

Computers only deepen the crisis



by John Marcotte

Computer-integrated manufacturing, or CIM, is the latest brain-child of the capitalist ideologues. Fully automated and robotized factories are supposedly going to save capitalism's falling profits. Business Week of March 3, 1986 wrote glowing reports about LTV Corporation's \$10.1 million "factory of the future." Its eight-machine system, all linked through a central computer, has been making 564 different parts for the B-1 bomber, 24 hours a day, six days a week, since July 2, 1984.

The great thing about these factories, the article crowed, was that, "because labor costs would be virtually zero," they would bring "a crashing halt to the mad chase after cheap foreign labor." There would be no need for any workers at all, U.S. or "foreign!"

BANKRUPT POLICIES

That was written in March. On July 17, LTV declared bankruptcy (See story from LTV worker, p. 3). Is that how CIM will save capitalism? It's incredible but true that, ever since Marx's day, capitalist ideologists have never understood that only living, human labor is the source of all value and surplus-value—their profits. They gloat that "labor costs are now as little as five percent and usually no more than 15 percent of total costs" of production, and they want to keep pushing that down. But the more they rush to automate and do away with labor, the deeper the crisis.

In New York, in the U.S., they have got us about as far down as they are going to. As factory jobs disappear, how long do they think Blacks will put up with permanent unemployment rates twice that of whites? And Karen Nussbaum of the "9 to 5" union predicts that clerical workers will now be "the next generation of dislocated workers" because of automation.

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Black World

Chicago's 'leaders' and its racism



by Lou Turner

What is one to make of the conspiracy of silence of Chicago's Black political leadership toward the Klan rally held in Marquette Park on June 28 which drew some 2,000 supporters, 20 years after Martin Luther King was stoned leading a march through that same Southwest Chicago area?

The potentially explosive situation in Marquette Park the day that a handful of civil rights activists encountered a mob of racist whites was only the beginning. The racist climate intensified over the 4th of July weekend with the firebombing of the home of a Black family in nearby Gage Park, with the white assault on a Black marching band at a 4th of July parade in suburban Dolton and with the racist murder of a young Black man in Zion, Ill. Clearly the most virulent forms of racism have increased, not diminished, in the Chicago area over the last 20 years. All this raised the most serious questions about this city's Black leadership.

King left Chicago, disillusioned by its Black leadership. Are we again witnessing the capitulation of that leadership on the narrow rationale that grass-roots civil rights confrontation over such racist acts is "out of step" with the political expediency of staying in power?

CRISIS IN BLACK LEADERSHIP

The truth of the matter is that the Marquette Park Klan rally and anti-Klan protest has elicited little or no political and editorial opposition from either the white press or the Black political leadership of Chicago, except when the newly elected Black alderwoman for the Southwest 15th Ward took the naive and misguided position of attacking the Black civil rights groups, the Martin Luther King Movement and the Crusaders for Justice, who were determined to march through Mar-

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Steelworkers, meatpackers, autoworkers

Labor's new battlegrounds

by Andy Phillips

"Why don't people see that capitalism is always asking for something back. No matter what workers give back, they never gain in the process." So spoke a working woman in Oklahoma. She continued, "Let's face it, if Big Business does make it, we little people are the backbone. Yet these companies want give-backs in good and bad times. I believe workers have to make it stop, because it starts and stops with us. We need to stand up for the whole human race and pull together. I say go for it, Strike! and take back what belongs to all workers. Let's start before we're all taken down with capitalism."

The push for give-backs and the determination of workers to fight back are seen in so many kinds of labor

from steelworkers to meatpackers, from city workers to nurses. Thus:

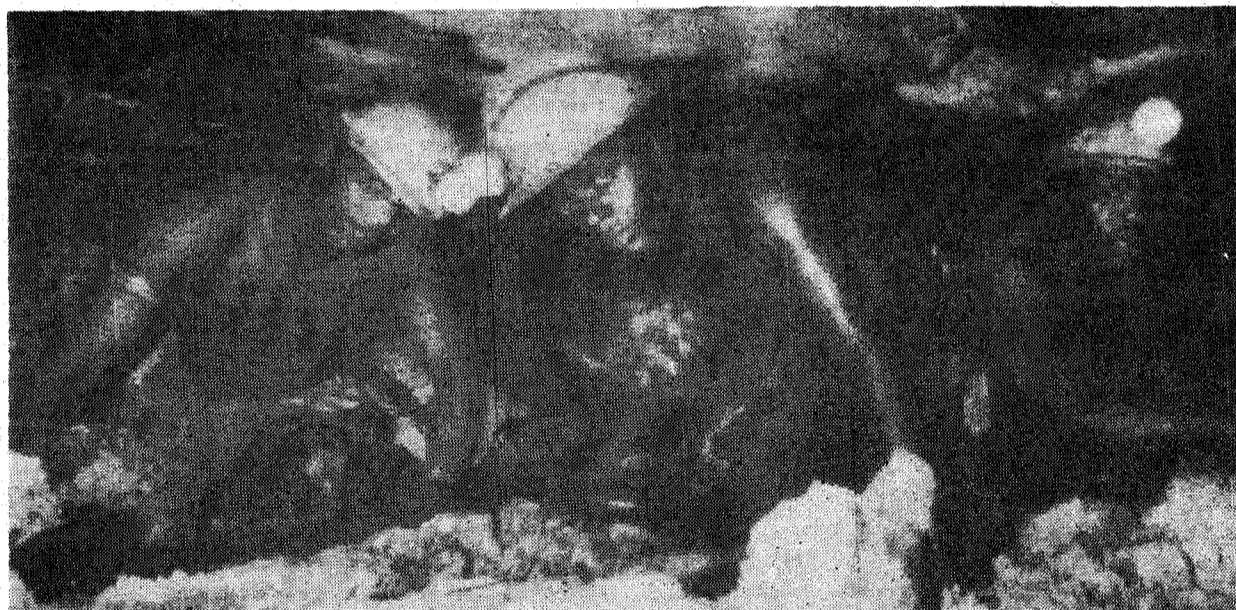
• Steelworkers at "bankrupt" LTV Steel found medical and retiree benefits cut off. They went on the picket line only to be meet with club-wielding police (See LTV steel story, page 10).

• Meatpackers at Oscar Mayer in Chicago find themselves locked out. But instead of waiting around, they have organized daily informational picket lines at the plant, are organizing rallies, boycotts and unity with other meatpacking workers (See Oscar Mayer story, page 8).

• Nurses facing cutbacks and increased work loads have hit the bricks in Chicago and have the support of

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See Editorial: Reagan and two South Africas, page 5



Workers in a gold mine near Catonville, South Africa.

Haitian youth: "Scorned and Abandoned"

Editor's note: Haitian students have just ended a 46-day general strike, which had protested the continuing presence in the government of the Duvalierist Col. Williams Regala, linked to political assassinations, and of Reaganomics advocate Leslie Delatour, who wants to sell off government-run industries to private capital. On June 10, students and their allies created a successful general strike which shut down the capital for these same demands. The students continued their strike until July 23. Below we print an in-person report from our Haitian correspondent.

Port-au-Prince, Haiti—It is generally agreed that all societies are composed of adults as well as youths, and that in our country, with a population of about six million, there are slightly more than three million youths. Indeed, recent political events which have marked national life and which resulted in the overthrow of the Duvalier dictatorship show clearly that youth represent the true strength of the country and that the youth can play a decisive role in the future of Haiti. Following this perspective, youths from all nine geographic regions and from all social categories—peasant, working class, student and unemployed—organized themselves in order to uproot (*dechouker*) Duvalier after 29 years of despotism.

However, up to now the leaders do not see the importance of the role of youth in the socio-economic and political development of the country. Our youth are, therefore, viewed with scorn. They are abandoned to their own devices. An example of this is the strike called by the National Federation of Haitian Students (FENEH). Indeed, ever since June 5, Haitian universities have been on strike to demand the resignation of two anti-people and anti-nationalist government officials: Interior (Police) and Defense Minister Williams Regala, and Economic and Finance Minister Leslie Delatour.

However, the demands of the students have not even been considered by the government leaders. Therefore no concession has been made. The national leaders preferred to turn a deaf ear. Instead of negotiating with the students, they accused them of being agitators, sub-

versives, communists, etc. It should be noted that this type of accusation was often used by the Duvaliers and their assassins every time it was necessary to eliminate a Haitian nationalist whom they considered to be a troublesome element.

Under these conditions, is it not correct to say that we are in the presence of Duvalierism without Duvalier?

It is necessary to affirm that, according to the UN Charter, all individuals can choose or advocate their political ideology. Therefore, this is a fundamental human right.

Another case that must be mentioned to show the abandonment of the youth is what is happening with the baccalaureate examination. Indeed, on July 21, the baccalaureate exams (first and second parts) began in Port-au-Prince and in some provincial towns; 20,722 candidates took the exam.

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Three revolutionary Algerian voices

by Neda Azad

That the counter-revolution that came from within the Algerian revolution of the 1950s and 1960s has not crushed the idea of freedom is seen in three new voices from Algeria: the poet and playwright Kateb Yacine, the women's liberationist Nadine Claire, and the author of *A Wife for My Son*, Ali Ghalem. All have recently spoken out on women's fight for freedom 24 years after the revolution against French colonialism.*

Yacine, a freedom fighter since 1945 when, at the age of 15, he participated in the first anti-colonial demonstration at Setif, develops the relationship of language, revolution and women's liberation. Speaking of the 1980s he says: "The first resistance to the so-called Muslim Brethren came from girls, from women students at Ben-Aknou University's halls of residence. It is no accident that it is girls that resist best."

Yacine refuses to write his plays in literary Arabic, which most people do not understand, and fights to keep the Berber language, Tamazigh, alive. He says: "Language and religion are used to truss people up. I'm neither an Arab nor a Muslim. I'm Algerian. Let's first come to terms with Algeria...Two wounds—language and the status of women—opened up at the same time and in the same year, 1980. It was more than a coincidence...If these two problems are not settled, Algeria will not, cannot be."

It is women's fight for freedom that compelled Ali Ghalem's *A Wife for My Son* as well. He tells the story of a young Algerian woman who is forced to enter a traditional Muslim marriage, becomes conscious of her potentialities and rebels against her life of unfreedom. We follow her through the ritual of the wedding bath and the humiliating "vaginal examination," and of the wedding night where she meets her husband for the first time and is brutally introduced to sex.

WOMEN AND YOUTH FIGHT BACK

Ghalem gives us glimpses of the youth opposition inside Algeria. High school women go on strike to end the "medical control of virginity." They demand, in their leaflets and actions, the right to divorce, "to free choice of partners," and seek the "abolition of parental and marital tutelage" as they join striking working women.

Ghalem is not writing fiction. Nadine Claire, active in the movement since the age of 16, shows us why both Ghalem and Yacine are compelled to write and speak of the Algerian woman. Claire talks of the resistance to the Family Code, a law introduced in 1982 which aims to restrict women in every possible way, in effect legalizing discrimination, sexism and dehumanized relations. This law was proposed in secret. Claire shows how the women were able to stop the law for over a year: "Two weeks before we knew that it was going to be passed we had to steal this proposal. Then we duplicated 25 copies on an old alcohol machine because that's the only way for it not to be traced...Only one of these copies reached the target—it was veteran women, women who fought in the Liberation Struggle and who are legally organized...They understood the situation and they called a demonstration, the first women's demonstration for 20 years since Independence. Exactly 20 years..."

CRITIQUE OF THE LEFT

In trying to work out a new expression of revolutionary feminism, Claire suggests a theoretic reexamination of the dialectics of the Revolution—the role of the National Liberation Front (FLN), as well as today's Left in Algeria, and its relationship to women's liberation.

Claire writes sarcastically: "In our 'underdeveloped countries' where there is not yet an industrial working class...we just have to wait for industrialization to come—thanks to the help of Imperialism...In order to have a class to lead us and 'raise our consciousness'". And as a participant in the Revolution she sees the roots of the subjugation of women of Algeria in the 1980s not only in centuries-old tradition, but in the theoretic foundation of the FLN and its attitude towards

* Quotes from Kateb Yacine are from the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, Sept. 4, 1985. Quotes from Nadine Claire are from *Off Our Backs*, March 1985 and the publication, "Women Under Muslim Laws," 34980 Combaillaux (Montpellier) France. Quotes from Ali Ghalem are from his novel, *A Wife for My Son*, Zed Press, London.

Fly the unmarried skies

Twenty years ago Mary Sprogis, a flight attendant, had to resign from her job because of United Airlines' no-married attendants rule. Two years later she charged UA with sex discrimination after the airline hired single men, allowing them to keep working even if they married. Several class action lawsuits were initiated in the 1970s, but only now has UA agreed to pay \$33 million in back pay and to reinstate 475 flight attendants who were forced to quit when they got married.

The no-marriage rule was begun in the 1960s by the airlines to pander to businessmen by promoting flight attendants as sex objects. During the lawsuit fight, UA claimed most of the women were looking for husbands and never intended to stay on the job. The settlement must still be approved by a federal court.

women's freedom: "The strong discipline that was supposedly needed to control all our forces was in fact mainly oriented towards the control of private life and morality..."

Claire speaks of her affinity for Fanon's work but also the need to deepen the dialectics of women's liberation and social revolution further. "When I first read (Fanon) I was a very young woman who had never worn a veil and as a modest participant in the struggle who was anxious to conform to the essence of my people, I was convinced and was proud of that revolutionary trick: wearing a veil for revolutionary purposes. It took me a long time to understand what a myth Fanon had unconsciously constructed and how harmful it was to justify one of the instruments of oppression of women."

In a language reminiscent of Fanon, Claire writes, "to me nationalism goes together with internationalism; one does not prevent me from the other...The fact that most of our regimes are oppressive and exploit people makes no difference—they are not the nation...The fake unity that is protected and respected during the struggle poisons our vision even if some of us were...courageous enough to denounce it at early stages."

These voices, Kateb Yacine, Ali Ghalem and Nadine Claire, reveal the resilience of the idea of freedom. They each express an anti-capitalist, anti-fundamentalist view, and their vision of revolution is one in which women are activists in defining what freedom is to mean. That view is unique in a Muslim society, be it Africa or the Middle East, and calls for the deepest solidarity.

Chicago VNA on Strike!



Chicago, Ill.—We're with the Visiting Nurses Association (VNA) which started out in 1889 as a charitable institution, a home health agency. We are on strike because of a policy change that says that now we are only supposed to see patients who have the ability to pay. Our demand is that they return care to the needy—return quality care.

On June 4, 1986, 28 nurses were laid-off. Three years ago we had 120 nurses. Now we only have 36 left, so our patient load has really gone up. We are seeing eight to ten patients a day and have to carry a case load of 35 to 50 and we can't give quality care. We are putting our nursing licenses on the line because when you have so many patients with a variety of medicines, some on IVs, you just can't do it all. You can make mistakes and it puts the patients in danger.

We have to use our own cars, we get no travel allowance and we have to pay our own health insurance. Our area starts at the suburbs and goes to all the poverty areas of the city. They sent the police down here to our picket line but they don't send them with us to protect us when we go into Cabrini-Green Housing Project.

We have been trying to have a union for two years now. We had an election in January, 1986 and the VNA had the ballots impounded, saying that we were a government agency, which we are not. We know that we won that election but the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) is just sitting on our complaint. They should change their name to National Management Board because that's who they really represent.

The VNA gets some funding from United Way and they are using United Way monies to union bust. Even though the Visiting Nurses Association says they don't have enough money to provide free patient care, they have enough to pay \$50,000 or more in the last two years to lawyers who specialize in busting unions.

There are a few scabs going in but we have our patients' support. They know we can't keep up the pace, and some have agreed to tell VNA not to send anyone until they settle with us. We are getting support from the Illinois Nurses Association—they won't cross our picket line—and the National Black Nurses Association supports us too. We haven't asked for more help because the VNA is very traditional and they would say there are outsiders here. We want to do this ourselves. Twenty-one out of 36 are striking.

We want the public to know that if this strike was about money we would have been out two years ago. It's about patient care and keeping our licenses. A lot of people on the street are surprised to see us picketing and say, "Nurses on strike?" But when we explain, they are very supportive. One young woman patient in a wheelchair insists on coming down to support us.

—Striking VNA Nurse

In Memoriam for Pat

We deeply mourn the death June 28 of our Los Angeles comrade, Pat (Eve Strong), whose passion and struggles for freedom, as proletarian, as women's liberationist, as activist, brought her to Marxist-Humanism. Her proletarian dimension and rich rural roots gave her contributions to N&L a special importance on the threshold of the 1980s as we were concretizing Marx's unique concept of the Man/Woman relationship in the context of the new Women's Liberation movements, and were designating "Woman as Reason as well as Revolutionary Force."

This can be seen from her frequent articles in N&L as well as in all of her activities, whether in local meetings or on picket lines, especially in Kentucky, Indiana and with the Phelps-Dodge strikers in Arizona. We remember the moving report on the Phelps-Dodge strike Pat gave to the 1984 News and Letters Committee Convention, where she told the story of a 10-year old miner's daughter who refused to say the pledge of allegiance in school because "the words were a lie."

It is this legacy which she leaves for us as well as for her family and friends who have been with her, as gained from her strength, during that long period of her painful battle with cancer, which had not interrupted her work as a Marxist-Humanist. Our hearts go out to her comrade-husband, Felix Martin, who, as N&L's Labor Editor, walked many picket lines and attended many meetings with her.

—Raya Dunayevska
June 30, 1986

Women's strikes in Iran

In recent months new opposition, with women in the lead, has broken out in Iran against the fascist cleric regime of the Islamic Republic.

The Kurdish (Komele) publication *Rasaneh* reports that the strike of women political prisoners in the Qez Hesar prison of Tehran has continued for many months. They are protesting prison regulations which force them to wear a black chador, demanding improvement in the horrible unsanitary conditions of the prisons, and have refused to appear for family visitation days. In response in January around 300 "Mothers of the Political Prisoners" began holding protests in front of the Ministry of Justice, demanding the release of their children.

In Tehran, women workers of the Meli Shoe Corporation went on a spontaneous strike in several of the company's plants when faced with the government orders of segregation of men and women workers. The women presented a letter of protest to management but were fired in response. The rest of the workers, men and women, staged a protest at the management office demanding the reinstatement of their fellow workers. In their letter the women had expressed their outrage at this process of further ghettoization writing, "If you want to Islamicize and have no men in our department then you should have women hold all positions. We should have women managers, women mechanics, women drivers and women construction workers as well. Otherwise we refuse to go back to work."



women-worldwide

May 4-10 the Front Commun des Assistees Sociales (Assistes Sociaux du Quebec) (The Common Front of Welfare Recipients of Quebec) held Social Assistance Week, a week of demonstrations against welfare cuts, media smear campaign against welfare recipients at the institution of 150 "special agents" to check on those receiving aid. These agents have been dubbed "boubo macoutes" after the hated Tontons Macoutes in Haiti. Information from Communiqu' ELK

Three hundred fifty women miners and supporters, including a delegation from Women Against Pit Closures in Britain, participated in the Eighth National Conference of Women Miners, June 27-29, in Paintsville, KY. Other participants included two members of Local P (which represents striking Hormel workers, Austin, Minn.) and keynote speaker and UMWA staff member Nomonde Ngubo from South Africa.

A national boycott of TWA was called July 3 by the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants (IFFA). Over 80% of the TWA flight attendants who struck that company in March are still out of work. The boycott supported by other unions, including the UAW.

The conservative government of French Premier Jacques Chirac "mourned" the death of Simone de Beauvoir by dissolving the Ministry for the Rights of Women and firing the feminist Minister Yvette Roudy during the very week of de Beauvoir's death. Furthermore more than 3,000 feminists were outraged when, during the funeral procession they saw the gates of the cemetery slam in their faces, preventing them from participating in the ceremony.

Detroit city workers strike for fair wage...

Detroit, Michigan—The longest city workers' strike in Detroit history is alive and fighting, as strikers shouted a loud and angry "No!" to both city and union leaders on July 28 by voting down 3-to-1 a proposed contract settlement. The three-year proposal offered a 5% raise the first year, 2.5% the second year, but tied all salaries the third year to city revenues—meaning workers could face a pay cut!

Members of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Council 25 walked out July 16 after two contract extensions failed to bring a settlement. As many as 5,000 other city workers from 30 different unions have honored AFSCME picket lines, although Teamster leaders are now threatening to cross.

DETROIT SHUT DOWN

City services from buses and garbage pickup, to the zoo, museums and recreation centers have been virtually shut down as bus drivers and garbage truck drivers honored picket lines of mechanics, and clerical, health and election workers and streets and parks maintenance staff went out on strike.

Strikers are furious over Mayor Coleman Young's refusal to agree to a fair and equitable contract, since last January high-level city officials pocketed gigantic pay hikes—\$35,000 (43% increase) for the mayor and 26%-33% for City Council members.

In trying to justify this travesty at a press conference on the first day of the strike, Mayor Young galvanized widespread community support for the strikers with his arrogant comments: "There's absolutely no connection between what executives get paid and what workers get paid. We don't pay our top personnel enough money, and that's an entirely different problem from what we pay people to drive buses."

POPULAR SUPPORT

Despite the Mayor's previously solid support in the Black community, at a July 17 rally a predominantly Black crowd of about 2,000 people pledged their support for the strikers, and stood in line to sign petitions to recall the Mayor. A striker who is a single mother of three said, "We're all mad...we feel Mayor Young is using everything he learned as a labor organizer and turning it against the poor people." Another woman striker said, "He treats us like the enemy."

At our picket line people on foot, from teens to senior citizens, have stopped to say, "We're tired of walking, but we're with you all the way."

The solidarity of the strikers—stronger than in any strike in the 20 years I've worked for the City—can be heard every day on the picket lines: "They can't shut off my gas and my water. I'm not backing down!" "If we have to get one big pot out here to eat out of, we will. Our families will not go hungry because of Coleman Young's greed."

—City striker

Who runs the machine?

Philadelphia, Pa.—This spring, four years after my co-workers at a packaging company voted to join a union, the company lost their last appeal of that decision after fighting it through the National Labor Relations Board, administrative law judges and the courts. Still they refuse to negotiate.

While the union may afford some minimal protection, it was obvious from our first meeting that it will do little to eliminate our deepest grievances. The entire meeting was devoted to lowering people's expectations and urging us to "be realistic."

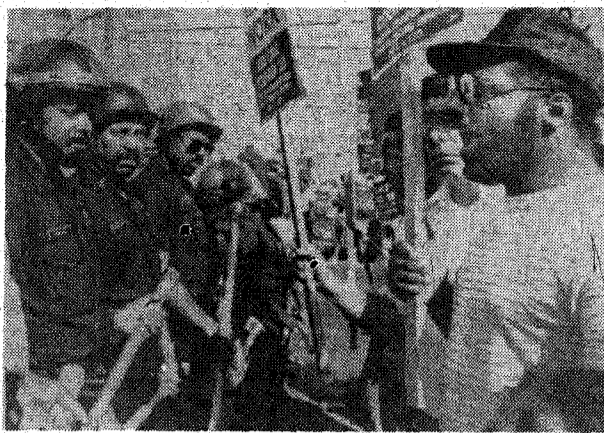
When a woman protested about the difficulty of resolving problems with only one steward for three departments on three shifts, she was told that the proper procedure was to remain at her machine and file a grievance on her own time. It is in our interest, we were told, that the company remain profitable.

Marx's idea that under capitalism workers are reduced to mere appendages of machines is very real to me. I work as a helper on a machine that manufactures bags from rolls of film and coated paper. The web of film and paper shifts back and forth constantly, forcing us to run around the machine making adjustments, trying to keep the product within tolerance while the bags keep coming out.

Each change in the type of film or the size of the bag creates new problems. Our every movement is controlled by the demands of the machine and the push for production. We are faced with the prospect of mandatory Saturday work for the rest of the summer. To the company there is no life outside work.

Rebellion lies on the shop floor, however, even if in small ways. While the first and third shifts were excused for the Saturday morning union meeting, second shift workers were told that they must report to work that afternoon or face disciplinary action. Most of us resolved immediately not to come in, and the few waverers were soon convinced. Absolutely no one came to work that day. The company was forced to back down and was limited to warning us to meet the Saturday schedule from then on.

—Woman, not a robot



Striking Detroit sewage plant workers face police.

...solidarity with strikers

Detroit, Mich.—The main reason sanitation truck drivers are out is simple. We will not cross the AFSCME picket line as long as they're out. We know their strike would not be as effective if we went back to work, and it is important to our own position. We don't know what is going on with our bargaining committee right now. We were supposed to be consulted on whether our contract should be extended, but they go ahead and do whatever they want. The union leaders, AFSCME and Teamsters, are playing politics with this strike—too much politics. The problem is Mayor Young has them all in his pocket. He decides which one will jump at which time.

We have lost a lot in the past six years. The main thing is money. The Mayor tried to pull a fast one with the contract AFSCME rejected. There is a lot more money around than the \$52 million surplus that is public. Young wants to give that money to outfits like Chrysler so they'll stay in the city at the Jefferson Avenue plant. But we're supposed to be satisfied with nothing.

The Mayor got his big raise, and he said executives should get a lot more than workers. He would not last one hour under our working conditions. On a one-man truck, you do the work of three. You have to meet a production quota of 27,500 pounds each day. You always get checked on the scales, and if you do come up short, you get three days off.

Now this morning some of our drivers went in and they got trucks out. These drivers say they need the money. We all do. But it's a question of what your priorities are, like solidarity. I see this strike as a try at union-busting. You don't really have a union if you don't stand up for what you need. And with this strike, Young has stopped acting like a mayor and started acting like a dictator. He tells our leaders to tell us to go back to work. But I won't go in as long as the AFSCME line is up.

—Sanitation truck driver

Editors note: As we go to press, AFSCME bureaucrats called a vote on a few hours' notice on Sunday, Aug. 3 to push through a sellout contract approved by less than 20% of the membership.

GM's choices mean layoffs

Oklahoma City, Okla.—If this plant gets the new GM 10 car, they will put in a lot of automation. My committeeperson told me that the GM 10 will do away with 1,200 people. I don't know if I would have enough seniority to even keep a job in this plant.

Just about all the workers that have 1979 seniority (that is when this plant opened) want the GM 10—because they threaten to close the plant entirely without it. We were supposed to get it next year, but as it stands now, this plant will not get the GM 10 for a while anyway. Still the company likes to use the GM 10 to try to get more work and quality and production out of us workers.

The plant manager has said many times, we have to keep our quality up, and help keep costs down, to keep this plant open here. They are always pitting us against other plants and other workers. We have to watch when we see a white shirt walking around. They are looking around to cut more people, and this plant has already cut a lot of people the last year.

—GM worker

Contract but no truce

Los Angeles, Cal.—At the roofing material company where I work, our union contract was up for renewal—but we got stuck with the same old rag of a contract for the next two years, frozen wages and all. "Take it or leave it," the company told us. "We will shut the plant down and you'll all be out of a job." The contract was voted in and most workers felt lucky to be left without a direct 8% cut in wages and a loss in benefits, which the company had threatened to push down our throats.

Before the contract renewal, the company had laid off the sand operator, and the worker resistance to speed-up had slowed down production, from 1800 rolls of rolled roofing to 700 rolls per ten-hour shift. After contract renewal production was still not up to standard. The lay-off of the sand operator was forcing other workers from the line to spread themselves thin.

At one time the line moved at 350 feet a minute, and today it is speeded up to 490 feet a minute, causing more silicon dust and asphalt fumes to be "kicked up" from the line. The company managers finally had to give in to the workers' resistance by bringing the sand operator back—although now they call him the "job utility worker."

But this small victory for labor may be short-lived, because management has promised that they will bring in bigger and better machinery to become more competitive within the next three years. For workers, this means lay-offs to unemployment.

Workers must realize that within themselves lies their greatest victories, for capitalist production needs labor more than labor needs capitalism. Whether the capitalists know it or not, their production process digs their grave deeper daily and workers, unemployed and employed, will be the gravediggers for this capitalist system.

—Eugene Ford

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

How long do they think we will keep paying \$500 and \$600 rents, when what jobs there are pay \$120 a week? The standard of living for New York workers has plummeted and there is no end in sight. I remember in 1975, a big three-room apartment in Manhattan went for \$135 month, the subway cost 35 cents, and minimum wage was about \$2.70 an hour. That same apartment today, if you can get it, is \$650 plus three months rent up front! The subway is a dollar. And minimum wage is barely changed at \$3.35 an hour.

At C&C Metal in New Jersey, the workers finally got a contract by a three hour spontaneous work stoppage. They got a \$14 a week raise, but new workers will still come in at 1981 wages—\$3.65 (women) and \$4.15 (men) for three more years. A lot of the workers who can are getting out, totally disgusted with the union. They are driving gypsy cabs or working in corner groceries.

It's like everyone in New York with a driver's license is driving a cab! I guess that's what they mean by the "service sector jobs." No security, no benefits, long hours, and, how long can we keep driving each other around in cabs when there are no jobs?

And for those who are still working, it's push, push every minute, all day. You have to be in a factory to know that. As much as all labor is exploited, the factory is where every minute has to be sweated with no let up. Just like at McDonald's. I go in a McDonald's, and I see how those young people are pushed to produce that "fast food" and I say, this is no "service job," this is production of the worst kind.

'NO RIGHT TO STRIKE'

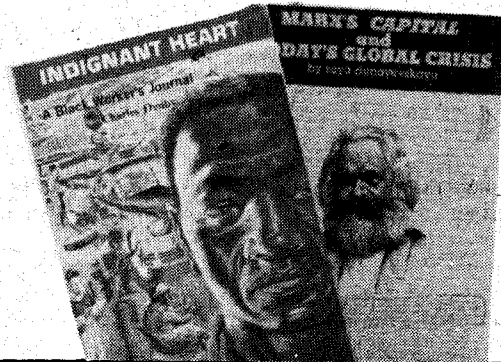
At a frozen food plant in New Jersey, the workers struck for a new contract this March. Workers from Greece, Yugoslavia and Latin America couldn't believe their eyes when they saw the picketline limited to six workers, and the police escorting the trucks in and out, and the union said there was nothing they could do. With the boss ready to hire scabs and the union saying it was powerless, the workers had to end their strike. They concluded, "Workers do not have the right to strike in America."

That, indeed, is what it's coming to. But how long do the rulers think we will let this miserable reality go on? They may be good at "uncoupling" employment from production, but the workers, employed and unemployed, are going to "uncouple" the capitalists from the means of production.

For the roots of the present economic crisis and Black revolt —

...the overriding fact of present-day capitalist economy is the decline in the rate of profit as well as poverty, unemployment and stagnation.—Raya Dunayevskaya, *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*
Workers are the key to the whole revolution, and in this country Black workers have been in the vanguard of every forward movement.—Charles Denby, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*

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THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya *

Founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U. S.

I am turning over my column to my colleague Eugene Walker, who wrote an essay on Volume XII of the Marxist-Humanist Archives for the News and Letters Committees pre-convention discussion period. Below are excerpts.—Raya Dunayevskaya

The stunning power of Vol. XII of the Archives is multifold. It rests first on the tremendous sweep of this volume. Indeed, it is that range from the 1920s to the 1980s that provides us with a view of the whole of the Archives, that is, with a way of looking at, an entry into, the entire 12-volume 10,000-plus pages. It rests on the power of the Idea—Marxist-Humanism—as one sees it develop in a multilinear manner: as translations of Marx and Lenin; as battle of ideas with intellectuals; as battles with other tendencies to establish a philosophic ground; as a new view of trips abroad—preparation, letters in the midst, follow-through philosophically/organizationally; as interacting with forces of revolution in America and globally; as battle within one's own tendency. The power of Vol. XII rests on the interaction between objective events and the Idea, what Dunayevskaya terms in her Introduction/Overview "revolutions in thought as well as fact."

To see these revolutions in thought as well as fact, let's look at Vol. XII in three ways—as the Introduction/Overview; as the wealth of material which was divided into the Sections that were presented in the Guide to Vol. XII, and finally as some categories/dimensions which struck me as important in helping one to arrive at a Praxis of Marxist-Humanist Archives.

I. THE INTRODUCTION/OVERVIEW

...The Archives begin in the 1920s with the American Negro Labor Congress and the Negro Champion (microfilm #8494). It can be no accident that both the opening and ending paragraphs of the whole Introduction focus on the Black Dimension. In the 1920s it must have meant a way of rekindling the spirit of the Russian Revolution on American soil. It certainly was so objectively, as can be seen in Marcus Garvey's attraction to the Russian Revolution...

But it was as well true in the individual of Dunayevskaya, a child of the Russian Revolution, finding its expression in working in Chicago with the Negro Champion, in the work she did on Black, whether on Paul Laurence Dunbar, in her book reviews, in her attempts at dramatization of the work of Black writers.

The Introduction/Overview illuminates three central points for the 1930s—labor, Black and the Spanish Revolution as Dunayevskaya was Trotsky's secretary, 1937-38. But there is something very different about this Trotskyist, who some called an "anarchist," in this period. And that was her insistence in being rooted in America, not as American exceptionalism, but in linking Marxism and American history. Thus, her article in the Young Spartacus (microfilm #8776) centers on the strikes of the 1870s in America. This was written in the midst of the strikes of the 1930s, and was her way of demonstrating that strikes were not foreign as the Hearst press claimed. That battle against the bourgeois press was matched by her battle against a fellow Trotskyist in that same period. The document "On the Resolution of the National Youth Committee" (microfilm #8772) is an extraordinary article that demolishes any attempt to say that our revolutionary traditions came out of the bourgeois aspects of the American Revolution, as opposed to the lower and deeper yeoman/farmer aspects...[See excerpts on p. 11.]

Her description of the '30s here in the Introduction/Overview is tremendously illuminating: "The Depression certainly shook up America, and the strike struggles of the 1930s both created industrial unionism and introduced new paths in cognition itself. Far from pragmatism and American thought being one and the same, Marxian dialectics was very much on the American scene and was reflected in the multifaceted discussions engaged in by workers as well as intellectuals." How Marxism and the American experience in the 1930s intertwined, it seems to me, is one area we as Marxist-Humanists need to work on.

And of course there was the Spanish Revolution and work with Trotsky in the 1930s. The appendix to Part I of the Marxist-Humanist Archives is on Trotsky, its thrust being work on the Russian question as Trotsky fought Stalin. Here in Vol. XII, it is on the Spanish Revolution, and, as Dunayevskaya notes, how Trotsky wanted to make Russia 1917 the ground for Spain 1937. But it also puts her work with Trotsky in a new light—the impact not alone of the Moscow frame-up trials and the defense against that, but the impact of the Spanish Civil War. In the postscript to the Introduction/Over-

JOURNEYS THROUGH MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

view she comments as follows: "Put differently, the 1930s are the focus point now. The Depression signaled the end of private capitalism, while out of the Spanish Civil War there emerged a new kind of revolutionary who posed questions not only against Stalinism but against Trotskyism, indeed against all established Marxists."

The "multifaceted discussions engaged in by workers and intellectuals," the emergence of "a new kind of revolutionary," all out of the 1930s, led to a very particular intellectual labor at the beginning of the 1940s—work on the Russian Five-Year Plans, and at the same time translating the young Marx. As she notes, "the relationship between philosophy and economics was intensified." What I think becomes so strong here is to see how the 1940s did so closely tie together these two. That is what we can see in Vol. XII more clearly than ever before: how those economic studies on Russia as state-capitalist society were not done separately either from Marx or from this new Lenin, that is, his Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic...

For the 1950s, the Introduction/Overview concentrates on the period '57-'59—the period in which that first comprehensive statement of Marxism for our age, **Marxism and Freedom**, was published and the period in which we as a tendency, Marxist-Humanism, began to pose ourselves internationally, in person in West Europe to a conference of those who held that Russia is not Marxist, and going with a pamphlet on the newly emerging Afro-Asian Revolutions in hand. This period seems to me an important one to grasp—objectively how had, on the one hand, a new form of fascism arisen in Europe with DeGaulle and on the other, a new page of freedom opening with the African revolutions. Precisely these new events became the testing ground for Marxist revolutionaries. We strove to meet that by having our statement of **Marxism and Freedom**, our concretization of that in critiquing the administrative mentality that was so quickly arising out of these new revolutions, in our Afro-Asian Revolutions Pamphlet. That consciousness of what we represent in meeting these challenges must surely have been in her mind when she issued that "First Draft of the Marxist-Humanist Archives, July, 1958."

The new that Dunayevskaya concentrates on for the '60s and '70s is relationships with intellectuals, with revolutionaries—from the West African and Japanese trips to this exciting section to which I will return later: **Battle of Ideas**. Raya moves us to the 1970s and 1980s by pointing out that the passion for philosophy distinguishes these periods from those 1960s...

II. THE SECTIONS IN THE GUIDE

The six sections that make up Vol. XII are a sweep that stretches some 60 years. Section I is entitled, "From the Impact of the Russian Revolution to the Outbreak of World War II." One of the aspects that is so striking here is all the early 1920s work on the Black Dimension. The Negro Champion in those years must have been quite a paper because the one issue we do have in the Archives powerfully shows Black as a world question, Black as an American question... Besides Raya's work with the Negro Champion there are a number of documents in this section which show her work on the Black question in the '20s...

Section II is called "The Birth of State-Capitalist Theory and Marx's Early Essays." What is particularly striking about this section is the number of elements that come together at the same time. We have often talked about the fact that while Dunayevskaya was working out state-capitalist theory, she was also translating some of the early Marx, his Humanist Essays. Or that when she was working on Russia as a state-capitalist society she used the categories of Marx's Capital. Now in the various subsections of this section you have before you those translations of the early Marx she did in the early '40s, and you see the whole range of study guides, of translations, of lecture notes, of outlines, all centered around Marx's Capital...

In this section you will also find a subsection on the Negro question as Dunayevskaya worked on it in the 1940s, including not only the debates within the Workers Party, but some very striking notes on Richard Wright's **Black Boy** (microfilm #9039)...

Dunayevskaya of course resisted the separation

of economics and philosophy which the Workers Party insisted upon in order to allow publication of her studies on Russia. What the documents collected here allow us to begin to gain an appreciation of is the multilinear nature of the studies she was undertaking...

Section III of Vol. XII, entitled "Philosophic Correspondence, Miners' Strike and the Beginning of the Break-Up of the State-Capitalist Tendency, 1948-1955," cannot be separated from the 35 letters of the three-way correspondence that appears in Vol. III of the collection. The two collections of letters when put together give us an appreciation of how Dunayevskaya's studies on Marx's Capital, on Hegel, and on Lenin's **Philosophic Notebooks** were one continuing dialogue. Although the totality of these letters is certainly stunning, it is as well some of the individual letters which are so rich in subject matter, and often so relate to a study that Dunayevskaya is working out today, that generalizations or description simply will not do, you must dig through single letters to catch the wealth of particulars...

The fourth section, "Marxist-Humanist Archives and International Relations," is very exciting because of the kind of Marxist-Humanist presence which is involved when Dunayevskaya makes an international trip. I found the 1959 trip to Europe very striking in this regard. First, the kinds of letters Dunayevskaya wrote to European revolutionaries in laying the ground for this trip. Then there were letters to our own comrades. The letters to friends in Britain before she arrives project the kind of trip she wants. The notes and speeches given during the trip are present in the Archives as are articles published and other ramifications of the trip...

Section V, "The Battle of Ideas," is perhaps the most unusual of the new sections in Vol. XII. That two-decades-long correspondence [with Herbert Marcuse] is tremendously revealing. It is especially so at this moment when we are discussing changes in our newspaper, for in the first few letters that Raya is writing to Marcuse, two ideas are intertwined—a workers' newspaper and Hegel's Absolute Idea. She is trying to explain to Marcuse about the group of workers and intellectuals involved in putting out this paper, and at the same time engage him in a dialogue around Absolute Idea... Can we not in truth view this correspondence at least from Dunayevskaya's side as one long letter on the Absolute Idea?...

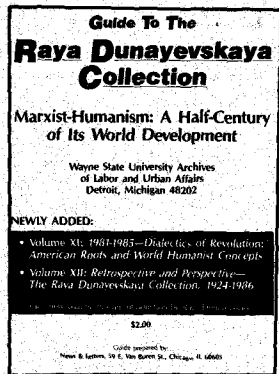
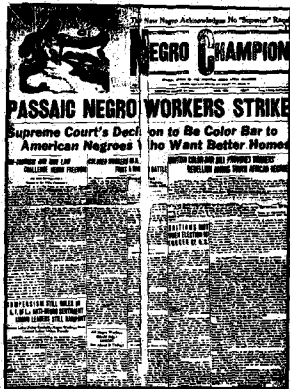
Finally, Section VI, "The Marxist-Humanist Archives—the New Additions as well as New Findings from the Old," should be very much studied in conjunction with Volume XI. This can give us a fuller view of how Marxist-Humanism has developed in the 1980s, a period we are only now realizing is precisely the one which brings us to a fuller consciousness of ourselves, of our half-century of developments, of trying to work out Absolute Idea as a New Beginning for our Age.

III. OUR PRAXIS OF MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

...What a study of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development reveals, either as Vol. XII or as the entire collection, is that Dunayevskaya's whole journey in these five-plus decades has been to "establish a continuity with the historic course of human development." To do that has meant a whole series of discontinuities, of divides, including our own great divide. Think about the discontinuity that she had to have again and again on what American radicals expressed about the Negro or Black question. And yet, was that not the type of discontinuity that established, with Black masses as vanguard, a continuity with Marx's Marxism, in re-establishing it anew on American soil?

Think about the discontinuity with the Marxist economists she had to have throughout the decade of the '40s, not only to work out her conception of Russia as a state-capitalist state, but to demonstrate that Marxian economics was at once politics and philosophy.

(continued on page 8)



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EDITORIAL**Reagan and two South Africas**

Two South Africas are in sharp continual collision today—the South Africa of Botha-Reagan-Thatcher, and the South Africa of civil war in-the-making. The South Africa of wholesale detentions, burning of Black housing, murders of Black activists, terrorizing of the majority of the population and the South Africa of young school boycotters of eight and ten as well as teenagers, of women and men organizing freedom movements in the desolation of Black townships, of an emerging powerful, revolutionary Black trade union movement. These two South Africas, of counter-revolution and revolution, of brutal police-state death and the newly emerging life of freedom struggle command our attention, demand that we sharply define our attitude, and that we demonstrate our solidarity right now.

We must make no mistake about it. Botha's South Africa is Reagan's South Africa. Reagan has barely distinguished himself in rhetoric from Botha. So despicable to world opinion was his first black-face for white racist policy, South Carolina union buster Robert Brown, that he had to withdraw this first Black nominee for Ambassador to South Africa. In practice he has insisted on supporting that apartheid regime in the one area where the U.S. has leverage, the

Struggle at Big Mountain

by Shainape Shcapwe

The U.S. government has backed down from its July 7 deadline of forcibly removing Hopi and Navajo people from their land in the Big Mountain, Arizona, area. (See my article in May 1986 N&L). This was due to support and publicity for the families who remain, and who the government wants to relocate under an agreement they arranged with both tribal councils.

Now the government is saying July 7 was not that important a date, and that from the beginning they wanted the families to go voluntarily. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is saying there never really was a problem at Big Mountain, except for trouble caused by leftists and a few dissident Indians. The government says only 39 families remain, but people I spoke with in Arizona say some 300 families have refused to leave.

What needs attention now is that the leadership of the Hopi and Navajo, along with the government, are working together to create a situation that puts pressure on these people to move. They are hoping to create enough trouble to make it appear the Hopi and Navajo people can't decide for themselves what they want.

For example, the government said it would build housing and relocate Indians into an area where they would be better served if they wanted to keep their small farms and sheep ranching. It makes it look like the government has given a lot to move the Indians. But they were in such a hurry to get the people out by July 7 that the houses had no electricity or water lines.

These houses were not given to the people who were relocated. They had to pay for them. But since many have only small incomes from farming and ranching, they couldn't keep up with the payments. Now the government has been forced into creating livable houses, and to getting the payment levels down to what people can afford, but I don't know how long that will last.

The government wants the land, and once the people are gone, the coal, uranium and oil companies can lease it. The government says any money from "mineral development" will be divided between the two tribes, because this is what the leadership wants and that's what the tribal councils have agreed to. But no one asked the people living there what they want.

A member of the tribal council told me that the support they received was more important than anything that had happened before, but he was also critical of some left groups who came to the Big Mountain camp with a preconceived idea of what the situation was. They stayed long enough to write stories for their own publications, and when they left they were asked not to come back.

Big Mountain has shown that this struggle is not an isolated land question or our own private cultural affair. We have identified with other struggles, in Nicaragua and South Africa. And there is tremendous repression under Reagan. It is hard to believe the government has become so open about lying, when they say they are not interested in Indian land to exploit for minerals. They are the same kind of lies Reagan is telling about Nicaragua. What is important now is the mutuality of support in activity and ideas.

In the days ahead, the government will try to wear down the families who remain on the land. I hope it will be kept in mind that, in the government's eyes, this land was destined for the coal companies. There has been some talk about the religious significance of the land to the people there. There are people who feel this way about it, mostly those who have lived there a long time. It is their way of life, and you can't take that away and expect them to simply accept it. Nobody has asked them what they want, and no matter what, these people won't go away quietly.

economy.

Sanctions could hurt, but the truth that matters for Reagan and Thatcher is that those sanctions will hurt the super-profits that American and British companies have reaped for decades by raping South Africa's Black workforce. Congressman John Conyers commented: "It is a known fact that the U.S. has extensive influence in that country and owns 70% of the computer industry, 45% of the oil fields and 33% of the automotive companies, which collectively employ fewer than 1% of Black South Africans."

THE STAYAWAYS

The Black masses have already spoken loudly and clearly on the matter of sanctions in their job "stayaways" of May 1 and June 16. By the millions they said they were willing to take the steps needed to bring down the apartheid regime. Reagan, Thatcher and their ilk, hide behind their smoke screen of concern that sanctions would hurt Black South Africans, in order to hide their true concern for the billions of dollars invested by the U.S. and Britain in the South African mines, mills and factories. No wonder Bishop Tutu could say, "I think the West, for my part, can go to hell."

The South Africa of revolt, of civil war, of a brewing revolution, has been emerging throughout this decade of the 1980s. Nowhere is this more evident than in the actions of the South African Black trade unions.

After the tremendous "stayaways" of May 1 and June 16, after the new imposition of martial law which meant the arrest and disappearance of thousands, including countless leaders of trade unions, the newly formed Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) called a National Day of Action on July 14. It was the first time South African Black workers, as a trade union movement, initiated, organized and led a national protest against the apartheid government. Although it didn't achieve the same impact as the June 16 Soweto anniversary "stayaway" did, it had the participation of tens of thousands of workers, demonstrating under totalitarian police-state conditions.

AIDS and the attack on the gay community

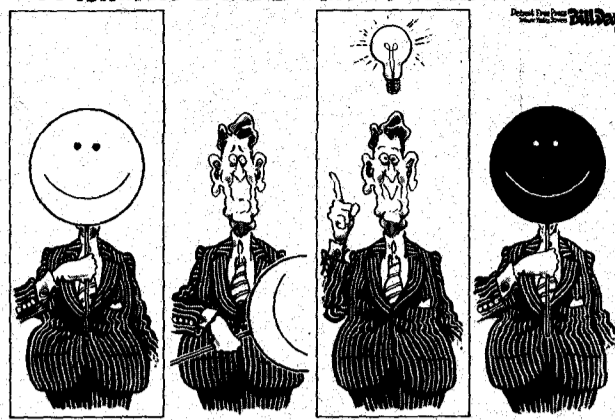
San Francisco, Cal.—The national onslaught against gay rights has gained new power and momentum in the past few months. In San Francisco's Lesbian/Gay Freedom Day Parade on June 29, which drew over 100,000 participants, thousands of marchers carried placards denouncing the so-called La Rouche initiative which has qualified for the California ballot in November.

The initiative, sponsored by Lyndon La Rouche's ultra-right organization, the National Democratic Policy Committee, redefines AIDS, ARC (AIDS-related conditions), or a positive antibody test for the HTLV-III virus as "contagious" conditions. Defining such conditions as "contagious" would allow the state to force a person from public service-related jobs, restrict travel, or even intern or isolate people suspected of having AIDS.

While AIDS has reached epidemic proportions in the United States, it nevertheless is not a contagious disease in the sense that measles or colds are contagious. AIDS appears to be only transmitted by intimate contact, such as sex, sharing drug needles, or through blood transfusions (the latter case is rare, but it has happened). Claiming to be part of the campaign to halt the spread of AIDS, the La Rouche initiative instead plays on the AIDS hysteria and anti-gay sentiments that abound in this country.

Apparently taking its cue from La Rouche, the Justice Department issued a decision that limits the civil rights of AIDS victims. This decision makes it possible for employers to fire an AIDS victim simply because they are concerned about the so-called contagious effects of the disease. In the meantime, while appearing to be so concerned about the general public and its exposure to AIDS, in fact the Reagan administration has just cut next year's budget for AIDS-related research because of "budget constraints."

Despite the fact that thousands of AIDS victims have already died, and that AIDS was recognized as having reached epidemic proportions years ago, AIDS research funds have been difficult to come by. This difficulty ex-

THE ADMINISTRATION GRAPPLES WITH ITS SOUTH AFRICAN POLICY:

It was in 1982 that the crucial union, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was organized. It won the first legal Black strike in the history of South Africa against the Chamber of Mines. Last December the NUM was responsible in conjunction with the Federation of South African Trade Unions, FOSATU, for uniting into a single federation the Congress of South African Trade Unions, a half million Black workers.

The founding convention of COSATU declared that there was no separation between the struggle of the worker on the shop floor and the struggle to liberate South Africa. This is the first time that any anti-apartheid organization has tied the emancipation of labor with national liberation, the very embodiment of the class/race conflict in South Africa for centuries, the crux of the present conflict seeking a resolution in a new human society.

It is this newly emerging dimension of the South African freedom struggle with which we need to solidarize. Together with the youth activism and the movement in the townships the Black trade unions portend new leaps in freedom.

Can we help shackle the hands of Botha-Reagan-Thatcher—especially that of Reagan here in the U.S.—by forcing sanctions as part of building our own freedom movement here at home? That would be the beginning of a most revolutionary solidarity.

ists because AIDS is primarily perceived as being a homosexual disease, and the Jerry Falwell mentality that holds that "AIDS is God's punishment for homosexuality" seems to be the mentality that controls the purse strings for research and public health funding.

That this attack on the gay community via the AIDS hysteria affects all of us became patently clear with the Supreme Court decision upholding Georgia's anti-sodomy laws, saying that the sexual rights of homosexuals are not guaranteed by the Constitution. These laws, which deny consenting adults the right to sexual privacy, not only affect homosexuals, but also define what is "natural" and "unnatural" sexual activity for heterosexuals as well.

Along the same lines is Edwin Meese's anti-pornography campaign, which has implications far beyond whether or not Playboy should be sold at the corner store. Already anti-pornography justifications have been used to stop publication of safe-sex information that is crucial in protecting individuals from the spread of AIDS. This very same justification is also being used to stop the publication of information related to birth control and abortion.

In California a statewide coalition of public health workers, and gay and women's rights organizations has already been formed to fight the La Rouche initiative. Unfortunately, it will take more than a state-wide campaign to stop the national attack. The anti-gay campaign, especially those measures masquerading as anti-AIDS, in the end are really attempts to impose a Falwellian notion of sexuality and morality on all of us, gay or straight.

—Deborah Morris

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ON OUR MARXIST-HUMANIST DRAFT PERSPECTIVES: PATHS TO REVOLUTION IN A CHANGED WORLD

The front page of the July N&L was terrific. I got so much out of seeing those five pictures put together—Reagan's attack on Libya, the Chernobyl explosion, Filipinos against Marcos, Haitians ousting Duvalier, South Africans fighting Botha. You watch the news on TV every day, and yet you don't always realize how much has happened in a few short months to change the world, for good and for bad. I read the Draft Perspectives with great interest, and I am looking forward very much to the day when N&L will come out every two weeks.

**Black woman worker
Detroit**

We in South Africa are deprived of world news, and as such we are not acclimatized to the total universe in essence. I particularly feel that through this, your N&L newspaper, people in different countries of different life-styles will be able to know what is happening in other countries.

We in South Africa, particularly Blacks, are not exposed to the outside world. I am here not talking about the few individuals who have been privileged to travel overseas. I am talking about we the under-privileged, we the lay-people, we the masses who could control the machinery of capitalism and exploitation, we the left-outs of the universe. I want to influence you to write more on topics such as the one about "Simone DeBeauvoir, 1908-86" by Olga Domanski.

My friends and I will be very much delighted if your N&L newspaper can reach us more often than not. I also want to reiterate the need for N&L to be published at least fortnightly. May News & Letters grow beyond boundaries.

**Activist
Soweto, South Africa**

The Thesis speaks about Reagan's Gulf of Sidra bombing as something that "changed the world." To me, this is because it brought to a climax all the changes of the Reagan years. That region of the Middle East is so full of crises. Lebanon is like a society after death: Israel is considering a pre-emptive strike against Syria; Hussein is playing the U.S. card; Libya wants to be a world power...and the U.S. and Russia are right there, in the Middle East cockpit. Reagan's Gulf of Sidra bombing left just a thin layer separating us from nuclear confrontation.

**Middle Eastern reader
California**

The Business Week Special report (3/3/86) cited in the Draft Thesis hails "the totally computerized and robotized factory of the future" as what can "save the day"—because "employment will be so low that wage costs become irrelevant"! What happens to the worker, the human being? The same report contains this fantastic sentence; "One of the toughest problems—getting disparate computers and machines to communicate with each other—is well on the way to being solved."

The capitalists' concern is with solving the problem of machines communicating with machines, but the human solution will come not from computers but from the human revolutionary forces.

**Human being
California**

Part III of the "Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives" could pay more attention to Japan and the recent elections. Nakasone would like to revive pre-war nationalism. Gary Hart says that if he is elected he would replace American troops with Japanese troops in South Korea.

The "Self-Defense Army" of Japan has already spent more on arms than is allowed in the constitution, and they want more. There are relations between

the Conservative Party inner circle and the Reagan administration. I am worried. Japan wants to keep Korea divided, because it's a good excuse for military build-up. The repression in Korea is clearly linked to the Japanese military situation.

**Korean student
in the USA**

I hope the preparation for a fortnightly N&L will include a fresh look at the style and presentation of the paper. One criticism I frequently hear is that language is unnecessarily difficult, and I have to agree that this is a real problem. There is a need to simplify and clarify the language used in N&L, both to make it more accessible to workers and more attractive to intellectuals who care about good writing. An expression that might be effective with intellectual readers might not be understood by workers—for example, "Pax Americana" depends on the reader knowing about "Pax Romana" and "Pax Britannica."

**Richard Bunting
Oxford, England**

I was intrigued by the last part of the essay, on "Historic Turning Points on the 'Organizational Question.'" Concerning Lenin's vanguardism, when you talk to "Marxist-Leninists" about subjects, they always bring up the party. I say to them: "The revolution will come without people like you." Many revolutions with the "Marxist-Leninist" view have slid back into decay and dogma.

**Reader
New Jersey**

I received your Call for the coming Convention of News and Letters Committees. I wish the Convention success in advance. We celebrated the June 16th Soweto uprising here. More than 100 youths gathered to show solidarity with our brothers and sisters in South Africa. But what makes it more interesting was the presence of both uniformed Gambian police and the secret political police. You feel like you are in South Africa.

I am a Marxist-Humanist. I have been convinced by your letters and the literature you sent. The pamphlet Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought is more than interesting. It has really given shape to my vision. Some of my friends are reading it.

I was in Guinea-Bissau, and I was very much disappointed with what I saw. People are really suffering. Revolutionary sentiments and slogans are not enough to decide the destiny of a nation. It is even worse in Guinea. I was at one time an admirer of Sekou Toure, but the country is feeling the pains of poverty.

A new revolutionary must emerge to finally decide the fate of our nations on an independent road. This is what it means to be a Marxist-Humanist...

**New reader
The Gambia, Africa**

Reading the comprehensive Draft Perspectives for 1986-87, I was impressed at how thoroughly it covered the world situation, stressing the changed objective world with Reagan's terrorism in Libya, and how that event challenges us to respond dialectically.

I have begun to realize the full importance of being grounded philosophically in the masses if we are to achieve complete and total freedom. The challenge to me could not have been made clearer when, after describing Lenin's failure to critique his own concept of the vanguard party, the Perspectives asks, "Who or what carries the organizational responsibility for the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism?" If we are to achieve total freedom, we must take full responsibility for the philosophy of revolution.

**Student
Los Angeles**

Readers' Views

FIGHTING STATE REPRESSION

The many ways the Reagan administration has turned back the clock on the women's movement have not been fully realized. There has been little or no research in this country on birth control methods for a decade. The pharmaceutical companies don't want to deal with the right-wingers. The U.S. is now considered backward in the field. Cries of protest go up in Congress that the U.S. is falling behind in space and weapons research. But who has heard anything about lack of research on birth control?

**Pharmaceutical worker
Chicago**

The day after the Supreme Court's ruling on sodomy attacking individual freedom of especially gays and lesbians, dozens of protesters took to the streets in Greenwich Village, blocking traffic in an expression of outrage.

Activists were disgusted by the timing of the ruling, three days before Chief Justice Burger was to play a starring role in the commemoration of the Statue of Liberty. By the Fourth of July, the spontaneous activity culminated in a rally of 6,000 at Sheridan Square.

"Not the Church, Not the State, We Alone Decide Our Fate!" was the chant, as hundreds of police had to retreat.

**Participant
New York**

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STRUGGLE IN CANADA



The Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en people in British Columbia were told by the provincial government they couldn't net in the Skeena River, but they set their nets anyway because they say the water rights have always been theirs. The authorities said they would remove the nets, and the tribes set up roadblocks and warned they couldn't be responsible for what might happen. When the authorities went in to get the nets, they were assaulted with pillows and marshmallows. The Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en said their assault was as silly as the provincial claim over the water.

**Shainape Sheapwe
Michigan**

LABOR'S QUESTIONS: HERE...

The night the city of Detroit workers went out on strike, I went down to their union hall. I asked them to call up my union, UAW Local 600, and request support. Our contract at Ford is up too. On my job they have been working people in two classifications when they have extra people in one classification, and others with no job to do. The union is not even insisting on settling grievances before contract expiration. If the city workers stick to their guns they can win. Their negotiations are much more out in the open than ours at the UAW.

**Black worker
Detroit**

You see a great deal of discussion in the newspapers these days about corporations filing for Chapter 11 protection in this era of Reaganism. They never talk about the lack of protection for workers when this monstrous law is used. Two days after LTV filed for bankruptcy, a retired Chicago steel worker died. His family soon found out that his life insurance was in bankruptcy court and had to collect money at the steel mill gates to pay for his funeral!

Another worker needed surgery and

was told by the hospital that they couldn't honor his health insurance so he would have to pay \$6,000 up front. The retired LTV workers are now picketing LTV headquarters demanding the benefits they had been promised. When the rich say they are "bankrupt," the workers are told to stand at the end of the line of creditors.

**Outraged
Chicago**

Editor's note: See LTV update, p. 10

Living in Oklahoma we are not very close to the Hormel strike. If it weren't for receiving N&L we wouldn't know much about it. But I was in a grocery store with a friend, looking at some meat to buy. This man is a state employee, not a union member. He looked at the name Hormel on it and said "Isn't that company on strike?" I said "Yes." He immediately put the meat back. I thought about it for a while. I wonder how many other people are boycotting Hormel to support the strikers.

**UAW member
Oklahoma**

There is no such thing as job security any more. At the Flat Rock Ford plant they hounded workers and told them to get the scrap rate down or the plant would close. They got it down from 20% to 4%, but then the plant still closed. At my plant they show charts on how they put in robots, how many in relation to the number of workers, and how much money they have invested. Evidently, it isn't working out to a profit, but they'll blame us and not the robots at contract time.

**Auto parts plant worker
Saline, Michigan**

... AND IN EUROPE

I recently visited some of my family in Leeds. I have a nephew there who is 18 years old. He left school at 16 and since has had part-time jobs, with very low wages, and temporary. Most recently he got a job as a sorter in the Post Office. He was on probation. After about two weeks, there was a strike. Workers were opposing management's plans to cut down on overtime pay by employing part-time and casual workers and new workers on probation.

After about 10 days the strike ended with a compromise, but the P.O. sacked my nephew and other new workers on probation who had refused to cross the picket lines. They went to the union, where they were thanked for supporting the strike but were told the union would not defend them, since they were "part of the cause of the strike." It is tragic that many of the postal workers were so narrowly concerned for their own interests that they wouldn't show solidarity for people who had been sacked for supporting them.

**British Leyland shop steward
Oxford, England**

The PSOE (Socialists) came up again with an absolute majority in Spain's elections, but with one million fewer votes than in 1982. Many on the Left are very angry to see what power has done to the PSOE, which historically was a Left party.

The dockers' strike lasted in some ports like Bilbao for about 50 days and the islands like Mallorca and the Canaries were in a critical food situation. In Zaragoza we are having a public bus strike; it is in all the important cities. They are demanding better conditions. Today they are threatened with dismissal, and told that the unemployed will take their places. There have been fights with police, and many women have been beaten.

**Correspondent
Zaragoza, Spain**

YOUTH 'AS BUILDERS OF THE NEW SOCIETY'

The News and Letters Constitution states: "We recognize that even though the youth are not directly involved in production, they are the ones whose idealism in the finest sense of the word combines with opposition to existing adult society in so unique a way that it literally brings them alongside the workers as builders of the new society."

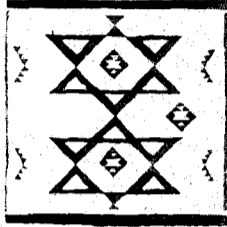
I see evidence of this in an 18-year-old woman with whom I have a regular correspondence. We write mainly about our common interests in rock music, but in her last letter she wrote: "I've become disillusioned with humanity in general. Things are so messed up. Ronald Reagan is such a louse! I'm really pissed off about Nicaragua and his so-called 'Freedom Fighters,' and what about anti-sodomy laws? This is the land of freedom?" I sent her the July issue of N&L. I am now waiting to hear from her.

Young woman
Los Angeles

All the troops and helicopters sent to Bolivia are going after the symptom, not the cause of drug use. Marx called it alienation. Do they plan to offer even one job to a single kid in the street? What do they offer to replace the "crack" economy, which is the only money coming into some ghettos? And as for Bolivia: if they paid a fair price for peasants' food crops, instead of stealing it, peasants wouldn't have to grow coca to feed their families.

New York politicians have all jumped on the "crack" bandwagon. The only reason they are concerned is because crack is a problem now in the middle class. As far as the poor neighborhoods, it's like the Opium Wars, when Britain tried to force China to use opium. They need drugs to divert youth.

John Marcotte
New York City



TODAYNESS OF MARXIST-HUMANISM IN SOUTH AFRICA...

We were meeting for our weekly study group in **Marxism and Freedom** when the news reported the arrest in South Africa of the Black trade unionist Amon Msane. We were able to begin our study group by turning to the July N&L, which reports on Msane's discussions with American workers, his call that "We can't fight corporations with capital. We have to fight them with the power of labor." This brought a todayness and urgency to our reading of **Marxism and Freedom**.

Anti-apartheid activist
Los Angeles

... AND IN IRAN

Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic Letters on Iran (1978-81) are similar to Marx's **Class Struggles in France** as a form of revolutionary journalism. The issues she singles out in these letters—

the role of Bazargan, Bani-Sadr, the hostage crisis, the question of "anti-imperialism" and in general the crisis of the Left—are issues that only after seven or eight years we have finally come to comprehend.

The Left at the time was totally dazzled by Khomeini's pseudo-"anti-imperialism". Furthermore, there was no difference between those who saw the government as "anti-imperialist" or ultimately an ally of imperialism, since they both had the same attitude to the forces of revolution. They had no conception of the importance of the women's movement, or of the workers' self-organized soviets, but saw the issue as "who would be my ally" to gain state power. The crisis of the Left is global, and Dunayevskaya is correct in seeing the problem as "vulgar Marxism," a term which Marx himself used in his 1844 Essays to distinguish his philosophy from others in the Left.

Iranian intellectual
Chicago

CHERNOBYL AND PRODUCTION

The Chernobyl incident has naturally brought forth a lot of discussion in Europe, not only on nuclear power plants, but on the use and misuse of science and technology as a means of production. With this explosion, we literally had the inhuman conditions that exist in the mines and factories floating around the world in clouds.

In a certain sense today one could simply exchange the words science and technology for the word capital. It is not so strange that most financial capital is directed toward research and development. Marx never went against the workers when they destroyed the machines in the factory, but at the same time he understood that these machines would be the material means for creating a wholly new society. The question was and is in what way they will be controlled...

Margaret Ellingham
Milan, Italy

show how different Marxist-Humanism is from the other Left groups. They never discuss critically the question of science. They call science "progress," even though they see what it is doing to workers. But Marxist-Humanism looks at humanity as what is important. Marxist-Humanist philosophy comes with the question: Is science helping human self-development? That philosophy is the only way to break with the bourgeoisie.

Taxi driver
Chicago

APPEAL FROM HAITI

We have received copies of an exciting new Haitian opposition journal, **Jeunesse en Action** (Youth in Action), put out by the National Organization for the Defense of Youth (ORNADÉJE). In its inaugural issue, the editor calls for the journalist to become a courageous critic of the establishment. Another writer notes in that issue: "A great thinker wrote, 'Wage labor is nothing but a hidden form of slavery.' In analyzing things concretely, the author of this statement turns out to be correct. In our factories, there is a great gulf between those who are highly placed and the low-level employees. In our companies, those who work do not earn anything and those who earn a lot do not work." Another article on "Pentagonism" attacks U.S. imperialism very sharply, but adds that the U.S. "is not the only one which must be charged with crimes...the USSR constitutes itself as the eastern world policeman (Afghanistan)." Publications like **Jeunesse en Action** are, as they put it, "struggling for genuine democracy in Haiti and need all the help we can get." We urge our readers to support them. They can be contacted directly at: 2e Ruele Jeremie No. 28, Port-au-Prince, Haiti, or N&L will be happy to pass on any letters or contributions.

Kevin A. Barry
Chicago

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BOOKS

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Workers battle Oscar Mayer lockout

Chicago, Ill.—“We have never refused a job. How can they lay us off and hire new workers? The company never stops to think that we workers have been here all these years. They never think about us as human beings; they think about us as robots. I will never accept this lying down. I am fighting with others.” So spoke a woman worker at the Chicago Oscar Mayer meatpacking plant, one of 600 locked-out Oscar Mayer workers who are marching daily in front of their plant.

The company says it is hiring temporary replacement workers while refusing to call workers back from lay-off. The workers, who have been in a long fight against wage concessions and other cutbacks that Oscar Mayer has sought to impose over the last two years, have rejected the last two contract offers which would have maintained current wages and benefits—but only for a very limited period, while the company negotiated contracts with workers at other Oscar Mayer plants. The company's strategy is to isolate workers at one plant from workers at all other plants.

CHAIN OF UNITY

The Chicago workers refused to accept these short term deals, insisting instead on unity with their fellow workers at the Madison, Wisc. and Davenport, Iowa plants. Workers at these three plants plus other plants have formed an Oscar Mayer Chain which links workers from half a dozen plants.

The woman worker continued: “I love the organizing we are doing now. It is something we have been trying to get together for a long time. A small group of workers had the courage to fight. Piotrowski (United Food



Oscar Mayer workers walk an informational picketline at the Chicago plant.

and Commercial Workers Union, Local 100A president) is being made to do more. A lot of pressure is on him now. The union leaders fight only when people make them fight.”

Militant action of the Oscar Mayer workers has forced the local union leadership to back the workers. First they forced Piotrowski to hold an election to give rank-and-file militants places on the bargaining committee. Then they forced him to recommend rejection of the latest company offer. The vote was two to one against the offer, and this after a month without a job.

Workers are having “informational rallies” in front of the plant daily, from 5 AM to 10 AM. They have taken over the union hall and are having weekly committee meetings to raise money, arrange for rally captains, plan trips to other Oscar Mayer plants, appeal for funds and help distribute food that workers from the Madison Oscar Mayer plant have donated.

“We want our jobs back and we will get them back,” she adds. “We will not allow scabs to take our jobs. I won't give up my job that easily. I have worked too long to give it up.”

“I never thought I would see the day they would send us away as ‘misfits’ because we will not accept what they want to give. You have to have respect for your job to do good. But the company, what they are doing, has taken all that away. We aren't going to let them sit on us. The fight is just now getting tough.”

To aid the Oscar Mayer workers, send donations to: Oscar Mayer Workers Support Committee, P.O. Box 804331, Chicago, IL 60680-4331.

THEORY / PRACTICE

(continued from page 4)

The political discontinuity with Trotsky at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact is well known to us, as is the economic discontinuity it meant in Dunayevskaya's study of the Russian economy. But are we aware of Dunayevskaya's labor to work out the philosophic discontinuity with Trotsky's permanent revolution, first through Philosophy and Revolution and then through Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, which helped to establish her continuity with Marx's revolution in permanence?

Or the discontinuity with C.L.R. James, which the three-way correspondence documents as she was moving to the philosophic discontinuity of our age, the 1953 breakthrough on Hegel's Absolutes as containing a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. Actually, it began in 1949-50 with the Miners' General Strike which, by no accident, was at the end of her correspondence with C.L.R. James and Grace Lee on Hegel and Marx. This is what led to her concept of Hegel's Absolutes as New Beginnings.

The discontinuity not alone with betrayers, but the philosophic discontinuity with great revolutionaries like Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg, is what allows the continuity with the Marxism of Marx. This is what we can find documented in these Archives.

The concept of continuities and discontinuities is so crucial because it will help us greatly in taking our own journeys through the Marxist-Humanist Archives. This is what I mean by a praxis of Marxist-Humanist Archives. We all need to take journeys through these Archives, not only for what we can learn, of which there is no doubt a great deal, but we need these journeys so that we can work out the many ways we want to make these Archives alive, make them concrete for our day.

What is so exciting in reading through Vol. XII of the Archives is tracing through this multilinear journey over fifty-plus years that gave birth to the developed Marxist-Humanism. Those pathways through “the historic course of human development” that Dunayevskaya's has hewed out, are what we need to grasp both as to content and as to methodology. For only then can we work out the present and future development of Marxist-Humanism as the concretization of Absolute Idea as New Beginning... —Eugene Walker

BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

quette Park against the Klan. The small group of marchers who started out with only 12 on their march to Marquette Park picked up 100 more outraged community people along the way. And though the 1,000 they expected to show didn't, there is no doubt that some of the Black Vietnam vets who had committed themselves to the march were among the marchers.

Furthermore, what is one to think of the role of the Chicago Police Dept. who claimed that it had underestimated the massive white turnout in support of the Klan? When was the last time Chicago's Superintendent of Police had to personally oversee security for a public march? When was the last time Justice Dept. officials were brought in to monitor such a march? And when was the last time the police told anti-Klan marchers they couldn't take responsibility for their safety against Klan supporters?

If anything, history has shown that the police openly and viciously attack anti-Klan protesters to assure the safety and freedom of speech and assembly of the fanatical fringe of Klan and Nazi white supremacists, no matter what the odds. Now, when the situation is reversed, all the police can say is that they cannot assure the safety of civil rights activists. And this is in a city with a Black Police Superintendent, a Black Mayor, a sizable Black representation in the City Council, and major Black civil rights organizations, such as the NAACP, the Urban League and Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, as well as Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam.

CHICAGO'S PRESS AND RACISM

In the meantime, the Black community and some in the Black press have spelled out the meaning of this resurgence of racism for what it is. The Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Sun-Times prosaically describe the racist mob at Marquette Park as a “weekend crowd” and “spectators”. The Black Chicago Defender calls the terrorist firebombing of a Black family in Gage Park “racially motivated”, and the Sun-Times headlines a story on the same event: “Gage Park faces change with fear—and hope.” And while the 15th Ward Republican committeeman circulates a residential survey in a Southwest Side community newspaper asking residents to vote on whether to allow “rallies or events sponsored by white-supremacist groups such as the Klu Klux Klan and the Nazis; and rallies or events sponsored by anti-white-supremacist groups such as the Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Movement,” Black elected officials charge the civil rights activists as the ones who “perpetrate the problem.”

It is no accident that both in the Reaganite context of American civilization and within the journalistic language of this city's white press can be found the same, barely disguised, racist categories that openly championed segregation at the turn of the century, when Chicago's racial divisions were first carved into the urban landscape. The language of its major daily newspapers is made, even to the point of being strained, to reflect the very opposite of that racist reality. Yet, the new appearance of racist neo-fascism gets nervously dismissed by the Black leadership as commonplace, ignoring that what distinguishes this period of Reagan retrogressionism is the new form in which racism persists as commonplace.

Can it be dismissed as commonplace that the Klan circulates racist leaflets for its rallies in Chicago public schools?!

As if describing the situation today, one Black South Side resident, who remembers having to pass through the Marquette Park area on her way from work the day that King led his march there, recalls: “The racist hostility was so much in the air that you could cut it with a knife,” back in 1966. Is fear of that “remembrance of things past” and the Black community's indignation now at the silence of Chicago's Black leadership, when many were outraged and ready to march had the call gone out, the reason why such a nervous silence has fallen on this city's Black leadership?

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• South African Freedom Journal •

Editor's note: Below are excerpts from the latest correspondence we have received from South Africa, commenting on News & Letters and recent developments there.

Appeal from Soweto

Soweto, S. Africa—We, the Blacks of South Africa, are struggling to gain recognition as human beings in our own land. We are looked down on as though we do not belong to this world.

I wish to publicize through your newspaper that we have a mini-library that we want to expand to a public library so as to assist our youth, who usually flock to the city for reading and research purposes, because they lack such facilities in our township. We are presently running the library with such hardships and lack of appropriate materials to match the standard of a public library. We therefore make a requisition to those who want to help us be part of the literate world.

Please send donations to: Library, 654 Mapetha, P.O. Moroka, Soweto, 1860, South Africa.

Women's struggles

Tembisa, S. Africa—The interest and significance of News & Letters is its acceptance of the views and expressions of both children and adults. We regard it as the guideline that speckles the minds of those whose politics and conditions are hindered by South African oppression and the slavery of parents. The state is provoking our children to separation by advising them to establish various organizations that cause the struggle to decline. Students kill each other and some turn into state informants. This killing of each other is created by the government to eliminate the powerful students' struggle.

I also congratulate the Mexican Women's Liberation struggle for demonstrating and protesting against the government's oppressive laws. (See July N&L, p. 2) These are the same actions done by the South African Women's Federation in condemning the pass laws. They are now abolished because of the women's liberation struggle, and the rent stoppage that has existed

Horn of Africa crisis

Africa Today, Vol. 32, No. 3, special issue "Somalia: Crises of State and Society," 1986, c/o GSIS, University of Denver, Colorado 80208, \$3.50.

This special issue of a major African studies journal is really concerned with the whole Horn of Africa and its food crisis—not only Somalia, but also the Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea. It appears at the time when the Reagan administration not only publicly supports apartheid, but on the sly has cut \$300 million from African famine relief programs in order to give the money as "economical aid" to Central American dictators.

This special issue shows that the African food crisis is rooted in the structural reality of neo-colonialism, the world market, superpower rivalries, and the governing elites far removed from the masses. *Africa Today* points out, that "as subordinate actors in the superpower conflict, countries like Ethiopia and Somalia have been led to squander their limited national resources on unproductive militarization."

It is true in Sudan, where heavy U.S. (and now also Libyan) aid props up a regime dominated by the tiny Northern Muslim elite which has controlled that land since independence. That elite today is facing the rebellion of the Southern, non-Muslim Blacks who are fighting for the national liberation of the whole of the Sudan, beginning with the dismantling of Islamic law.

In Somalia, the previously Russian-backed and now U.S.-supported military regime of Siyad Barre has created mass discontent. The prospects for the opposition movement that these conditions present are taken up by the Somali writer Ahmad I. Samatar.

The militarized one-party state is truest in famine-ridden Ethiopia. Faced with the ongoing liberation movement in Eritrea, the Russian/Cuban-backed Mengistu regime has not hesitated to use starvation as a counter-insurgency weapon.

As George W. Shepherd writes in his overview article: "Such conditions have ignited the flames of revolution against these repressive and inept regimes that only serve the special interests of their ruling class and foreign patrons on the Horn of Africa. These rebellions are begun by ethnic and racial groups... In the Sudan, the force of the SLM (Sudanese Liberation Movement) has gone beyond the ability of the North simply to crush it. And the Eritrean revolution has spread in Ethiopia to Tigre as well as the Ogaden. Siyad Barre's days are also numbered... to assume the democratic revolution has been spent in Africa is the illusion of ruling classes."

Africa Today points to the Horn of Africa as an area not only of starvation, but also of revolution. However, it does not connect those revolutionary movements to the broader historical processes sweeping the continent. Nor does it pose seriously the question of what happened to the African revolutions of the 1950s and 1960s, once in power. Still, it is a most valuable contribution to the discussion of the events shaping African reality in the 1980s.

—Kevin Anderson

throughout Transvaal townships and is still organized in some of this country's provinces. I can say this "stop-a-rent" movement has spread countrywide, but has only declined in those parts of the country where the women's movement is weak, because only women are organized. In this result, I regard the women's groups from various parts of the world, as the spear that overpowers the enemy's repression.

We move towards the workers' struggle, led by the trade unions. The fundamental issue is the President (P.W.Botha) who is now declining in governing the country, as the majority of this country's Blacks and whites are now protesting the arrests implemented by participation in trade union activities. The government is attacking the unions by shooting during strikes, by arresting leaders and by encouraging the capitalists to repress workers indiscriminately.

There will be as many trade unions as can be as long as we can fight against the oppressive capitalists, including the government. We have now established as many women's organizations as we can relating to trade unions, and all of them are cooperative. We demand equal pay like women in Haiti, who we believe have succeeded. This is another fact which the South African woman demands.

—Activist

"Poem censored by South African government"

I am a T-shirt,*
wearing 47 organizations
on my back of gold mining
and floor polishing the brass of
state functions

I am a township,
near Cradock**
and the detainees
nameless

sit down strikes
across the supermarket
of superintendent
baas man, yessir Chief Commissioner

I am banned across the rain swept land
from the hills of tabletop to Orange
and an unfree state
of mind?
of reality

I am a censored photograph
white space
blank

on the files at John Vorster
and the pictures of prisons

I am the solidarity message
smuggled from Botswana
from the underground Solidarity:
greetings

I am the present
and the deep roots
which go for the most part unseen
among the people

I am the whisper
that is not lost in the wind
of a curfew

I am a poem
censored by the government who
cutting words into odd shapes
makes a mask
in its own image

—Nigel Quinten June 20th 1985

* On June 19th 1986, the South African government banned the possession of T-shirts that had the names of 47 anti-apartheid groups on them.

** Cradock is where the largest school boycott began in 1984.

Police brutalize activist

Pasadena, Cal.—Michael Zinzin, longtime activist in the Los Angeles Coalition Against Police Abuse, was the victim of a vicious police attack leaving him with a severed optic nerve and a fractured skull.

Zinzin had tried to stop Pasadena police from beating a Black youth. For demanding that the police stop the beating and asking for their badge numbers, Zinzin was hit, maced, handcuffed and hit once again with a blow to his eye by a metal flashlight.

At the Pasadena City Council protesters gathered to denounce the incident. The speakers related the incident to the terrible living conditions in northwest Pasadena where most Blacks live. They spoke of the kind of treatment they regularly get from the police and other government agencies. One man spoke of the children's hatred of the police in his neighborhood because of their vicious behavior. Others demanded that the city initiate an investigation and punish the officers.

After the meeting, one participant said: "The discussion in the neighborhood these days is not on electoral politics but racism, joblessness, anger at those who exploit us and on Black revolts in South Africa. That is what a movement is made out of."

Meanwhile, Michael Zinzin has lost his eye.

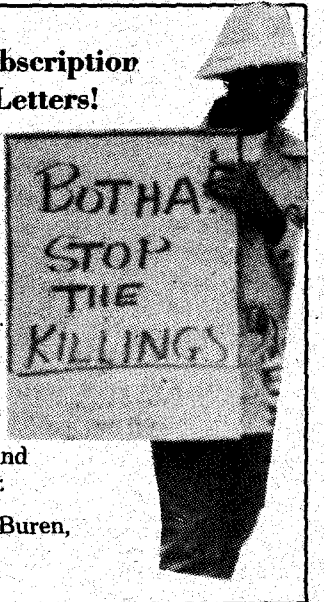
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BLACK-RED VIEW

Urban League impasse

by John Alan

Recently, at the 1986 annual Conference of the National Urban League held in San Francisco, John E. Jacob, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Urban League, in his keynote address gave a statistical picture of the dreadful economic conditions existing in Black America. Jacob told an audience composed largely of Black professionals and business men and women that over the last 12 years Blacks have "slippery slid away from our goal of equality" and in the 12 years since the National Urban League last met in San Francisco, two million more Blacks have fallen below the poverty line.

An array of statistics was presented by Mr. Jacob and subsequent speakers, showing that nationwide 15% of the Black work force is unemployed, that 40% of Black families are headed by females, that only 3.6% of Black high school students in California meet University of California eligibility standards, etc., etc.

STATISTICS VS. HUMAN REALITY

The Urban League is very good at gathering and presenting statistics. While these statistics expose the falseness of Reagan's political contention that the United States is in a golden age of economic prosperity, they are quite well known to the government and to all of those who are concerned about the permanent crises that exist in America's Black world. The point is how does the Black middle class in the Urban League respond to the human reality that these statistics reveal?

The League, through Jacob, has been sharply critical of Reagan's nomination of Justice Rehnquist as the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and Judge Scalia as Associate Justice—men, in Jacob's words, who are "insensitive to civil rights, the Bill of Rights and individual freedom." However, nothing of any substance was presented on how to combat the continual growth of poverty among the masses of Blacks, a condition that the League considered to be its main focus. Jacob's "solution" is to call upon the same "insensitive" government to provide more job training and job opportunities, and to build more low-cost housing.

EDUCATION FOR WHAT?

In the opinion of the League, there is a direct correlation between Black unemployment and poverty and the failure of Blacks to be sufficiently motivated to prepare themselves "to compete in the post-industrial world." Thus, its own weapon against poverty would be a national program of action to improve the test scores of Black students, especially in science and mathematics.

This narrow sociological "solution," while it reflects the origins of the Urban League as a social service organization to help rural Blacks through the trauma of being transformed into urban workers in the 1920s, offers no answer to the crisis of permanent unemployment. It is not the low test scores of Black students that have created the permanent Black unemployment and underemployment of our "post-industrial society." Nor is it to say that Black students should not be motivated to develop their mental capacities to the fullest.

But to make the technological needs of "post-industrial society" the foundation of their education is to participate in the ultimate consequences of that society: massive unemployment, on the one hand, and Star Wars, on the other. Is this not the nullification of those civil and human rights John Jacob was concerned with in his keynote speech?

The Urban League's indifference to these consequences comes from its long association with corporate America, and its social worker attitude toward Black America. No wonder when one walks into Moscone Convention Center, where the Urban League convention was held, the booths of gigantic corporations and federal agencies were the dominant attraction. They ranged from AT&T to Ford and Chrysler, from United Airlines, American Can and Revlon to the CIA and Lawrence Livermore Laboratories. At first, it was difficult to find the Urban League!

Labor's new battlegrounds against capital's offensive

(continued from page 1)

patients on the picket lines (See nurses strike, page 2).

• City workers in Philadelphia and Detroit just shut down services, from garbage collection to maintenance work. In Detroit they turned down the contract that Mayor Young tried to shove down their throats. (See Detroit strike, page 3.)

Workers all over the country are fighting to turn back the concessions fever that has gripped the economy throughout the decade of the 1980s.

Ironically, the national concessionary contract floodgates were first cracked in 1979 by then UAW President Douglas Fraser, who volunteered to give back the hard-earned wages and benefits of the Chrysler Corp. workers to "save" the corporation to which he had just been appointed a board member. Not only will the Chrysler workers never regain what they lost, the whole of organized labor has since suffered from what he unloosed.

CONCESSIONS FLOODGATES

Those floodgates were kicked wide open by Reagan when he personally destroyed the PATCO air traffic controllers union, sending a clear message to U.S. capitalists that they would be actively supported in attacks they launched against organized labor. He intensified his own offensive by appointing anti-labor candidates to fill every government agency dealing with labor. A major achievement was his transformation of the National Labor Relations Board from an agency created to defend workers against management abuse and exploitation into an arm of management to stifle organized labor.

The legacy of six years of Reaganism shows itself dramatically on the national scene in increasing poverty, declining standards of living, rising unemployment, escalating racism and sexism, and the increasing gap between the rich and the poor.

According to the latest report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, about 11 million jobs were lost during the back-to-back recessions of 1980 and from mid-1981 to late 1982. At the end of 1985, after three years of economic expansion, only 80% of the jobs lost were recovered. Moreover, of the 9 million jobs added since 1980, almost three million, or over 30%, were in retail trade, where the average annual income is about \$9,000—lower than the official poverty level of \$10,990 for a family of four.

An additional 59% of those nine million jobs were in the miscellaneous services category (hotel, motel, business, office and health services) with an average annual income of \$13,600 a year. Women filled over 84% of these jobs, which means they are concentrated in the lowest paying occupations. In March of this year, 50.8% of the women employed were in the low-paying retail trade and miscellaneous services, while a full 20 million of the 100 million employed U.S. workers were classed as part-time workers.

As for the Black population of the U.S., which has consistently suffered an unemployment rate at least twice that of whites, recent data from the National Urban League reveals that the Black family has lost \$1,500 in real income since 1974, and two million more Black Americans are living in poverty today than in 1974.

ECONOMIC THEORISTS

To this kind of statistics of the 1980s we can add a whole slew of economic specialists who spin theories about "uncoupling of employment from production." Visions of an economy "uncoupled" not only from labor, but from raw materials, and even from trade—only the movement of money counts—are put forth as the wave of the future.

But all these theories dismiss what is at the heart of any economy today: sweated alienated labor—in Third World assembly shops, in Japan's robotized industry, in the U.S.'s production and "service" economy. (See Workshop Talks, page 1.) That is the only kind of labor that capitalism—private in the West or state-capitalist as in Russia—knows. As Marx showed, all value still comes from only one source, the living laborer. The worker is, in short, the indispensable and only source of the hours of surplus value from which profit comes.

The illusions of the economic theorists are not alone confined to the university halls. Robotization has created the illusion among both the industrialists and the labor bureaucrats that production can occur without living labor. Let us look at this in the auto industry.

"We don't have International union leaders anymore, we have company salesmen," angrily declared a Chrysler Jefferson plant worker in Detroit. "And the hell of it is," he bitterly added, "we're paying them to do this to us."

The Chrysler worker was referring to the recent announcement by Marc Stepp, director of UAW's Chrysler Department and mouthpiece for UAW President Owen Bieber, of the expected agreement between Chrysler and the UAW that would keep the Jefferson plant open beyond its supposed closing after 1987.

Under the agreement, job classifications would be reduced, work rules eliminated, work teams would manage production and workers would share in savings of labor costs and receive wage bonuses from increased production. Moreover, says Stepp, this will all be done in a

work environment that will provide job security and increase worker self-respect and dignity, as well as encourage workers' individual creativity.

If all this is true, what in the world is the Jefferson

Steelworkers defy LTV



Retired steelworker's wife being arrested

Editor's note: LTV, the second largest steel producer in the U.S., has just declared bankruptcy, and proceeded to cancel medical and health insurance coverage for its retirees. Benefits for injured workers also may not be paid. LTV Steel retirees set up a picket line in front of the plant in East Chicago, Ind., while workers inside called a strike. This forced LTV to restore benefits. Below we print a story from one worker off on sick leave.

Chicago, Ill.—Now with the bankruptcy LTV is lying so much you don't know what is up. I was injured on the job and the company hasn't paid any of the bills. They stalled and stalled, and now everything is in bankruptcy. And it isn't only me, others have the same kind of problems.

If a worker gets injured on the job tonight and has to go to the hospital, is he covered? That is what I want to know.

The merger of Republic Steel to form LTV didn't do any good. The last two contracts have had cuts and concessions. In April I lost one of my vacation weeks and three holidays and took a \$1.25 an hour cut. And this was the second time we went through this. Already before bankruptcy we were only working 12 days a month—four days a week for three weeks, and then a week off.

The union isn't giving out any information. You don't know if you can cash a check. Why should I go to work if I don't know whether I will get any pay? It is a mental thing also. How can I get well when it is clear that the company just doesn't care whether I get my benefits? We used to have thousands and thousands of workers in the plant. Now there are only hundreds left and they are threatening to close.

—LTV worker

worker complaining about? But there's the rub. Nothing could be further from the truth.

The truth is that what the UAW is proposing and supporting is what management has been trying to force upon workers without any success for decades. It is nothing short of a return to piece-work, pitting worker against worker, and the elimination of the safe-guards and work controls that workers have won through bitter struggles with the corporations.

Work rules, job classifications and seniority are all intertwined to provide the little security workers now have. Work rules and job classifications place limits on what management can demand of workers (a welder can not be ordered to paint, an assembler to grind, etc.), while seniority permits a worker to bid on jobs and to move from the harder, demanding line jobs to less rigorous ones in later years, thus permitting employment until retirement since the dehumanized pace and pressure of the line can literally kill older workers.

"SELLING OUT UNEMPLOYED"

One UAW worker described how these new contracts work: "At my shop they have tried to cut classifications since 1979, such as eliminating the number of cleaners and giving more work to others. Now it's written into the contract. Safety is also a big problem, such as paint residue so heavy it threatens to fall through the ceiling. Everyone knows that OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Administration) doesn't exist, and that the International doesn't support safety problems.

"Ford is also trying to break up skilled trades, to have one person do the work of three. We need more solidarity on this. Ford wants only one classification— assembler. The UAW is operating on their backs, they only care about jobs now. New workers before had 90 days probation, now it's six months; and it takes ten years to get absentee protection. The UAW is selling out the unemployed and the future generation to keep those inside working, and at not such great pay or conditions."

The dismantling of these safeguards by the union leadership will give management a free hand to reinstitute the absolute control they had over workers before they organized in unions. But equally significant is the proposed management role the workers are expected to assume in auto work teams. They are being forced to criticize themselves for production problems, to solve them and to increase productivity by pushing themselves and each other.

What must also be kept in mind is that other major assault on workers being waged through automation—robotics. A recent study by the UAW reports that at least 225,000 auto jobs may be lost to robots in the next ten years, with the number of robots in use rising from some 9,000 last year to about 60,000 by 1995. The study also notes that robots cost about \$6 an hour and will pay for themselves in three years.

An immediate comparison of what this means can be made with the older Jefferson plant and the modern plants of GM-Fremont in California, Honda in Ohio and Nissan in Tennessee. All four of these plants produce about 225,000 cars a year, but the three latter plants have half the work force of Chrysler Jefferson's 4,200.

There is opposition building both to the anti-worker practices that the auto companies and other industries are instituting and to the labor leaders who are those "company salesmen." A former auto worker expressed the imperative need concisely when he said, "The workers have to unhook themselves from their labor leaders and move out on their own. That's what the answer to the future is." Battling capital and the labor bureaucracy is on the agenda right now.

In Memoriam—Joe Giganti

We mourn the death of Joe Giganti, the president of the Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, who had recognized in the 1970s that an institution with such a magnificent past in recording labor struggles as well as revolutionary theory—beginning with the first English translation of Marx's *Capital*—should not be allowed to perish. Nor did he consider history to be the past, as was evident from his presence at the 100th anniversary commemoration of the Haymarket Martyrs in Chicago this May 4.

Joe Giganti was an activist both in American class struggles and in the work of International Labor Defense of which he was Illinois Secretary in the 1920s. That is the period when I first met him. As a young man, moving to Chicago from the downstate Illinois coal-mining region, Giganti put his mark on all the labor happenings in Chicago—whether it was the organization of "Red Sundays" when we went to support coal miners in downstate Illinois, or whether it was the work of the union militants at International Harvester.

He was expelled from the Communist Party in 1929, accused of Trotskyism. His labor organizing continued, as he edited the *Progressive Barber* and became involved in all freedom movements, including women's liberation. His many activities were in no way changed when, much later, he became a professor at De Paul University. It was then that he helped to organize the Illinois Labor History Society.

Although in his last years his activities were limited by poor health, that, too, had no relationship to his continuing interest in labor and socialist matters, as was clear on May 4 when he came to the Haymarket Martyrs' Monument and was as excited as ever, as he talked not only of yesterday's but today's struggles, in conversations with the Hormel strikers present there.

It is this legacy that he leaves to the new generation.

Our hearts go out to his beloved wife, Annette, in whom the Italian freedom dimension which Joe expressed over 60 years—whether it was in revolutionary journalism in *Il Lavoratore* or in the recent trip to Italy they both took—will live on. —Raya Dunayevskaya

Kerr Publishing Co. 1886-Centennial Year-1986

A letter to all our friends

1986 is a year of many important labor anniversaries. It is the bicentennial of the Philadelphia printers' strike that historians have recognized as the first in U.S. history. It is the centennial of the Haymarket Tragedy. And it is the centennial of the Charles H. Kerr Company.

In this centennial year we have brought out a massive *Haymarket Scrapbook*, a new edition of John P. Altgeld's famous but long out-of-print *Reasons for Pardoning the Haymarket Anarchists*, and *The Autobiography of Florence Kelley*—never before available as a separate volume. Coming soon is a new and expanded edition of Joyce Kornbluh's *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology*...

For a hundred years Kerr has brought out important books that commercial publishers have refused to touch. In the "old days," such people as Ralph Chaplin, Clarence Darrow, Gene Debs, "Big Bill" Haywood, Mother Jones, Jack London and Upton Sinclair helped the Kerr Company many times and in many ways. Today, we hope that you will continue to help the Kerr Company do the work it has always done and is still doing.

Financial contributions, large and small, are always needed—always welcome and always appreciated. We hope you will remember the Kerr Company on its hundredth birthday.

1740 W. Greenleaf Ave. #7, Chicago, Ill. 60626

YOUTH

'Americanism' hides U.S. revolutionary roots

Editor's note: For July 4 this year we witnessed an entire weekend of hoopla, staged for the media and filled with politicians' praises of patriotic fervor. In view of Reaganism's appeals to youth, we are reprinting excerpts from an article by Raya Dunayevskaya, written in her early 20s, as a critique of a proposed youth resolution. It originally appeared in the March 24, 1934 issue of the Militant. The full essay is also included as pages 8772-73 of the Marxist-Humanist Archives, available on microfilm from Wayne State University, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Mich. 48202.

by Raya Dunayevskaya

The thesis of the National Youth Committee contains the formulation: "It is essential in the education and propaganda of the Spartacus Youth Clubs and Young Spartacus, that American revolutionary traditions, bourgeois and working-class, play a predominant role."

It is my opinion that this formulation is confusing right from the start, and serves only as a hindrance to the education of the youth. My reference is particularly to the phrase, "bourgeois revolutionary traditions."

One encounters these days many references to these "bourgeois revolutionary traditions." Demagogues and reformists of all shades exhort the misery-stricken workers and farmers to find salvation by following the footsteps of their "revolutionary forebears," the Madisons, Adamses, Jeffersons and company.

They lay claim to the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the American flag itself. "All this," they say, "belongs to the American people. This is what they understand. Away with the imported Marxism of the Reds." There is a rich experience of late with this sort of stuff, what with the latest "Continental Congress," and the flag waving at unemployment and trade union conferences.

Because of this, it seems to me, our thesis should strive more than ever to explode, with the weapons of Marxism, this spurious Americanism for the American working-class.

LIBERAL PHRASEOLOGY

The liberal phraseology of the Jeffersons and Madisons is essentially the same as the liberal phraseology of the Roosevelts. Just as Roosevelt, in the interests of bourgeois private property, deludes the masses with words, and tries to cover up the class struggle, so the Madisons and Jeffersons, in their time, acted in a similar manner, the difference being that at the time of the Madisons and Jeffersons, these demagogues had a progressive role to perform. The fight for independence from England was a progressive fight.

But what is even more important for the proletariat of today to remember is that it was the artisan and farmer who in the main formed the fighting forces of the Revolution, and tried to make of it a social revolution. The aims of even the most extreme bourgeois revolutionists were linked up with the institution of private property, which institution, of course, it is the aim of the proletarian revolutionary to overthrow.

The establishment of capitalist private property was a progressive step historically as compared with feudal private property. But when the bourgeoisie try to put the word, finis, on human history, now that their aims are realized; when the bourgeoisie calls the proletariat who try to go one step further and totally abolish private property "the coarse rabble," it is the Marxists who beg to remind these gentlemen that force has always been the midwife of history; that the bourgeoisie accomplished their aims, as had the feudal lords before them and slave lords before them, by forcible means; and that they could not have done otherwise. And that we "reserve the same right" to accomplish our greater aims.

Does that justify our including in the thesis a call to study "bourgeois revolutionary traditions"? No, that only helps to confuse the matter. For what we empha-

Divestment not enough

Berkeley, Cal.—After many years of pressure for divestment by the students, faculty and staff, the University of California voted on Friday, July 18, to withdraw its \$3.1 billion from companies doing business with South Africa.

The regents appeared to undergo a change of heart as Governor George Deukmejian decided to support full divestment as part of his re-election campaign. That he felt compelled to make that move, after years of arguing against divestment, gives an indication of how strongly the public supports the Black majority in South Africa.

Despite the fact that school is not in session, small groups of students took over Telegraph Avenue for an impromptu celebration July 19, and raised a banner renaming the street Mandela Avenue.

On Monday, July 21, student organizations on campus held a press conference and stated that, while they were very pleased with the decision to divest, divestment in and of itself is not their full goal. Their goal is complete freedom and power for the Black majority in South Africa, and until that is attained, the students intend to raise it as an issue on the Berkeley campus.

—University employee

size, above all, is that they utilized revolutionary means to accomplish their aims, with which the proletariat can have nothing in common, just as they utilized the extravagant rhetoric of the Declaration of Independence when they needed to mobilize the masses for the revolution but that once the masses accomplished the revolution, they sought to consolidate their power and foisted the adoption of the Constitution upon the masses with all the fraudulent means we now designate as Tammany and at which our "revolutionary forefathers" were masters indeed...

THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES

Our predecessors, the artisan and poor farmer, though

Haitian students



Students rally in Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

(continued from page 1)

However, despite the disruption of the school year by the recent political events leading to the overthrow of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the Ministry of Education has made no serious adjustment in the baccalaureate program. No special meeting took place with either school officials or students. Only a few days before the exam, the education minister, Patrick Dorlencourt, decided to offer a radio program for the candidates. A late and demagogic decision!

Faced with this situation, several thousand of our youth will fail the exam and will swell still further the number of unemployed in Haiti. It will be impossible for them to work as public employees.

Generally, in our society, the young people are scorned and abandoned because of their youth and their "lack of experience." In this view, an adult is always considered to be more qualified than an "inexperienced" youth. We can call this an absolute gerontocracy.

After 29 years of obscurantism and gerontocracy under the Duvaliers, it is time that the youth should find their true place in today's society. It is time to end this concept of "inexperience." The leaders had better realize that the youth remain the moving force of the country and that without them nothing positive can be accomplished. They had better give our youth from all social categories (worker, peasant, student, unemployed) their true place in the new Haiti. This is necessary for the flowering of Haitian youth in particular and for the development of the country.

—R.H.

Filipino youth discuss feminism

Manila, The Philippines—At a time when the Filipino student activists need to carefully assess their role in bringing about an alternative vision of society based on justice and equality, the people behind Student Union for the Realization of Genuine Emancipation (SURGE) are grateful for having this opportunity to dialogue with the American youth through *News & Letters*. We truly hope that this will pave the way for a meaningful exchange of ideas—an endeavor transcending racial and geographical barriers—so that we can draw lessons from each other's experiences.

Here in Manila, SURGE aims to bring the issues to the students in a manner which will capture their imagination and provoke them into getting involved. Aside from espousing the socialist line, we hope we can bring to light other issues which in the past have been subsumed under the anti-imperialist and anti-fascist struggle. Among these is the issue of women's liberation.

I have to admit that the feminist movement here is still small. The many women's groups we have usually fight for the same principles that other progressive groups advocate (freedom, democracy, etc.) without focusing on the question of gender oppression. Many women activists think that socialist liberation will automatically ensure the emancipation of women from exploitation, whether biological or sociological, while some Marxists believe that the issue of feminism is secondary to the more important goal of overthrowing capitalism in the Philippines.

SURGE hopes to take up the cudgels for our beleaguered comrades in the feminist movement by coming out with its own campaign on women's liberation. This campaign will most likely come in the form of symposia, debates and journals on the woman question.

Of course not everyone of my colleagues in SURGE is very keen on feminism, but let me assure you that they

are sympathetic enough to realize that human liberation is not complete unless we confront all forms of oppression.

However, we should bear in mind that the women, while acting as a component of and as an ally of the working class, should not rely on other progressive forces to give them their liberation. Women should wait for no one. Those who would be free must strike the blow themselves.

It is in this light that SURGE intends to assert feminism and bring the issue of women's liberation to its rightful place in the overall struggle against American imperialism and dependent capitalism. Let us hope our efforts will not be in vain.

SURGE sends its best and warmest regards to the young people in the U.S., Latin America and South Africa, who, like the Filipino youth, are struggling very hard to make this world a better place to live in.

In solidarity with freedom fighters
Woman student activist

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Half a million or more Black students boycotted classes as schools opened in South Africa July 14, and tens of thousands of students gathered outside their schools to hold meetings. They were protesting new government orders allowing expulsion of any student and requiring identity documents that some pupils compared to the hated passes.

A group of students and young faculty members at the University of Szeged in Hungary has issued a list of demands that includes cuts in military spending and the size of the armed forces, as well as fiscal autonomy from the state for universities. The issue of the school newspaper that published the demands was reportedly suppressed. The demands were also presented to the national congress of the Hungarian Young Communist Organization, which ignored them.

Faced with youth opposition to its war policies, the government of Iran has issued new orders to increase the number of soldiers. Employers which receive any form of government funding must turn in the names of 20% of their workers to the Ministry of War. The employees will then be drafted immediately.

On June 28, 4,000 demonstrators transformed a planned protest aimed at the homeporting of the USS Missouri in San Francisco into a spontaneous outcry against the House of Representatives decision to fund the Contras. While there were some large groups like the National Lawyers Guild present, and church groups carrying names of the disappeared, many of those at the demonstration had simply heard about the demonstration on the radio and decided to join the march.

Hegel's Absolute as New Beginning

by RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA

A discussion of Hegel's Absolutes in
Science of Logic and
Philosophy of Mind

Presented to the Hegel Society of America

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In Pinochet's Chile protests, divisions grow

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

July 2 and 3 were days of widespread open protest in Chile against the Pinochet dictatorship, as students, workers, housewives, teachers, doctors and others observed a two-day general strike calling for the end of the military regime. The strike was called by the National Civic Assembly, a non-party coalition whose unifying point is anti-Pinochet, once Pinochet refused to acknowledge the Assembly's mild proposals (the "Demand of Chile") on how to begin a return to civilian rule.

Police and soldiers did not allow marches to take place in the main urban centers, and moved with lethal fire into the working class *poblaciones* where the youth had tried to put up barricades. Nadia Fuentes, age 13, was shot in the street on her way to buy bread. All told, at least 10 people were killed and 1,000 arrested.

What brought the horror of life in Pinochet's Chile home, however, was the brutal attack on Carmen Quintana, a university student, and Rodrigo Rojas, a resident of Washington, D.C. whose mother is a Chilean political exile. The two youths were with a group of university students the first morning of the strike, on their way to help with a rebuilding project in a *poblacion*.

An army patrol attacked the group, singling out Rojas and Quintana. They beat the two with rifle butts, soaked them with an inflammable fluid and set them on fire. The two youths were then dumped in another part of the city. Rojas died four days later, and 2,000 people came out to march at his funeral on July 9.

These events were occurring while President Reagan watched the Chilean ship *Esmeralda*, used by Pinochet as a torture chamber in the days after the 1973 CIA-engineered downfall of Allende, sail with the fleet into New York harbor for the July 4th Statue of Liberty cir-



Young protestors join in chanting against the military regime at a Santiago cemetery during the burial of three youth killed by Pinochet's henchmen.

cus. Veronica Denegri, Rojas' mother who was jailed, raped and tortured by Pinochet's police, had gone the week before to protest the *Esmeralda's* visit when it docked.

The Reagan administration censured Pinochet for this latest atrocity with all the fervor with which it has denounced the Marcos, Duvalier and Botha regimes. When the U.S. Ambassador in Chile attended Rojas' fu-

neral service, Sen. Jesse Helms fulminated against any criticism of Chile, saying Chile was one of only two Latin American countries "fighting Communism" (the other being Stroessner's Paraguay). The White House in effect said that Rojas' murder was not really any of the U.S.'s business, since he wasn't a U.S. citizen, and that they were expressing concern only for "humanitarian" reasons—a Reaganspeak word used before to characterize U.S. aid to the contras.

This comes four months after the U.S. for the first time since 1973 approved a UN Human Rights Commission resolution critical of Chile. It was opportunistically tied to Reagan's campaign then to get aid for the contras. When Reagan said he was opposed to dictatorships of the right as well as the left, his aides were quick to say that Reagan was not turning his back on the "Kirkpatrick doctrine" of support for friendly-to-the-U.S. "authoritarian" regimes in Latin America. Economic aid to Pinochet continues.

More crucial are the deepening economic, political and social divisions growing within Chile. Pinochet has made it clear that he does not intend to ever relinquish power. The opposition is broad enough now to include former members of the Pinochet camp, and the truck owner-drivers who helped to bring down the legitimately-elected Allende government. But it is the deeper dimensions—especially the youth, women and workers—who have thrown down a fundamental challenge to Pinochet, as did the copper workers at their congress earlier this year when they reavowed their commitment to "democracy, and the decision to reach it in 1986."

Chemical warfare

Reagan has announced that he will resume production of chemical weapons. After scrapping SALT II, he got Congress to approve \$1.1 billion to resume production of chemical weapons.

On May 22, while NATO military commanders approved the U.S. program, West European rulers voiced opposition. Western Europe is the probable "military theatre" for using chemical weapons in a superpower conflict.

The memory in Europe of the horrors of chemical gas warfare and agonizing mass death during World War I is still vivid. The 1925 Geneva Protocol which came out of that nightmare experience, and which the U.S. among others signed, bans the use of chemical and bacteriological weapons, but not their production or deployment.

U.S. troops in Bolivia

Though the arrival of 160 U.S. troops in Bolivia this month was billed as a "war against cocaine," little of the drug was actually seized in the course of the joint operations with the Bolivian Army. Far more than drugs was involved in this operation, which marked a new stage in a deepening process of cooperation between the U.S. and Bolivian military.

What is new is the extent to which Reagan has shown himself willing to commit U.S. troops to the heart of South America. That cooperation took off last Fall, when the government of Victor Paz Estenssoro sought to impose a harsh economic austerity program through a 90-day stage of seige. Paz then requested—and obtained—a promise of increased U.S. military assistance.

Peru prison uprising

When inmates in three Peru prisons staged an uprising, the government gave the go-ahead for the military to quell the uprising, which then became a full-scale extermination campaign. Most were in prison for presumed association with the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrilla-terrorist group. The military used helicopter gunships and anti-tank missiles to demolish the prison buildings, and in the aftermath some 400 prisoners were dead or still buried in the rubble at Lurigancho and El Fronton prisons. Three people were killed at the Santa Barbara women's prison.

At Lurigancho, at least 100 prisoners who had surrendered to the police were summarily executed as they lay on the ground. Alan Garcia, the President of Peru, denied the massacre and promised a full investigation. Later he ordered the arrest of 95 police involved in the killing, but only one general has yet been disciplined.

In fact, the military has gotten a loos-

er rein ever since February, when the government declared a state of emergency due to increased terrorism on the part of Sendero Luminoso and other guerrillas. The peasants have been the ones killed in the war between the military and guerrillas. In the last six years, some 7,000 people have been killed and 1,000 disappeared. While the peasants have been at times the target of the Pol Pot-type campaign of Sendero Luminoso, they have resisted the wholesale occupation of the countryside by the military, including now under the "populist" Alan Garcia government.

N. Ireland protests

The July-August "marching season" in Northern Ireland is always an ugly time, when right-wing Unionists celebrate centuries of British rule in Ulster, and today's reality of domination over the Catholic population of that artificially-created enclave. This year the "marching season" turned particularly vicious when a masked mob of right-wingers attacked a Catholic neighborhood in Rasharkin, County Antrim. In 10 minutes on the night of July 13, the ax-wielding mob smashed in doors and windows, burned cars and attacked Catholic youths.

Avowed fascists to the right of even the likes of Ian Paisley have taken center stage since the Anglo-Irish Accord was signed last Nov. 15. In their murderous rages is the recognition of the fact that Thatcher is now re-defining Britain's relationship to Ulster's right-wing Protestant organizations.

The truth is that the Anglo-Irish Accord (actually a U.S.-Britain-Ireland agreement) demonstrated that Reagan, Thatcher and Fitzgerald had united on

a new strategy for maintaining control over all Ireland, North and South. It is a strategy that has already produced from Reagan a new extradition treaty to remove Irish activists from the U.S. for trial in Britain. So terrible are the conditions of life in Ireland today, North and South, and so deep is the unrest, especially among the youth, that the rulers have decided that they can no longer allow their agenda to be synonymous with that of a Paisley. It is this which will make for more Ulster troubles in the months ahead.

New Caledonia trial

In June, 17 Kanak oppositionists from the Koindé tribe were tried for murder, based on a 1983 incident where two French gendarmes were killed while trespassing on tribal land, in order to support a local French landowner. The landowner's logging operation had damaged the local water supply and the Kanaks shut his operation down in protest.

The trial has been turned into a passionate and detailed indictment of French colonialism, from the murder of Kanak resistance leader Chief Atai a century ago, to today's Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS). One defendant, Sylvestre Nemoare, was sentenced to ten years, another to two years, and the rest acquitted. The trial was a farce, with the indigenous Kanaks subject to exploitative French law. The FLNKS weekly paper, *Bwenando* (B.P. 1671, Noumea, New Caledonia) was not even allowed a reporter inside the press section of the court. The struggle for genuine national liberation continues.

Philippines 'coup'

When Marcos supporters attempted a military coup in July, taking over a hotel with several hundred armed soldiers, it was dismissed by some almost as a joke. Rightist Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile "politely" declined the coup leaders' offer to join them, but he also negotiated what he called an honorable surrender, i.e. no arrests or punishment for the plotters.

So far, despite tremendous mass support, the Aquino government has been unwilling to move on the pressing human crises of life and labor, especially in rural areas.

The masses are taking their own initiatives. Hundreds of strikes are occurring. Youth continue to demonstrate against the U.S. bases. On July 4, they were savagely beaten by police outside the U.S. Embassy; in sharp contrast to the kid gloves treatment pro-Marcos demonstrators get.

New revolutionary impulses are also shaking up the established Left groups controlled by the Maoist CP and its New Peoples Army guerrillas. Muslim guerrilla movements have reappeared in Southern Mindanao. In Luzon, Conrado Balweg, a priest who joined the NPA in 1978 and became a guerrilla leader, along with 200 guerrilla fighters from the Kalinga tribal people has broken with the NPA. He claims that the NPA's hierarchical concept of "democratic centralism" means that "the Communists are not sufficiently attentive to popular aspirations." The CP has already had to criticize its previous non-stance during the overthrow of Marcos. It continues, however, to seek "hegemony" over the mass movement everywhere.

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 unseparated 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 a nuclear-armed world threatens the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the

present.

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

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