garvey Papers* edited by Robert Hill. This critique continued in the March issue. This first 1984 issue also printed the new introduction to *American Civilization on Trial*, "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," while Diane Lee wrote the "Woman as Reason" column on "Questions of Theory for Black Women Writers..."

A firsthand report from India describing the women's movement, and a book, *Unmanageable Revolutionaries—Women and Irish Nationalism*, reviewed by a London feminist reader, were carried in the April issue. The front page article dealt with "Battles Over Coal Mine Safety Show Stakes Are High for Labor in 1984"

while a full page was devoted to an essay article on "Black Opposition to U.S. Imperialism at the End of the 19th Century" by John Alan. Lou Turner's "Black World" column analyzed "Miami and Black America."

The "Theory/Practice" column in that issue was on "Marx's Philosophy of Revolution vs. Non-Marxist Scholar-Careerists in 'Marxism,'" and carried a lengthy critique of Terrell Carver's *Karl Marx Texts on Method*, his *Marx & Engels, The Intellectual Relationship* as well as a forthcoming article, "Marxism as Method."

Michelle Landau's "May Day Includes Working Women — Past and Present" appeared in May, where the women's liberation page included as well a picture of Lizzie Swank-Holmes, who organized a march by Chicago sewing women for the eight-hour day on May 3, 1886. The emphasis on class struggles could be seen in a story on "Class War Returns to Arizona Copper Mines" which included a picture from the Phelps-Dodge strike. The Draft Perspectives, 1984-85, "Where Are the 1980s Going?" centered around "At Home Abroad, Abroad at Home" and appeared in this May issue.

A Preconvention Discussion Bulletin that year published a breakthrough in the science field as it related to computers, "Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts and the Fetish of High Tech" by Ron Brokmeyer. It stirred a wide discussion and was reissued as part of an expanded pamphlet which included discussion by Franklin Dmitryev, Malcolm, Ted Hill, and Raya Dunayevskaya...

ARCHIVES AND REVOLUTION

Were it not for Dr. Philip A. Mason, Director of the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, asking to interview me on my Archives, this would complete the 30-Year Retrospective/Perspective. He invited me to give a lecture in March of 1985 in connection with an exhibit on my Archives which are on deposit at Wayne State University. Because the Archives are integral to any retrospective of *News & Letters*, I wish to briefly sum up in relation to that exhibit and my talk. In asking me to address the Archives, The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: *Marxist-Humanism—1941 To Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S.*, he wanted me to relate some of my early history, including when I came to the United States.

Remembrance of things past, from the perspective of the more than 60 years that I have been in this country, meant reviewing experiences in relation to historic events whereby discontinuity and continuity merge. Because my arrival in the United States as a child from Russia coincided with what was going on in the Palmer Raids, in the new Black uprisings, and in a general "culture shock," this interrelationship of history and personal life disclosed that almost as soon as I was here there was an identification with "Red" in grammar school and soon a relation to the founding of the American Negro Labor Congress and its paper, *The Negro Champion*. Thus, a smile came to my lips when I discovered that the *Chicago Tribune* had in 1924 recorded my strike at Cregier public school, and I could read, "Many of the strikers came on roller skates." We were thirteen-year-olds.

The talk I gave March, 1985 at WSU Archives, entitled "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts," was deposited as part of my Archives. All I want to mention here are new things in the Exhibit which had not been in the Archives, not only the article on the school strike from the *Chicago Tribune*, but a truly historic find, one issue of the *Negro Champion*. There was also a photo Leon Trotsky inscribed to me as well as a photo of myself and Natalia Trotsky.

At the reception after my talk, I had a chance to introduce to the audience the widow of Charles Denby, Ethel Dunbar, as a writer in her own right. She immediately identified herself as "Christine," the author of her own chapters in Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*.

The Exhibit spanned the decades from the 1920s to the 1980s. The Archives as originally handed in to Wayne State began with 1941, except for correspondence from Leon Trotsky from the period 1937-38 when I was his secretary in Mexico. That date 1941 was the first publication of my writings on the theory of state-capitalism. Recently I have discovered papers from the 1920s and '30s and have handed them in to my Archives collection. The Exhibit displayed a copy of my latest work, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, which is now included in my Archives.

News & Letters
Only \$2.50 per year

Send to: *News & Letters*

59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707

Chicago, IL 60605

LABOR, CAPITAL AND TODAY'S GLOBAL CRISES

The lead article in your Jan/Feb issue by Peter Wermuth was excellent in showing the many flashpoints of Reagan's imperialism. However, I was surprised to read that "China has just experienced its worst grain harvest in 36 years." Was this a typo? The sharp decline in grain production (estimated to be some 25 million tons from 407 million in 1984, *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 1/16/86) was indeed shocking. But does this outstrip the horrific consequences of Mao's "Great Leap"? For that period (1959-60) the estimates describe a plunge by one fourth! Starvation was rampant even as the government was making harvest yields a state secret — no official figures were issued for the period from 1958 to 1972.

With the movement of peasants from growing grains to export crops, or to working in rural industries, or for that matter if they are forced to grow grain again, what really changes in the relationship of their labor to the party/state?

Calvin Brown
New York

What is our society coming to? I've worked all my life. Now that I'm on Social Security I find that buying a banana at the grocery store is a luxury.

Retired Worker
Chicago

Part of the upsurge in the Philippines stems from the fact that the price of sugar has fallen so far, and Nigeria seems to be having similar economic effects. Whereas the thirties slump hit the capitalist metropolitan states, the present one would appear to hit those Third World countries that were nearly making it. The impact under the circumstances might be quite considerable, even if (as seems to be the case so far) recession in industrialized countries (USA, UK) is causing the working class morale to crack and reducing rather than increasing militancy of many significant sections.

Laurens Otter
England

When I read the Introduction to *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*, where Dunayevskaya distinguishes between Marx, whose "permanent army of the unemployed" was the "ultimate development of capitalism" which would bring capitalism down; and Mandel, who said that capitalism could not survive without a "reserve army," I realized that Mandel and not Marx is the "radical economics" I had been taught in the movement and need to work through and out of.

Unemployed
Philadelphia

I work in a factory which used to have a stable work force. Now every week the company fires two or more people who were making \$8 an hour, and replaces them with new workers at \$4 or \$5 an hour. They don't care at all that they are losing people with a lot of skill and training, and getting new people who can't do the job well.

I see this increased unemployment and lowering of wages going on all over the U.S. As someone from the "Third World" who hopes to go home soon, I wonder what this trend means not only for U.S. labor, but for the whole world? The backward movement in the U.S. must be creating pressures to lower wages even further in the rest of the world.

Latin American exile
Connecticut

Where I work there's no union. With 23 years in, I get two weeks vacation, seven holidays and no sick days. The way Reagan and those conservatives want to get everybody working in this country, is by busting unions and bringing in the Japanese factories. I wonder what's going to happen in this country? It reminds me of

when Hoover was president.

Industrial worker
New Jersey

You might be interested in what the press here quoted the editor-in-chief of *Pravda*, V. Afansjev, as saying in a recent interview: "A worker sent a letter to the editorial office in which he wrote, 'I would like to work as well as the American and Japanese worker does, but you have to make it possible by giving us the machines and materials necessary. Assure us fair living conditions, arrange things so that neither my wife nor I need to queue endlessly after work for various goods.' I'm sure no further comment is needed. All the Russian and East European proposals for economic development (the recent ones take us up to year 2000) have long ago lost sight of what socialism was supposed to be concerned with: human beings."

Correspondent
East Europe

HAITI IN REVOLT

While rebellion erupted in Haiti, next door in the Dominican Republic, the conduct of the ruling Dominican so-called Revolutionary Party has been "a disgrace, in their open support of the worst dictatorship in the Americas," according to a Haitian exile here in New York. The latest news was of the Dominican Army seizing over 1,000 Haitians and forcibly taking them to the state sugar plantations to cut cane. They are paid a bounty of 15 pesos a head for each Haitian brought to the cane fields.

As part of this anti-Haitian campaign, the Army also arrested—or kidnapped—Maslan Joseth, who has been living in Santo Domingo in exile since 1974, under UN protection. When he protested to the military, they answered, "Haitians are here to cut cane or be deported!" Duvalier is not the only one the Haitians have to take care of.

N&L Committee member
New York

MISKITOS
AND
AIM

Vernon Bellecourt, co-founder of the American Indian Movement (AIM) spoke here against the actions of AIM leader Russell Means, who has gone to Nicaragua with 100 warriors to fight on the side of the contras. Bellecourt likened them to the few Indians who supported Custer at Little Big Horn. He said we should instead send 200 warriors to Big Mountain, Arizona, from where the U.S. government is planning to forcibly relocate 10,000 Navajos.

Bellecourt stated: "We as Native Americans support the Nicaraguan Revolution and the peaceful negotiations of the Miskito Indians for self-determination. We are against U.S. intervention; and we don't need Cuba and Russia to tell us that we are being oppressed, for we have known this for over 200 years. Let us as American Indians determine our own destiny."

Supporter
Los Angeles

"Nicaragua Was Our Home" is an R (for Reagan)-rated film that supports the administration's pro-contra policy. It portrays the Sandinistas as waging genocidal war against the Miskito Indians. The Sandinistas are not immune to mistakes, and some may well be guilty of racism against the Miskitos. But to manipulate this racism in order to promote U.S. aid for the contras' war against the Sandinista government not only echoes the U.S. government's mistakes against its own indigenous populations, but exploits those concepts once

Readers' Views

again in Latin America.

The Marxist-Humanist notion that you cannot stop at saying what you are against, but must then go on to say what you are for has a lot to say about the situation in Nicaragua today.

Reader
Salt Lake City

THE LIVES OF YOUNG PEOPLE

A terrible new drug is taking over the lives of young people on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. It is called crack, and I believe it is spreading all over the country. It is a form of cocaine, and what makes it so dangerous is that it is very cheap, easy to use, and creates an instant addiction. The *Amsterdam News* reports that it is all over Harlem. Yet no one in government is saying or doing anything about it. It breaks my heart to see nice kids I know turned into zombies and thieves overnight.

Anguished
New York

A teenage Black co-worker was recently fired. When she came to pick up her last check she told me she had decided to join the Air Force so she "could go to college and wouldn't wind up out in the streets or having babies and applying for ADC." She was especially bitter about being subject to the arbitrary decisions of some boss. But after we talked about the kind of military rule that soldiers are subjected to—to say nothing about the involvement of the U.S. in the world situation—she decided to investigate the Peace Corps, VISTA, and other possibilities. You can read about the "militarization of the mind" and the "permanent army of the

unemployed" Marx predicted but it doesn't strike home until you meet an unemployed teenager like this.

Erica Rae
Chicago

The continued support at U.C. Berkeley for the "R.O.T.C. 5" is exhilarating. Those are the five students threatened with expulsion for supposedly "disrupting" a R.O.T.C. orientation forum on August 27. At the first hearing on February 6, the hall was overflowing with supporters and the February 13 meeting was also full. Round 3 is coming up. The university administration looks ridiculous but continues to prosecute. And we, at the home of The Free Speech Movement, continue to stand up for Free Speech here.

Malcolm
U.C. Berkeley

HITLER'S VISAGE

I was glad to see that *News & Letters* addressed the issue of AIDS and homophobia. At a time when scientific evidence is indicating that AIDS cannot be casually transmitted, the military is considering spending \$12.5 million to prove that it can be. Part of the proposal they are considering would include a system of "mandatory and overt" identification of AIDS victims through, "...however loathsome, a 'Star of David' concept." It would also attempt to isolate "high risk" (read "gay") portions of the population. It must be noted that the Nazis also forced homosexuals to wear pink triangles.

Clearly, Hitler's visage is not only confined to South Africa, but permeates the whole world.

Deborah Morris
San Francisco

ON THE WAY TO A BI-WEEKLY — OUR FUND, OUR WORKSHOPS

"Rulers make headlines because of their power to exploit and destroy, making us believe our fate is in their hands. It is not so..." That is a powerful statement. And that *Theory/Practice* column that took up the whole back page last issue really demonstrates how Marxist-Humanists discuss current events without separating them from so-called "organizational questions." Ads in *N&L* are always "educational" in themselves, and this whole page seemed to me like an ad which is inviting every reader to test him/herself along with Marxist-Humanism, and to truly participate in "history-in-the-making," and in the new workshop/classes.

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

Two requests. First, I took the bundle of papers I ordered with me when I was picketing with the Hormel strikers and know I could easily sell 25 to 50 of the March issue too. Can you send another bundle and let me pay you when I've sold them?

Second, I have access to a VCR and would like to get a group together here to see the videotaped lecture that will kick off your new classes. Will tapes be available for those who do not live near one of your locals?

Supporter
Minnesota

Editor's Note: Yes, bundles of *N&L* can be ordered for only 15¢ per copy and can be paid for as they are sold. And yes, the videotape of Raya Dunayevskaya's presentation to the first Workshop/Class can be made available to those interested in seeing it where we do not have a local committee. It will cost \$20, plus postage—\$15 of which is refundable if it is returned.

Enclosed is my contribution to your new Fund to transform *N&L* into a bi-weekly but I am not sending this to

fight Reagan. I'm sending it to fight the military-corporate system. Let's be careful not to exonerate the Democrats who are sitting on their "asses." *N&L* is very crucial and has been for years. Hurray for you!!

Supporter
Venice, California

I wish that folks in various countries would arrange some system of correspondence that involved no commitment to any ism, but summarized current struggles, especially where boycotts or other feasible action could help, and gave some scope for the exchange of ideas about the possible good uses of this globe.

Here's a contribution to your Appeal.
Fred Thompson
Chicago

I was selling the Jan.-Feb. issue of *N&L* at the unemployment office in Whittier, Calif., and talking to a couple of unemployed workers about the lead article on how Reagan is suppressing freedom movements everywhere. A well-dressed man (looking like a banker to me) came down the street, stopped and bought a paper. He stood there looking through it, while we kept on talking about how Reagan has kept the American people fooled, especially the middle class. He began talking out loud: "Theory and practice—Human power is its own end—Urgent appeal." He had a roll of bills in his hand and said, "How about a ten spot?" It had a great affect on me. It said to me that there is something in the air when the thinking of so many different kinds of people is opening up like this.

Felix Martin
California

Have you sent your donation?
See Appeal, p. 12

STAR WARS AND THE SHUTTLE

Peter Mallory certainly anticipated the future when he wrote of the huge possibilities for error in the star wars technology. Just days after I read his article the shuttle exploded. And that is only the "warm-up" to "Star Wars." What could happen with the real thing? Just a day after the explosion "experts" here in Utah were quick to point out that "the shuttle tragedy will not hurt Utah Rocket Business." But people I spoke to were so shocked that they were changing their minds not only about the space program but about "Star Wars" technology in general. Please, more articles which defend people, not missiles!

Supporter Utah

Socially responsible scientists are questioning how their activity has been used to inhuman ends by this society. The irony is that this questioning itself never their pathway to the truth even though that kind of questioning as repeatedly re-emerged in the post-World War II world as others (like the miners in the '49-50 general strike against the introduction of automation) have faced capitalism's anti-human development embodied in its science. The real barrier is the method of the scientist who cannot see a deep-seated, persistent idea as that which is truly objective. In order to get beyond social responsibility as extra-curricular activity a whole new philosophy of science is needed that begins with the objective drive to break down the absolute divergence capitalism has created between science and labor.

Computer professionals for more than social responsibility, Silicon Valley

Black politicians here are using the path of the Black astronaut to promote their own political ends. One Black preacher, Rev. James Lawson, speaking to a group of Black high school youth, even called McNair's death a "good death" in comparison to bad death from a drug overdose or a ng fight! But the space shuttle mis-

sion is all about "Star Wars" research! Seven dead could be just the beginning; next it could be the world.

Black activist Los Angeles

BLACK AND EAST EUROPEAN FREEDOM MOVEMENTS

1986, the 30th anniversary of the Montgomery, Alabama Bus Boycott, is also the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution against totalitarian Russian Communism. When Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in Marxism and Freedom, in 1957, that both were equally significant revolutions, numerous critics derided her. It was not long before we could see what Montgomery began. What permitted Marxist-Humanism to recognize this in 1957 was the philosophic delving that showed both Hungary and Montgomery as "movements from practice that were themselves forms of theory."

It was interesting to me to learn that the relationship between the Black struggle and that of East Europe was also seen by Frantz Fanon in 1961 in Wretched of the Earth. He hailed the Hungarian Revolution as a Humanist liberation struggle. And just last week I read of jailed Solidarnosc activist and leader Adam Michnik's letter to Bishop Tutu, on the common freedom aspirations in both Poland and South Africa.

Marxist-Humanist Detroit

One thing Bishop Tutu said when I heard him speak in Detroit was that the South African government simply moves all the Black people out of an area if they want whites to live there. In my east side neighborhood about two-thirds of the houses that were here in 1944 are gone. They go vacant, burn, and are torn down, one by one. Recently the city announced plans to put a big industrial park along the east riverfront. We have all known for years that they are just waiting for us all to go so they can move white folks back in.

Ethel Dunbar Detroit

I heard Bishop Desmond Tutu when he was in Los Angeles. When he quoted

the Bible it was in opposition to what the white colonialists had done with Christianity. He was expressing the philosophic need to be human, the demand for freedom of the South African masses against "all those who were saying to us, 'You are a non-this or a non-the-other, a non-white, a non-European'—as if we came from non-Europe."

He recognized the two-way road of struggle and ideas between Africa and the U.S. Even "a tattered copy of Ebony magazine" he found as a youth had a big impact on his consciousness of his own self-worth.

Anti-apartheid activist Los Angeles



WOMEN'S LIBERATION

Raya Dunayevskaya's Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution is creating interest here because it so clearly states the integrity of Third World Women's Liberation to all struggles against oppression (including those in the "other worlds"). Also noticed is the ease with which she ranges across far-flung events of the past, drawing on their significance for present action.

Women's Liberationist West Indies

Ever since I went back to work after our strike, all I want to do in my time out of the plant is sleep—and read. I thought you'd enjoy this poem I read, written by a woman commanded by her king to write on the ideal of wifehood. She wrote:

"Wasn't your mother a woman? Who took care of you in your house? A Man? Idiots! Why do you vomit insults, screaming Woman, woman! What special virtue is there in a son or perdition in a daughter? Here and in the other world happiness comes to a person, not a gender. A crude man is nothing. A noble daughter is blessed forever."

The book said it was written in the late 17th century.

Hard working woman Detroit

It was right after I had read, in your excellent report last issue direct from India, about the "threats, intimidations, arrests, illegal detention and physical assaults" suffered by civil rights activists there, that I read in Off Our Backs the appalling treatment suffered by Madhu Kishwar, a founder of the Indian feminist journal, Manushi, in Belgium. Having been assured by the embassy that she would be allowed to make the short trip through Belgium from the port at Ostend to the Brussels airport to continue her journey, she was instead hauled out of line, locked in a room, dragged by her hair, thrown onto a ship, and deported. She said the treatment is not unique, that many women from India and other Third World countries "routinely go through such humiliation." She is asking that letters of protest be sent to: Prime Minister Wilfred Martins, Lambermonstraat, 1040, Brussels, Belgium. Letters of support for Indian women fighting dehumanizing conditions, both at home and abroad, can be sent to Manushi, CI/202 Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi, 110024, India.

Women's Liberationist Chicago

APPEAL FROM P-9 FAMILIES

Thanks for your support. As another month of our strike goes by, our members are every bit as committed to the fight against unnecessary concessions as they were 6 months ago when our strike began. But it has meant real hardships for many P-9 families. Before we distribute any of the Adopt A Family Fund donations we receive we consider which families are most desperate—losing a home, facing eviction, having utilities shut off or vehicles repossessed. Others have medical bills dating from the time Hormel cut our medical benefits retroactively. Many union members have heard our appeal and are responding but our need is great. Please let your friends and readers know about our Fund, and tell them donations can be sent to:

Adopt A Family Fund UFCW Local P-9 316 NE 4th Avenue Austin, Minn. 55912

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion
Working Women for Freedom
Latin America's Revolutions
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions
Marx's "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies
Constitution of News & Letters Committees
The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts
Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts
The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
Marx and the Third World: New Perspectives on Writings from His Last Decade
25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
Bound volume of News & Letters (Aug. 77 to May 84)

Now Available in Spanish:

- Marxismo y Libertad
Rosa Luxemburgo, la liberación femenina y la filosofía marxista de la revolución

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.

Subscriptions to News & Letters
MAIL ORDERS TO: (3-86)
News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605
Enclosed find \$ for the literature checked. Please add 75¢ to each order for postage. Ill. residents add 8% sales tax.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The universal opposition of the Haitian masses to the continuation of the barbarous regime of Jean Claude Duvalier caused the Reagan administration to see once again after Grenada the specter of revolution rising in the Caribbean Basin. Faced with the revolt of the Haitian masses, they quickly helped send "Baby Doc" packing off to France.

In his place has come a junta of six men—four military officers and two civilians. Three of the military men were officials in the Duvalier government; this clearly announces the Reagan administration's intention that there be no real change in the relationship between the rich and poor in Haiti, which was the very reason for the mass revolt. The only real commitment that this junta has ventured to express is to restore ORDER!

BLACK SOLIDARITY VS. REAGAN HYPOCRISY

The use of "behind the scenes" diplomacy to help get rid of a burdensome petty dictator, instead of giving him support, does not make Reagan a champion of the human rights of poor Black Haitians. Only a few years ago, the Reagan administration was propagating the myth that the thousands of Haitians fleeing the terror of the Tonton Macoutes and trying to enter the United States were not political refugees, and therefore could not be granted political asylum. The U.S. Coast Guard was ordered to intercept Haitian boat people at sea and return them to Haiti.

Many of those Haitians who managed to get into the United States were herded into the infamous Krome Detention Center where they lived for a long period of time in dehumanizing conditions. When Black Americans became aware of the maltreatment of the Haitian refugees, they knew from their own experiences that this was nothing less than another form of raw American racism. Blacks wanted to know why whites fleeing from dictators were welcomed and treated as human beings, but Blacks coming from Duvalier's Haiti were not only denied asylum, but treated like animals.

To show their outrage and to help the detainees, protest marches were organized, the offices of the Immigration and Naturalization Service were picketed and support committees organized to raise funds to care for the legal and human needs of the detainees. This action, on the part of Black America, was a concrete expression of the two way road of freedom that exists between U.S. and West Indian Blacks, a road carrying ideas of freedom and the experiences of Black masses in action.

• South African Freedom Journal •

Oh, how I wish to be young again, I used to be a jolly little girl, full of life and spirit, I never thought of what might come, there is no more happiness in my life...

Soweto, South Africa—This is a stanza from a poem entitled "Life Is Full of Surprises," written by an 18-year-old matric pupil of Soweto. We will call her Maureen. She is one of the hundreds of high school finalists who missed the examinations last year. Maureen writes that life has lost meaning.

Henry (also an assumed name) is 23 years old and lives in Soweto and is one of seven children at his home. He is a disillusioned young man. Henry wanted to write his examination last year and thereafter to study for a Bachelor of Commerce degree. He now says he wants to finish his secondary education at a racially mixed school because those schools are not affected by boycotts. But his problem is money.

Maureen and Henry are among thousands of pupils who willy-nilly are affected by the crisis in Black education. But who created the monster? The children themselves or their parents? Or the authorities? School boycotts and unrest have been the pattern at schools since 1976. It's getting worse in the 1980s when even the little-known, sleepy townships in the conservative Free State are affected.

Schooling stopped in many areas when the state of emergency was declared in July. The crisis deepened and solutions were urgently needed. In Soweto the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee (SPCC) was born.

The SPCC, amid criticism because it talked to the government, organized the National Consultative Conference on the education crisis, which was attended by 161 organizations on Dec. 28 and 29 in Johannesburg. One of the resolutions taken at the conference gave the government a three month ultimatum to address the grievances or face "possible action." Pupils were told to ignore the official opening date of Jan. 8 and instead go back to school on Jan. 28.

Henry and Maureen are particularly concerned. What will happen after the March deadline? Will they go to school for the rest of the year? Maureen says she tried to get advice from her teachers. "They actually blame the pupils for the crisis, saying they started the boycotts. I find their attitude unfair because they are large-

(Continued from page 11)

Haiti: specter of revolution in the Caribbean

From history we know that this road has existed for more than 200 years. W.E.B. DuBois in his history of *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade* points out that the success of the Haitian slave revolution in 1804 "contrived a Negro problem for the Western Hemisphere, intensified and defined the anti-slavery movement" and was the primary cause for the ending of the United States participation in the international slave trade in 1807. Congress also cut off trade with Haiti and prohibited Haitians from entering the country.

Here we have an original tension between the United States and Haiti over the very nature of freedom! Haiti was the second country in this hemisphere, after the U.S., to break from European domination by revolution, yet their ideas of freedom were polar opposites. Both the United States and Haiti were representative of the age of revolution; both were influenced by the 18th century philosophy of the universal, natural rights of man. In the United States "universal rights" were restricted to white only, and it eventually came to mean, in practice, the right of free trade, the right to accumulate capital and, until the Civil War, the right to hold and exploit Blacks as slaves.

By contrast, in Haiti, natural rights meant the end of human bondage by the revolutionary activity of Black slaves. Of course, today, slavery is not an issue, but



Haitians celebrate the fall of Duvalier in Miami.

Haitian exiles oppose any U.S. intervention

Editor's note: The following reports are from Haitian exiles written three days before president-for-life Duvalier fled to France with the help of the Reagan White House.

New York, NY—The Haitian people are tired of Duvalier—29 years is enough! The youth are especially tired. What's the use of going to school if when you're finished, there's nothing? They saw Duvalier intended to stay for life. Whoever came in with him and his father was going to stay too. You couldn't become anything in Haiti unless you were in Duvalier's government. That's why the young people didn't want to go to school anymore. They got fed up and wanted Duvalier out.

After 29 years of Duvalier, only the military and the Tontons Macoute survived in Haiti. All of them are Duvalier people. If the army had opposed Duvalier, he would be gone long ago. That's why we don't want anyone from the military in a government. There are some Catholic priests fighting with the people. They were some of the first to fight Duvalier, and they were beaten and put in jail. The priests can help us as advisors now. But the Haitian people want to put into government those who fought with them against Duvalier.

In Haiti today, people who work in the factories make \$3 a day, working for 12 hours, from 6 to 6, six days a week. We know the U.S. companies come there

Martin Luther King Day—the struggle continues

Chicago II.—On Jan. 20 about 30 residents of Chicago's Black South Austin community marched into the Leaf Candy factory and then into two offices of Consolidated Edison demanding to know why these companies remained open on the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr. The idea for the demonstration came out of a discussion during a special meeting of the South Austin Community Coalition (SACC) in which *News & Letters* "Black World" columnist Lou Turner spoke and showed a film of one of Dr. King's speeches.

The demonstration was in response to the fact that 90% of Chicago's businesses remained open. "This situation is an insult to us," said one Black woman. "Some companies say that Black folks can take a day without pay if they want and others will let you take this day instead of another vacation day. That is even more insulting."

During the demonstration at the three work places the response from Black workers was quite enthusiastic. Many workers at Consolidated Edison raised their fists as we entered. They were wearing special lapel flowers as a protest. At the same time a few white people in Chicago's downtown Loop area were verbally abusive, reminding us again that what Dr. King had encountered in Chicago is yet to be overcome. —David Park

there remain sharp differences between what Reagan calls freedom and what the Black masses of the Caribbean want as a concrete expression of their own freedom.

Tutu: 'Freedom is coming'

Detroit, MI—An audience of more than 10,000 cheering, chanting supporters greeted South Africa's Bishop Desmond Tutu when he spoke in Cobo Arena Jan. 16. This was his only public meeting here (other were by ticket or invitation only) and people began lining up to get in at least an hour-and-a-half before the doors opened.

White high school students wearing anti-apartheid tee-shirts, Black church groups rocking the hall with their gospel songs, office workers coming from their jobs, young children on their parent's laps, senior citizens, young and old whose home is the street—all joined together to share in the struggle for freedom that Bishop Tutu represents. He told the crowd "Freedom is coming for all of us in South Africa... about that there is no doubt at all. And we would like to be able to say that Americans helped us to become free."

Some in the audience could relate directly to the unfreedom that is not confined to South Africa. As Bishop Tutu reflected on the police protection he had received here by telling the "Back home, when you get police cars with flashing lights, then you know you are in real trouble," one young Black man in the audience responded, "It's like that here too!"

But the loudest cheers came when Bishop Tutu talked about the revolt of the South African children who fought with stones "one of the most evil systems the earth has ever known." Recognizing that this freedom movement today has a life beyond his own philosophy of non-violence, Bishop Tutu commented, "If I was a young man in South Africa, I would be past Bishop Tutu." —Rally participant

because they can make so much money. We blame Duvalier because he told them what the workers would be paid, and they made a deal. The poorest people in Haiti do not work and could not leave. You have to have some land, a house, something to sell, to pay the \$200 to come over on a boat. Many died at sea, or the U.S. arrested them and sent them back to Haiti. They had nothing. All along the U.S. knew what it was doing.

We were the first Black people to get freedom, but it looks like we're still in slavery. We want to be free again. In 1804 we won freedom. From our flag, red and blue, we cut off the white, the French. Duvalier changed it to black and red. Now the Haitian people put the flag back to 1804. They also raised the American flag as a way to ask the U.S. government to make Duvalier leave. But we don't want the U.S. to come down to Haiti as an occupier like it has before.

And we don't want the U.S. to tell us who our government will be or to make deals. We don't want someone from New York, who hasn't been in Haiti for 20 years and doesn't know what's happened. That's going to be the same thing as Duvalier gone and Duvalier remains. We want the poor people who have been fighting back home to choose who will represent them until an election is ready. We want leaders who are fighting with the people and know what their misery is all about. It's not true we don't have these kinds of leaders. We have plenty. We want to make our own destiny.

Detroit, MI—Detroit celebrated the first national Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday with a variety of meetings, school assemblies, and special newspaper and TV supplements on the life and heritage of King. Many Detroiters still recall King's last visit here when he attended the June, 1963 march of over 200,000 for civil rights and gave the first version of his "I have a Dream Speech." At a rally of over 10,000 on Monday, Jan. 14 in downtown Cobo Arena, the strongest ovation met the remarks of Leon Cohan, President of the Jewish Community Council who said, "Martin Luther King is standing at a public park in Dearborn saying 'Let my people go.'"

Elsewhere, 1200 attended an assembly at Martin Luther King Jr. High School. At Wayne State University in sharp contrast to prior years' student-sponsored debates, the university hosted a \$10-a-plate luncheon. Prof. Charles Vert Willie, a former classmate of King, spoke.

One Black leader interviewed on local TV news said he hoped this holiday would not be just another day with boring facts for school-children to memorize. The 10,000 at Cobo Arena saw in King's heritage the ongoing fight today against Dearborn's racism, like the 10,000 who four days earlier had poured out to hear Bishop Tutu. —Participant

EDITORIAL**Philippine masses oust Marcos**

The creative power of the mass movement in the Philippines has traveled around the globe. It is to them that we want to show our solidarity. First, the Philippine people turned the presidential election campaign, the attempt to count ballots, and the aftermath of a stolen election, into a full social protest against the U.S.-propped-up-Marcos regime. Then, they turned back tanks and armored personnel carriers in a protest headed by nuns; they seized television stations and won over soldiers in the army. Finally, they succeeded in driving Marcos from office and occupied the national palace.

Marcos was driven from office not by the military, not by the politicians, not even by the generals and ministers who "left" his government literally the day Marcos was being told by Reagan that he must give in if he wanted the U.S. to safeguard his departure.

THE MASS SELF-ACTIVITY

No, it was the courage and spontaneity of the masses who opened up roads to freedom by their straightforward acts of social protest, by their profound determination to allow no substitute for their own mass self-activity in halting Marcos.

The Philippine people have had to face not only the troops and private henchmen of the Marcos regime, but the maneuvers and zig-zagging of Ronald Reagan, who, far from being interested in human rights or democracy, had in mind only three points in relation to the Philippines: Clark Air Force Base; Subic Naval Base; and a growing guerrilla insurgency movement, which he labeled totally Communist, and greatly fears.

In the rallies of hundreds of thousands who came out to hear Corazon Aquino, in the attempt to guard the ballot boxes from the hands of the Marcos cronies and agents who shot down poll watchers in the streets, in the walkout of the women computer operators who resisted the fraudulent tabulation of results, was the Philippine masses who demonstrated

everywhere that they had had enough of the U.S.-supported Marcos dictatorship—whether maintained by martial law, assassination, or fraudulent election.

So intent were they to finally topple the Marcos regime, that they ignored calls of the guerrilla New Peoples Army to boycott the presidential election. When Marcos openly stole the election, it was the mass mobilization of tens of thousands in the street, the winning over of significant sections of the military, that drove Marcos out.

REAGAN'S DOUBLE TONGUE-NESS

As fraudulent as the Marcos election were the Reagan Administration's statements in the days after the balloting. First Reagan tried to support the Marcos steal, claiming that both sides cheated, and that the democracy of a two-party system had been born. So vulgar were these pronouncements, that his official group of election observers was forced publicly to disagree with it.

If a few days later Reagan backed away from this deliberate lie, it was not because of any new discovery of "facts" on fraud; it was because of the mass protests that were daily gaining a new power. So deep and pervasive had the opposition to Marcos become that the greatest danger to U.S. objectives of keeping the military bases was to not support a change of regime.

As crucial as have been the protests in the Philippines, they are not as yet a social revolution. Aquino, while an important symbol for opposition to Marcos, represents the same class which has been ruling the Philippines under U.S. tutelage for decades. The Reagan Administration has already moved quickly to recognize and support her government. And she has appointed Marcos military and defense ministry men to high posts in her new government, even though they left Marcos only days before he fell.

'WHAT HAPPENS AFTER?'

"What happens after" is not just a question of after the revolution, but of this crucial moment where a revolutionary stamp was put on Marcos' ouster. What is also needed is a critical attitude toward Aquino's ambivalence on U.S. bases. For Reagan and the new leaders in the Philippines there will be an attempt to perpetuate the U.S. imperial reign.

The masses, on the other hand, want "what happens after" to become the pathway to a new human society. Some of the Left, notably the New Peoples Army, by their boycott and separation from the mass activities after the election, have isolated themselves from the new forms of expression that the masses created. But other revolutionaries have sought to align themselves with the mass movement both in the election and in its aftermath.

We in the U.S. need to support our sisters and brothers in the Philippines by moving to stay the hand of our rulers and allowing the future to be decided by the Philippine masses themselves.

Today there surely is no turning back from the movement that overthrew Marcos. But there are many roads ahead both to free the Philippines from the eight-decades-long control by the U.S. and to realize the deep social uprooting within Philippine society which alone can lead toward a new human society. The Philippine masses have begun a most crucial journey. International solidarity must be the first priority for the masses throughout the world.

Native American religion

Tokio, N.D.—A year-and-a-half campaign to restore the job of a Fort Totten Sioux Reservation resident continues. Frances Warner lost her job with the North Dakota Human Services Department as an alcohol/drug and child sexual abuse counselor after she and her husband were arrested by Federal officials in July, 1984, and charged with the use and possession of sacramental peyote stemming from their membership in the Native American Church congregation at Fort Totten.

The Warners were tried in October, 1984, and acquitted of all charges. But the state of North Dakota refused to reinstate Frances Warner in her job. The state's position received support from petitions gathered in the Devil's Lake area by right-wing religious fundamentalists. The state also interfered with Warner's ability to collect unemployment compensation. A campaign, spearheaded by many of the state's residents, caused the state Personnel Board to order her reinstated in February, 1985. But the Department of Human Services has refused to allow her to work at her former job at Fort Totten and has also refused petitions seeking back pay.

As a result a lawsuit has been filed seeking her job and financial restitution. The suit represents an effort to stop persecution of Native American Church members and to guarantee their rights to hold state jobs. The Northern Plains Religious Freedom Committee (NPRFC) seeks funds to carry on this campaign. Checks can be made out to NPRFC and sent to the committee c/o Professor John R. Salter, Department of Indian Studies, University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, ND, 58202.

Chile shantytown protests

Editor's Note: These are excerpts from a report by Karla Ruiz, a Chilean exile who visited her home country this past autumn. The report is from a discussion with N&L and from Ruiz' article in Chile Vencera, c/o CUDF, P. O. Box 88, New York, NY 10008.

Santiago, Chile—In September, the protests extended to several provinces. In Santiago there were barricades and meetings in the shantytowns. In the La Legua shantytown, there was a meeting which was attacked, leaving four wounded. In the Pudahuel shantytown, there was a march to the Mapocho River to honor the dead found in that river after the coup. It was also attacked, and the parish priest was arrested along with the people.

In the La Victoria shantytown there were demonstrations and barricades. When the Mayor of San Miguel dared to enter the shantytown, the people stoned and tore up his car and chased him and his uniformed escort away.

Despite the fact that defense, first-aid and other committees have been formed in many shantytowns, these are insufficient and lack technical means and preparation. The enemy takes advantage of these weaknesses to enter the shantytowns, shoot and assault their inhabitants, and leave with impunity.

But this does not dampen the spirits of the people who violently confront the repressive forces with the arms the people have on hand: "miguelitos" (homemade nails to puncture police car tires), slings, stones, Molotov cocktails, and the well-known barricades.

The people are in the streets because they are hungry. Whereas there are many political parties in the shantytowns, no one controls the movement in the streets. The problem is not only that the pobladores are unarmed, but also that their goals are confused. The parties take up only single issues with them. As the day-to-day reality changes, the parties do not tie their theories to it.

Farmers vs. Reaganism

Northwest Ohio—My sister and her husband have farmed all of their lives, and our families have farmed for five generations in this country. They are relatively debt-free, but their only income for the past three years has come from my sister's part-time job at a fast-food restaurant and her husband's outside job as a welder. But he has been laid-off from that job and cannot find other work. They told me that their only hope now is to get out of farming as soon as possible.

In all too typical fashion, the Reagan administration's legislative prescription for American farmers suffering from economic hemorrhaging is to bleed the patient some more. The 1985 farm bill is designed to drastically reduce farm income, while the Farm Credit System bailout and the new Farmers Home Administration (FmHA) regulations will accelerate the rate of farm foreclosures. But faced with the prospect of further declines in income and even tighter credit, farmers across the country are beginning to organize.

In fact the only good news coming out of rural America is the growing number of farmers who are organizing among themselves and building alliances with labor, small-business owners, conservation groups, and urban and minority organizations that have not previously had direct links to rural America. Farmers are beginning to re-think their relationship to this government, to corporate finance, and to a former reluctance to band together.

You must sift through all of the Reagan-speak to discover the true nature and purpose of the recently passed farm legislation. The 1985 farm bill provides for yearly reductions in the commodity loan rates at which farmers borrow money for spring planting. By reducing the loan rate each year, this bill will reduce grain prices and farm income worldwide. Since grain prices are already below the cost of production, many farmers do not have sufficient income to repay their loans. Early estimates are that farm income in the U.S. will drop by as much as \$20 billion and foreclosures will more than double in 1986.

Another leg on which farmers stand is credit, and Reagan is kicking that leg out from under them as well. The Farm Credit System (FCS) bailout bill does not bail out the farmer, it bails out the financial investors who trade FCS bonds.

The third strike against farmers is the FmHA's new regulations establishing step-by-step procedures for foreclosing on farm loans. The FmHA holds 12% of the nation's farm debt, and it is now sending notices of intent to foreclose on the nearly 100,000 farmers who are delinquent on their loans by more than \$100.

Another brother-in-law of mine, who has been anti-union and a bedrock conservative all of his life, recently told me that what farmers need is a union. Farmers are forming thousands of populist-oriented organizations ranging in size, from small groups of local farmers to state-wide Farm Unity Coalitions and burgeoning membership in the American Agriculture Movement. These organizations are stopping foreclosure sales, and are organizing to defeat anti-farm candidates in the 1986 elections. Farmers are beginning to send the message that they will not be nailed to the cross of Reaganism and corporate agriculture.

—Nick Demeter

BLACK WORLD

(Continued from page 1)

levels of poverty than whites with only an eighth grade education. As the NUL report concluded: "Education early has a more powerful impact on white poverty rates than on black poverty rates."

The sharpest differences exist within the Black community. Since the early 1970s, but particularly in the past four years, the gap has widened considerably between the Black poor and the Black bourgeoisie. The income of the vast majority of Blacks (85%) continues to decline, while the income of the top 15% has increased in the Reagan years.

After three years of the "Reagan recovery" Black unemployment remains at record high levels for the post-war era, except for the depths of the last recession. When a recent report extolling the supposed economic "rebirth" in the Chicago area had to admit that the "recovery" has skipped the "blighted steel areas of Chicago's Southeast Side" and totally missed Black Chicago, with its working-class Blacks and those mired in the city's underclass.

Black employment, income and wage rates have become the measure of the American social crisis under Reagan. While wages for all categories of workers were stagnant between 1980 and 1984, by 1985 it was among Black workers that wages showed the most alarming deterioration. For instance, Blacks, especially Black women, have been concentrated in jobs where wage levels are close to the minimum wage. Because the minimum wage has plunged under Reagan, and is now only 38.5% of the average wage, the Black wage pattern is bound to decline constant dollar value of the minimum wage.

This then is the structural basis for Black incomes suffering from racial inequality in periods of recovery as well as in recessions. The traditional, moral panaceas of "good education" and a "solid family background" which, as we have seen, had no impact on rates of Black poverty.

Since the economic crisis of Black America has not improved during the "Reagan recovery" but worsened, it is all the more contradictory for the NUL to conclude that "an overall improvement in the economic state of Black America will require an improvement in the over-performance of the economy." The reality is that Black America cannot look forward to an "overall improvement" in its status. If anything, the NUL study shows that Black America can expect the exact opposite, even if we were to accept the senile fantasies of "Reagan recovery." Thus, when the NUL looks toward a Reagan economy to resolve the "residual historical disadvantages of Blacks," it is practicing a cruel

trick that appears when conclusions are at such absolute variance with the actual findings is the ideological vice of Reaganism in Black thought. It is an attempt by Black ideologues to reduce Black reality to the demands of Reagan's America.

Militarized science, technology vs. human needs, potentialities

(Continued from page 1)

reached new heights in the linking of space technology and "Star Wars." It was the success of space technology that had been cited by supporters of Reagan's high-

Space shuttle is still capital vs. labor

by Angela Terrano

Marx's analysis, "To have one basis for science, and another for life is a priori a lie," again has come to life for the world of 1986, in the U.S. shuttle disaster. As the reports come out of the investigation of the disaster, it becomes obvious that no matter how highly trained or highly paid are the workers who build or rebuild the shuttle, once they set foot on that factory floor they face relationships of capital to labor exactly the same as those in any sweat shop found in New York City.

Reagan's fueling of the military, his theatrics of sending a teacher into outer space rather than putting Federal money into schools, set the scenario for the disaster that has traumatized millions of young children across this country.

Has he a right to shed tears over the disaster? Not on your life! Just as he had no right, after not only fighting the idea of a national holiday for Martin Luther King's birthday but attempting to turn the clock back on all the civil rights struggles of the '60s and everything King fought for, to celebrate that very birthday and claim that he was part of that struggle.

The reports on the workers producing the machines for outer space took me back to relive my experience working for a sub-contractor here in New York City doing work for NASA. You may be taught how to do the job to perfection, but you get back to the shop and it's the foreman/forelady who drives you and it's the company that drives them and it's that damn clock on the wall (or these days in the machine) that ticks away that tells you that you are to spend your time, not doing the job right, but getting it out as quickly as possible. They do not want to hear about what you were taught. After seeing what the inspector was passing I began to believe the rumor that he was being paid off. I left work every day with a splitting headache. I quit rather than keep that up. No wonder the workers in Florida need a psychologist!

That Reagan has signed a directive that the space shuttle be "cost effective" (ah! those magic words) by 1988, as if it is a mere hop, skip and jump, as from here to Boston, is fantastic.

We rightfully score ancient societies for their use of slave labor to build monuments to the rulers. How are American workers being used in this wedding of science to Reaganism's fantasies? The psychologist in Florida would only say, after examining the workers, that they appeared to be very tired, that they appeared to have been working long hours (seven days a week for three months). What a genius was Marx, who after 90 pages in *Capital* on "The Working Day" concluded that workers asking, When does my day begin and when does it end, is greater than the Magna Carta. It is not the workers who are to be blamed in this Star-Wars fantasy disaster but science and Reagan.

technology anti-missile shield as a basis for the feasibility of such a program. This space technology thrust of U.S. militarization was further emphasized in the latest secret "Defense Guidance" order signed by Secretary of Defense Weinberger on Dec. 31.

This document, which is to guide military budgets over the five-year period beginning in fiscal 1988, has raised "Star Wars," the Strategic Defense Initiative, to the "highest priority" among Pentagon programs. "Star Wars" is to be automatic, guided not by humans, but by the same computer technology, on an even more complicated level than that responsible for the shuttle program. The Challenger explosion has now called all this into question.

SCIENCE AND CLASS SOCIETY

Can this tragedy also call into question the whole ideological framework that has been created, especially in our post-World War II world, of the perfection of science and the illusion that the technology that flows from it is a panacea?

Science, which had helped to give birth to the modern world, has within that modern world been reduced to scientism. Technology, as science's realization/concretization, has become harnessed within our class-divided world almost exclusively to economic determinations, and most recently to the militarized heart of this economy. Science is thus shackled to an economically dominated technology. Indeed, in our post-World War II world science and technology seem almost to have become imbued with a life of their own.

The dominance of technology over human activity is certainly not a recent development. Marx in the *Grundrisse* and in *Capital* traced in great detail the domination of man by machine in capitalist society. And in fact, even earlier in his *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*, Marx had pinpointed the fundamental contradiction in the bourgeois conception of science: "To have one basis for science and another for life is a priori a lie."

But what has reached new heights in our era of automation, robotization and computer high tech is the threat of the dominance of technology over human thought. What has been called the unlimited instrumentation of the world is driving to become the instrumentation of reason itself.

There is nothing abstract or academic about technology's domination by economic determinations. It is a very palpable reality of our lives. Whether this be computers and booster rockets in space or nuclear reactors like Three Mile Island on earth, whether it be chemical plants in Bhopal, India, and Charleston, West Virginia, or long-wall mining machines in the bowels of the earth at the Wilberg Mine in Utah, whether it be Dalkon shield IUDs that destroy women's lives or slicing machines in Hormel meatpacking plants that cut human tendons as they carve pork—the truth is that technology within the hands of class society threatens our livelihood and our very lives.

SCIENCE AS SCIENTISM

What needs to be opposed is not science and technology per se, but the idolatry given to science, the fetishization of technology. To wake from any worship of science is not to transform science, but to transform the society which puts science on a pedestal. Scientism is an inverted consciousness produced by an inverted world. To free ourselves from it, we must rid ourselves of the perverted world structure of class society.

The attempt to reify our very thought, in part by the ideology of scientism—that science can solve all prob-

lems, that discovering laws and properties of science is the pathway forward—is what needs to be fought directly in our class-divided societies. That ideology is what is being perpetrated by the rulers whether in the United States or in Russia or in China. Science in these societies, far from being in harmony with objective needs, or with the tremendous human potential present, is instead shackled to social systems incapable of fulfilling the needs or allowing the human potentialities to develop. Many third world rulers, too, see science and technology as the sole pathway to catch up with the industrially developed lands. Science, instead of being released in a truly revolutionary self-developing human way, is promulgated in a manner which threatens our very existence as a species on earth.

Where can we find the human forces who can transform these class-divided private and state-capitalist societies that threaten our existence? So pervasive has the domination of these societies become that the human beings who feel its domination and want to oppose it are widespread. Thus, within the community of scientists themselves, an ideological warlord scientist like Edward Teller, father of the H-bomb and architect and

Nuclear missiles and "O" rings

The unwarranted death of seven astronauts before the horrified view of millions on television has been traced back to faulty "O" rings holding the booster rocket together. The world should be startled to learn that the entire nuclear arsenal of the United States (and probably that of the Soviet Union) is held together by these same deteriorating "O" rings.

How reliable are nuclear missiles, stored for years in silos in Montana at sub arctic conditions, when a drop of a few degrees below freezing in Florida can destroy the system? How many other components of the nuclear system have deteriorated to the extent that pulling the trigger could cause catastrophic destruction of the entire site? —Peter Mallory

proponent of "Star Wars," does not speak for the community. More than 20 years ago we singled out "the scientist (Dr. William E. Pickering) who first succeeded in sending the American Explorer into orbit. In speaking of the fact that mankind was now 'only one-half hour away from total annihilation,' Dr. Pickering said that mankind was in need, not of more destructive weapons that the scientists invent, but of 'a new, unifying philosophy.'"

Today, as well, there are many scientists in opposition to the thrust of science and technology in its latest "Star Wars" perversity. In the end, the fundamental opposition to this society emerges from the forces who feel its racism, sexism and class-divided nature most directly. They will surely make their voices and actions felt in the period ahead.

In the meantime we are faced with a presidential commission to investigate the shuttle explosion. The very narrowness of its job will assure that none of the fundamental questions are approached. Rather, its solutions will most certainly fall within the confines of scientism and technology.

THE SPACE SHUTTLE, STAR WARS... AND THE CHILDREN WHO SAW

As more and more information on the space shuttle difficulties is leaked and pried out, it has become clear that the program is not the be-all and end-all of technological prowess. It has been subject to major problem and now a horrendous disaster. The danger lies in the tragedy being dismissed too easily by attributing it to human error and making the attribution rest on the shoulders of a scientist or two, or a few workers. The far from calling into question the narrow pursuit of space militarization through technology, "Star Wars" as a "necessity" will be used to push ahead the shuttle program.

In truth it was the drive to put the shuttle into space quickly, with fast turnaround times to meet payload requirements, particularly military ones, which made it impossible to fully check out the danger signals that had been present from very early on. The Strategic Defense Initiative will surely put more pressure on the shuttle program.

And what did the children who saw that Challenger shuttle explode feel and think? Far from any easy homilies about life goes on and the challenge continues, the minds will not be so easily turned away from asking questions... Their minds are fresh and give us hope that their future will not be a "Star Wars" but a new human society.

* See Second (1964) Introduction to *Marxism and Freedom* by Raya Dunayevskaya, Humanities Press, New Jersey.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

herent in the present.

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

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

The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts

\$1.00

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

YOUTH

Confronting the spread of reactionary groups on campus

by Ida Fuller

While the U.S. campuses in the past few months have been the scene of an alarming barrage of attacks by the right wing on the growing Free South Africa movement, many young activists are thinking about how to battle these attacks.

When on Jan. 20, Dr. Martin Luther King Day, 15 ledge hammer-wielding vigilantes from the Dartmouth Review, a right-wing campus paper, attacked a shanty town put up by the anti-apartheid activists, students responded immediately. Three hundred fifty took over the college administration building for two days and declared a one-day boycott of classes to hold forums on racism, violence and disrespect for diversity of opinion," during which students packed five large auditoriums.

It was only after these student protests that the university suspended the 12 vigilantes. Dartmouth University has refused to hold the Dartmouth Review responsible for this attack and is favorable toward an appeal by the vigilantes. The college has not stopped the Review's attacks on the anti-apartheid activists, and has now scheduled disciplinary hearings for 16 students originally arrested for protesting the college's removal of their shanty town.

UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION SILENT

At the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) we had to fight five "College Republican" goons who, after attacking a Marxist-Humanist literature table, disrupted a film showing of "South Africa Belongs to Us" by our campus Divest Now Coalition. The following week, they received a favorable report from the campus newspaper, the Chicago Illini. Not one of these right-wing attackers was stopped by the university administration which had just put three divestment activists on probation for protesting at a Board of Trustees meeting.

At Oakland University in Michigan and other campuses around the country, many students are supporting teachers who have been put on the hit list of "Accuracy in Academia" (AIA), a right-wing organization formed in August of 1985 to spy on classroom discussions critical of the American government.

But this right-wing attack is not just the doing of a few hot-headed students. It is not even another version of McCarthyism. It has a direct connection to the White House which gives it money and political direction. The Dartmouth Review is part of a network of right-wing campus papers formed in 1981 with the financial backing of William F. Buckley, Jr., the Heritage Foundation and the Hoover Institute. Its former editors are now speechwriters for Reagan and George Bush.

"Accuracy in Academia" has been praised by Attorney General Edwin Meese and by Secretary of Education William Bennett. Its executive director, Les Csorba, as a campaign manager for Reagan's re-election, and the students associated with AIA are all members of the "College Republicans."

The CIA has been complementing AIA by now openly giving research money to many professors to write right-wing papers that would "sharpen its analysis of world events."

FIGHTING THE RIGHT WING

What are American youth going to do about these attacks?

At the University of Illinois, when the five Republican goons had forced their way into the Divest Now coalition meeting, yelling "Hang them, hang them," and the campus police did not make a single move to stop them, a Black student and president of the student body said: "I'll just go get some of my fraternity brothers." He returned in a few minutes with six Black students who sat behind the Republican goons and forced them to leave the room.

As one Black student put it: "If it wasn't for the lack students, the goons would have gone ahead with what they were doing." Some students are also speaking of forming self-defense squads against the right wing. If we cannot throw the responsibility of battling the

Right only on the shoulders of the Black students, or only think of the problem as a tactical question of creating self-defense squads.

The rise of these reactionary vigilante attacks comes out of the rise of Reagan's ideological attacks. He is pounding his ideology at our heads on every question. Each current event in the world is twisted by Reagan to fit his Russia as the "evil empire," America as "family and God" vision of the world.

To combat such an ideological attack we need a full philosophical concept of how we view the world. When we read the headlines on South Africa in the daily paper, when we see the demonstrations in the Philippines on TV, when we have protests on our campuses, how are we able to respond to them? It is for that reason that News and Letters Committees in each local are sponsoring workshop/classes on "Current Events and the Dialectic Method." I hope you as a reader will come and join us in these classes.

Youth in Revolt



Young people who had been denied entrance to universities in China demonstrated near Peking University, protesting admissions policies that they charged have more to do with connections than abilities. The State Education Commission later ordered all colleges to stop selling admissions to employers who use them as favors for workers.

As of Jan. 22, the U.S. government is now turning the names of all student aid applicants over to the Selective Service for intimidation and possible prosecution. The elephantine campaign to force all young men to register for a supposedly unplanned draft reveals the lengths Reaganism will go to in trying to militarize young people's minds.

On Feb. 4, after 19 students were sentenced to prison terms of up to five years for occupying a U.S. propaganda center in Seoul last May, 1,000 students came out to protest and were attacked by 3,000 police. In response to the ongoing student movement against the South Korean dictatorship and U.S. imperialism, the Chun government has declared it will "stamp out student violence at whatever sacrifice."

At Reed College in Oregon, 100 students held a four-day sit-in that shut down all the main administrative offices in late January. They were protesting the trustees' rejection of total divestment in favor of selling a token portion of the college's over-\$6 million in South Africa-related investments. At the University of Pennsylvania, 75 students sat in at the president's office for over two weeks after the trustees had rejected total divestment.

Thousands of people protested in Jerusalem Feb. 12 outside a convention of Meir Kahane's racist Kach Party, which they compared to the Nazis. The demonstration, organized by youth and peace groups, belies media portrayals of Israeli youth as homogeneously conservative.

Protest racist professor

Los Angeles, Cal.—I was part of a group of students that staged a protest against the racist remarks of a professor in our European Cultures class at Occidental College. It was just before the Bill Moyers documentary on "Crisis in Black America," and the professor lectured in class about the disintegration of the Black family, essentially agreeing with the article by George Will that said that all the single-parent Black families show that the main problem is that Blacks are victims of "many irresponsible blacks."

We tried to question the professor further, but he refused to back up his statements or allow more discussion, so we walked out. Our action caused people to think and talk about racism. The professor wrote a letter to the school paper apologizing for his remarks. Personally, I don't think his apology was sincere, but it is a victory for us that he felt he had to do that, or be called a racist.

An anti-apartheid coalition is also active here, pushing for divestment. A big problem, I think, is that the anti-apartheid coalition and the Black student group don't work closely together. I have heard that on some of the other campuses anti-apartheid activists are starting to bring the fight against racism back here to the U.S. I think that's what's needed on this campus too.

—Student activist

Young musicians vs. cops

Buena Park, Cal.—In Buena Park, near my home, there are musicians who choose not to be a part of the typical music industry scam. They don't want someone else making money off their music; in fact they don't even care about making money off of it. All they want to do is entertain people and, more importantly, get their ideas across, because their punk rock is where people get their ideas together.

So they just bring their equipment to a public park every Sunday afternoon and plug in. Usually they can get away with playing for a couple of hours, but then the police always show up. It's so far away from any houses, I don't think anyone actually calls the police. Three or four police cars will drive right on the lawns and herd people out like cattle, yelling and pushing.

The bands usually just move to another spot, but one time, a band moved to a school playground and the police got real violent. First they tried to scare everybody, but people weren't scared. Everybody surrounded these two cops and acted like they were going to jump them. Without explaining what they were doing, the police pulled their guns on people trying to drive away, and demanded their car keys. Then they ordered everybody back into the quad area, lining everybody up and frisking them, supposedly looking for drugs.

When I started walking away, one cop yelled at me, "Come here!" I told him, "Your 'command voice' won't work on me," and he started chasing us with his billy club out, but we outran him.

When will this harassment and intimidation stop? I know my friends get picked on automatically, just because they don't look like yuppies. And in this upper-middle class area, it's not only the police; it's the average-type people who hassle us, too. Can't this society accept that people want to be free? —19-year-old youth

South African Freedom Journal

(continued from page 8)

ly responsible for the mess. "The teachers are affected, whether they agree or not," says Maureen. Henry and Maureen represent the section of the youngsters who feel frustrated. They are, however, determined to find answers to their problems.

A nursing sister this week said she was concerned about the future of teenagers whose educational ambitions have been thwarted. She says that at the hospital where she works, doctors are alarmed by the large number of attempted suicides by teenagers. Thabang (20) and Lister (18) are two other Soweto youths who believe life has too much to give and regard the education crisis as part of the liberation struggle.

They admit that they need education, but say the situation in the townships is not conducive to normal learning. Thabang and Lister belong to a students' movement and their analysis of the crisis reflects the organization's ideology. Says Lister: "Our parents should see the issue through our eyes. When I say I am for the idea of liberation now and education later I do not imply that we should not return to school.

"I am saying that parents should understand how we feel about conditions in this country now. They should remember that we have our demands and these include the replacement of the present government, which designed an education to make us better slaves."

Lister says when they return to school on Jan. 28, they will be doing so under protest. They will be "re-organizing and mobilizing" and preparing for the future—ultimate liberation.

The two youths say their parents think pupils who refuse to return to school are just delinquents. "They think we are wild hotheads bent on destruction," says Thabang, who is very critical of the role of the SPCC. "If our parents force us to return to school, we will obey although we will be doing so on our own terms."

HOW TO CONTACT NEWS & LETTERS

- CHICAGO: 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, IL 60605 (663-0839)
- DETROIT: 1249 Washington Blvd. Rm. 1740
Detroit, Mich. 48226 (963-9077)
- SAN FRANCISCO: P.O. Box 77303, San Francisco
Cal. 94107 (658-1448)
- LOS ANGELES: P.O. Box 29194
Los Angeles, Cal. 90029
- NEW YORK: P.O. Box 196
New York, N.Y. 10163 (663-3631)
- SALT LAKE CITY: P.O. Box 8251
Salt Lake City, UT. 84108
- FLINT: P.O. Box 3384
Flint, Mich. 48502

WHERE AND WHEN WE MEET

- CHICAGO: Sundays, 3:00 P.M.
59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707
- DETROIT: Sundays, 7:00 P.M.
1249 Washington Blvd., Rm. 1740
- S.F. BAY AREA: Sunday, 7:30 P.M.
3122 Shattuck Ave. (rear), Berkeley
- LOS ANGELES: Sundays, 6:30 P.M.
People's College of Law
660 S. Bonnie Brae
- NEW YORK: Sunday, 7:00 P.M.
Grace & St. Paul Church
123 W. 71st St., Manhattan
- SALT LAKE CITY: Monday, 7:30 P.M.
U. of Utah, Marriott Library
Room 465

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Haitian masses topple Duvalier dictatorship

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

February 7, 1986 was liberation day. Twenty-nine years of struggle against the Duvalier yoke ended, as the regime seemed to melt away in the night. Within hours of Jean-Claude Duvalier's sudden departure, the masses were on the streets, celebrating "Long live Haiti, long live freedom!" They destroyed the Duvalier mansion and Papa Doc's tomb, and hunted down members of his terror squad, Tontons Macoutes.

The mass movement began in 1984—food riots broke out in several key cities such as Gonaives, and crowds chanted "Down with Duvalier!" — and deepened in November, 1985. It has withstood hundreds of murders. The masses demonstrated, struck, blocked roads and attacked Tontons Macoutes when the latter were still in power. They forced the army and the U.S. to get rid of Duvalier. They demonstrated 40,000 strong in Cap-Haitien on Jan. 29, facing gunfire. They had covered the land with anti-Duvalier slogans. They had ripped down his father's black and red national flag and restored the blue and red one. Dessalines had created that flag in

the period of the independence war by ripping the white part out of the French tricolor. They did not draw back on Feb. 3 when the Macoutes killed 400 people in Port-au-Prince, but kept up their demonstrations and extended their strikes even further.

U.S. imperialism had supported the Duvaliers for 29 years, giving untold millions of dollars of aid until just one week before they arranged for Duvalier to fly out of the country. He was replaced by army people, corrupt "moderate" Duvalierists, and one human rights advocate.

Direct and indirect U.S. domination, including occupation by the Marines from 1915 to 1934, has heightened the revolutionary and anti-racist consciousness of the masses, both against the elite, especially the mulattoes often favored by the U.S., and against white U.S. imperialism. During the occupation, much land was stolen by multinationals such as the Haitian-American Sugar Company (HASC).

Papa Doc Duvalier staved off revolutionary possibilities by installing a fascist dictatorship in 1957. He per-

secuted the old elite mercilessly, creating his own rule by terror over the entire population, while claiming to oppose white and mulatto domination. "Black middle-classers like Duvalier...control political power, demagogically helping themselves to big notions of 'Negritude' and pretending to the Black masses that it's they who are in power and the 'Duvalierist revolution' is a sparkling victory for Negritude," wrote René Depestre in 1968 (reprinted in 1986 edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*). His son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, took over in 1971.

The terror never let up, as the already impoverished masses were reduced to starvation, thousands fleeing as "boat people" in the 1980s either dying on the way, or ending up in Reagan's racist Krome concentration camp.

Today Duvalier is finally gone but there are new danger signs. Many Duvalierists are in the provisional government. They arranged for Col. Albert Pierre, head of the political police under Duvalier to escape into exile.

The Haiti revolution is only beginning.

British printers strike

The latest union busting and job letting has been led by the media mogul Rupert Murdoch. He has fired 5,000 print workers who went on strike against the introduction of new technology on the Times, The Sun, and The News of the World, and now produces these papers from a heavily guarded computerized warehouse in East London. Journalists, all members of the National Union of Journalists, were offered either a £2000 raise or immediate dismissal. Most of them have accepted the new conditions, though 20 of the Times have resigned rather than work under the new totalitarian regime.

The machines are run by members of the Electricians Unions, the EEUPTU, whose leadership have signed no strike pledges with Murdoch. Delivery lorries driven by members of the Transport and General continue to cross the ineffectual six man picket line. Despite militant rhetoric from the T&G leadership, members have been told by their bosses that they will be fired if they don't drive the lorries. Considering the success of Murdoch's moves, all Fleet Street papers will have to follow suit; most have already begun negotiations with the print unions on cutting staff.

The National Graphical Association (NGA) once prided itself on its industrial strength to close down all the print shops and get the highest pay for its workers. During the miners' strike, printers on The Sun showed their strength and solidarity by refusing to run a derogatory front page headline, "Mine Fuhrer," next to a picture of Scargill. The paper appeared with a blank space on page one.

The Trade Union Council is being forced to discipline the EEUPTU but it will do nothing to help the print workers who are now unemployed, although the Department of Health and Social Security has refused to pay them unemployment benefits, because they are officially on strike. If the newspaper magnates get their way, up to 20,000 workers, members of the NGA as well as secretaries, accounts staff, librarians and journalists, are likely to lose their jobs and join the dole queues as unemployment makes its way through Fleet Street.

Tragedy in S. Yemen

Beginning on Jan. 14, 1986, the revolution in South Yemen devoured itself. The counter-revolution came not from outside but from within the revolutionary movement. Bodyguards of President Ali Nasser Mohammed al-Hassani opened up with machine guns at a Politburo meeting of the Yemen Socialist Party (YSP), firing at his political opponents, especially Col. Ali Antar and Abdel Fateh Ismail. The latter had returned from five years exile in Russia. Ali Nasser's rivals resisted, leading to a two-week bloody battle. Over 13,000 (in a land of 2 million) were killed, the capital destroyed, and Ismail and Antar killed. But Ali Nasser had to flee into

exile, while the other factions took over.

Russia at first seemed to back Ali Nasser but soon shifted to the winners. Prime Minister Haidar Abudaker al-Attas went to Moscow (he had been visiting India) during the civil war. He arrived there as an ally of Ali Nasser and left a week later as the "interim president" of the rebel coalition which had taken power by then. This will not resolve the political differences which sparked the fighting: opposition to Russia's and Ali Nasser's policies of rapprochement with native capitalists and with the reactionary Arab states.

But the real tragedy is that South Yemen's was the only independence struggle in the Arab world fought in the name of Marxism, and which did support peasant land seizures, women's liberation and worker control of industry, not only during the struggle against British imperialism, but after independence was won in 1967.

However, Stalinism and Maoism, as seen in the construction of a one-party state with the YSP as "vanguard" under Ismail's leadership in the 1970's, was grafted all too easily onto the elitism of leaders overwhelmed by the economic backwardness and Islamic culture of their land. The masses were to be "educated" politically, but never let into the debates between the various tendencies in the revolution. The result was not any "building of socialism," but the self-destruction of the revolution.

Rebels take Uganda

In January guerrillas of the National Resistance Army (NRA), some of them as young as ten years old, culminated their five year bush war by taking the capital, Kampala. Mass jubilation filled the streets after soldiers from the corrupt and brutal army of the Tito Okello regime fled or were captured. Hundreds of thousands of Ugandans have been murdered, first by the genocidal Idi Amin regime, 1971-1979, and later under the Obote (1980-85) and Okello (1985-86) regimes. Mass graves have been discovered from these periods.

The NRA, led by Yoweri Museveni, promises to liberate Uganda from human rights violations and corruption by destroying the old army and replacing it with the guerrilla-based NRA. "The people of Uganda should only die from natural causes which are under our control, but not from fellow human beings," says Museveni. He sharply attacked other African leaders for corruption and authoritarianism. In the war, the NRA earned a reputation for not taking "even a banana" from civilians, and for building village-level democracy. But the real test comes with power, as the Southern-based NRA seeks to rule the whole country.

Museveni may represent a new generation. He studied in Tanzania in the late 1960s, where he was influenced by Mozambique's FRELIMO, and wrote a thesis on the thought of Frantz Fanon. He soon broke with Obote after having helped him free Uganda from the Amin

yoke in 1979. Time will tell whether his movement's concept of human rights extends to all Ugandans, or only to Southerners, who were severely oppressed for ethnic reasons by previous regimes.

Jaroslav Seifert, Czechoslovakian poet

*When the fall of the tyrant does not happen
—this too can become a heritage
the poet is condemned to silence
and the iron hand of the iron gates
will gag with its talons the mouth which
sings.*

So wrote Czechoslovak poet Jaroslav Seifert, whose death in January 1986 brought out 5000 people to the funeral. They came despite the Stalinist regime's censorship in the media of any announcement of the funeral of the country's national poet and 1984 Nobel Prize winner. His obituary ran only three lines.

Seifert, an independent thinker, had opposed Stalinism from its inception,

getting himself expelled from the CP in the 1920s even as he wrote "proletarian poetry." Through the terrible days of Nazism and Stalinism, his poetry expressed the yearnings of an oppressed and tortured nation. In 1956, he openly defended imprisoned intellectuals in a speech to the Writers' Congress, calling upon writers to become "the conscience" of the nation.

During the 1968 Prague Spring Seifert became president of the Writer's Union, and was in the thick of that political and intellectual awakening toward self-liberation, until the brutal Russian invasion ended that in August 1968. In the repression which followed the Writers' Union under Seifert's leadership stood so firm that the entire organization had to be disbanded by the government in 1970. In 1976, his name appeared as first author of a protest letter also signed by philosopher Karel Kosik and playwright Václav Havel, and he later took part in the Charter 77 movement.

Those at the funeral were not looking to the past only, but to the future.

News & Letters as a Biweekly!

This appeal for funds to establish a biweekly News & Letters in 1987 is being penned as the new expanded edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought* is coming off the press. We are excited to have this crucial pamphlet in our hands ready to fill your orders.

We also however have in our hands a bill for the pamphlet of close to \$5,000 for the typesetting, the printing and the binding. We undertook this publication at the same time we are working out plans for our biweekly because the objective situation both in South Africa and here in the United States demands a comprehensive analysis of the ongoing events of revolution/counter-revolution.

And yet we do not want to halt our preparations for expanding our revolutionary journalism into a biweekly. It was never needed more than now. Take this issue:

1) We were ready to report on the shuttle explosion and militarized science two weeks ago, but since we are only a monthly we had to wait.

2) We have in our hands a number of reports written directly inside South Africa by freedom fighters, but since we are only a monthly, we can print only a small selection as "South African Freedom Journal."

3) We have, in typescript form, essay-discussion articles on Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts* and on *Revolutionary Bolivia: 1952 and Today*, but since we are only a monthly they cannot be published until future issues.

Becoming a biweekly is not a task for News and Letters Committees members alone. It depends on a very new relationship with our readers. We need you to become participants in our expansion, in our revolutionary journalism — as writers, as distributors and as financial contributors. Only in this way will we be able to reach our goal of a biweekly in 1987.

We know that our readers are for the most part not wealthy. So only a few of you could come up with several hundred dollars out of your pockets at one time. But our bills come year around, so if you can afford to contribute \$10 or \$20 on a monthly basis as a Sustaining Subscriber that would help greatly. Whatever the amount, please don't pass this notice by without clipping the coupon below and sending it to us with your contribution and/or pledge.

NEWS & LETTERS, 59 E. VAN BUREN,
ROOM 707, CHICAGO, IL. 60605

- Enclosed is my contribution of _____ to the 1986 N&L Fund.
 I want to become a Sustainer. I pledge a monthly contribution of _____
 I want to order a bundle of N&L to distribute in my locality. Please send me _____ copies each issue.

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____