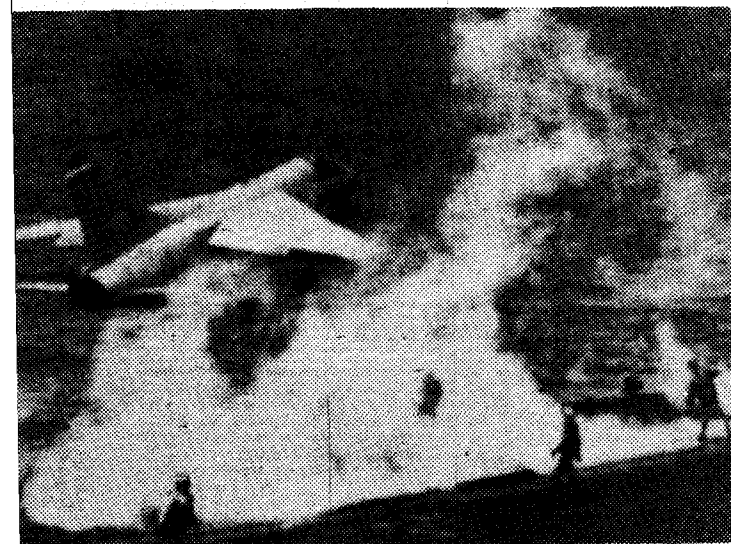


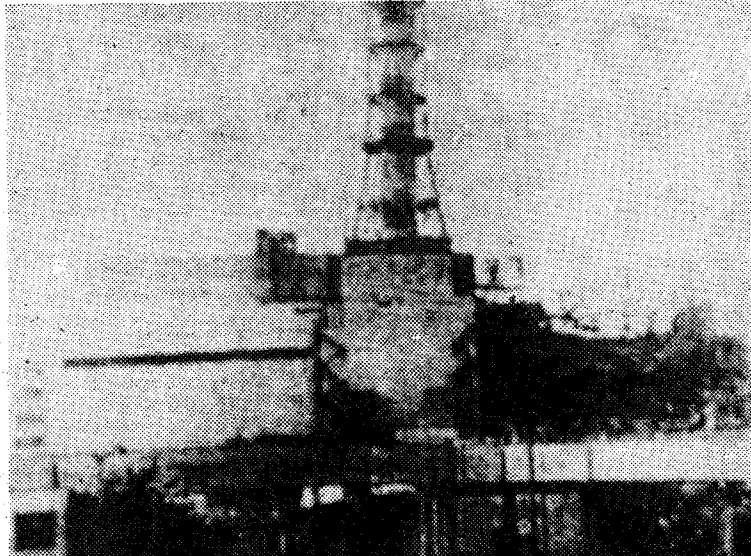
MARXIST-HUMANIST DRAFT PERSPECTIVES, 1986-87

I. THE CHANGED WORLD:

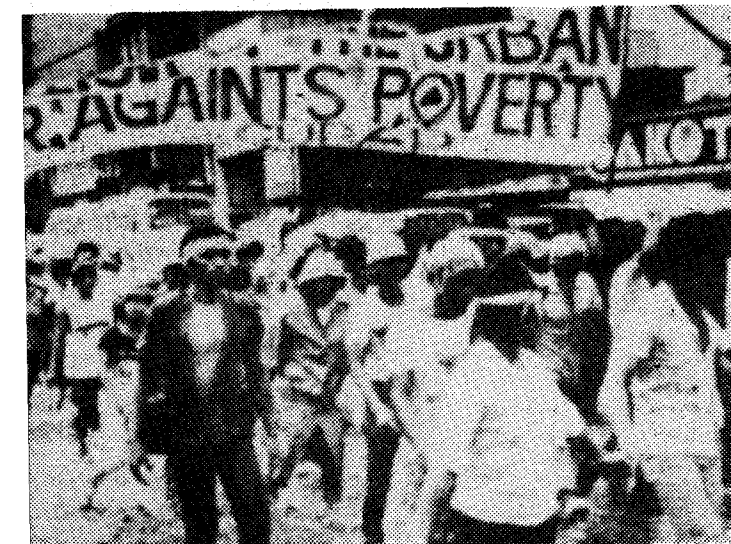


U.S. war planes in Gulf of Sidra

From Reagan's Foray into the Gulf of Sidra to the Russian Chernobyl Disaster; from Mass Anti-Nuke Demonstrations to the Revolts in Haiti, the Philippines and Latin America; from the Mass Protests in South Korea to the Continuing Black Revolts in Apartheid South Africa.



Russia's Chernobyl plant after explosion

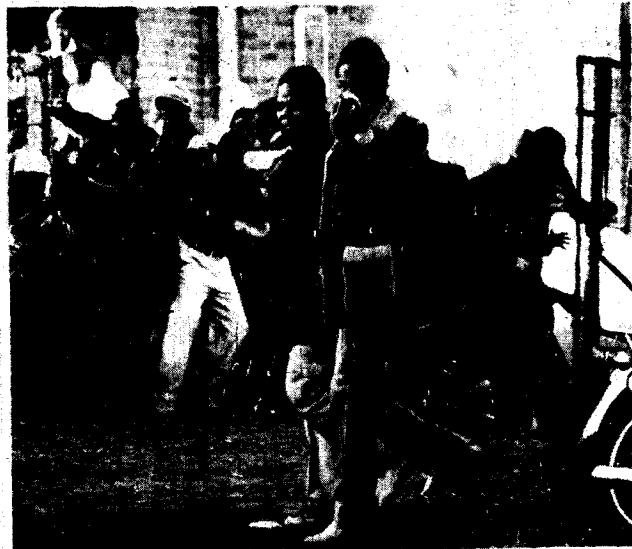


Filipinos demonstrating against Marcos



Haitians after ouster of Duvalier

More than one million Black workers not only demonstrated their opposition in apartheid South Africa by their "stayaway" on June 16, the tenth anniversary of the bloody suppression of the Soweto uprising, but thereby showed their pivotal role in production. Nothing was produced. The empty factories and mines as well as the empty streets signaled that the continuing struggle in South Africa will not be stopped, not even by martial law. Apartheid South Africa's May 19 assault by land and against the sovereign nations of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe was likened by Botha to Reagan's April bombing of Libya. The sharp response this drew from the Reagan Administration fooled no one about the close relationship of the U.S. to Botha's South Africa. The demonstrations in the U.S. as elsewhere were directed not only against South Africa but against the system, for propping up that hated regime with Reagan's "constructive engagement." Indeed, it was U.S. imperialism's foray into the Gulf of Sidra which so exacerbated the totality of the myriad crises that it changed the world. It becomes imperative to work out how to oppose the rulers as well as to follow the ramifications of the crises. As the consequences of the near-meltdown at Chernobyl have shown, no sphere can now be excluded from the need to utterly uproot the system. It is as if a nuclear meltdown came close to releasing the sword of Damocles which hangs over the very existence of humanity. Even so conservative a magazine as Time listed the top ten major nuclear accidents that had already occurred: Chalk River, Canada, 1952; Windscale, England, 1957; Idaho, U.S., 1961; Alabama, U.S., 1975; Three Mile Island, U.S., 1979; Tsuruga, Japan, 1981; Oklahoma, U.S., 1986. That list does not include the accident at an old Titan nuclear missile site—in Arkansas, 1980. We have experienced Chernobyl. And what about the space and shuttle disasters? Everything has been



South Africans fighting Botha regime

questioned in a new way since Chernobyl. What has become clear from the events in April, whether in Libya or at Chernobyl, is that Reagan and Gorbachev are identical twins in global ambition for single domination of the world.

On June 1 Ronald Reagan declared that, though he is "technically" within the limits of compliance with

SALT II, he is no longer "bound" by it. If the latest nuclear "invention" is ready to be deployed in December, he is ready to abrogate the treaty and put cruise missiles on bombers. This has so disturbed the six most industrialized NATO nations, plus Japan, who had just voted at the summit in Tokyo to underwrite U.S. imperialism's bombing of Libya as a "defense" against "terrorism," that they could no longer be under the illusion that Reagan's action was "only" against Libya and that Libya was an "isolated case." In truth, the declaration that the United States would abrogate SALT II disregarded the heart of Europe—that is, all the "front-line" nations, beginning with West Germany, who directly face the other nuclear superpower, Russia.

To make sure that not even the slightest loophole was left to miss any of the implications in his threat to abrogate SALT II, Reagan's direct mouthpiece, Secretary of Defense (read: War) Weinberger declared that the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty should also be abrogated. This time, not only did the NATO nations speak out "in general" against the abrogation, but Reagan's ideological twin, Thatcher (who had been the only one of the NATO allies to permit the F-111s to leave from its soil to bomb Libya), sent a special envoy to Washington to advise Reagan against such a move.

With Ronald Reagan's threat to abrogate the SALT II treaty, it has become clear that the ceaseless turning back of the clock at home—on Black civil rights, on labor, on abortion rights—was the other side of his shift from arms negotiations to negotiating in order to arm.

As against the superpowers' mad rush to a nuclear Armageddon, let us look at the mass demonstrations against both nuclear madness and apartheid South Africa. The June 16 mass demonstrations against the bloody suppression of the Soweto uprising ten years ago once again point to a new generation of revolutionaries worldwide. In New York City, 90,000 poured into Cen-

(continued on page 2)

ON THE INSIDE

- Spain 50 years after the Civil War ... p. 3
- International dimensions of women's liberation ... p. 4
- AT&T picket line reports ... p. 5

Marxist-Humanist Perspectives News and Letters Committee

(continued from page 1)

tral Park.

Although the generation of the '80s may appear more quiescent than the generation of the turbulent '60s, the Black struggles give the divestment movement of today's campus youth a new dimension. The demonstrations at the South African Embassies and Consulates have encompassed multidimensional forces—Black and white, women, workers, elderly as well as young. Above all, from the start, today's movement has been international and searching for a philosophy of revolution, instead of displaying what characterized the 1960s—the Cohn-Bendit view that theory can be caught "en route."

Internationalism has also characterized the anti-nuke movement. Thus, following Chernobyl, the demonstrations—whether in Italy or in West Germany, in the U.S. or in England—were against not only Russia, but the U.S. as well. They were, that is, against the use and

abuse of nuclear energy everywhere.

This year anti-nuclear activists hiked into the desert in Mercury, Nevada, to protest U.S. nuclear weapons tests. The demonstrations came to a climax on the weekend of May 30-June 1, when hundreds—including Daniel Ellsberg and Carl Sagan—gathered to protest in 100 degree weather, and 149 were arrested. One of the tests, the "Mighty Oak" explosion, had resulted in a serious accident with the subsequent release of radioactivity into the atmosphere. Two workers were irradiated trying to investigate the accident. The details are still kept secret. There is no doubt that these actions will continue; the world-wide anti-nuke movement will not stop.

Not only do capitalist crises keep multiplying but the political crises cannot be separated from the economy, globally and nationally. The bombing of Libya, and the near-meltdown at Chernobyl, are

manifestations of the state of the global economy.

We need only look at the unwelcome reception that greeted Reagan in Bali, Indonesia, on his way to the economic summit. Before he even got off the plane, television accompanying reporters were prevented from covering the event and expelled from the country. Indonesian dictator Suharto—who had carried out one of the bloodiest counter-revolutions, with the slaughter of over a million Indonesian Leftists beginning in 1965—did not show that he is a loyal member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), made clear that he had crushed that 1965 revolution-in-the-making on his own. Not only is he not beholden to the U.S., he outdoes Marcos and Pinochet, and is more anti-Communist than even Reagan.

It is clear that no political crisis can be considered outside of the state of the global economy. It is high time to turn to the fundamentals—capitalist production and alienated labor.

II. CAPITALIST PRODUCTION/ALIENATED LABOR: THIS NUCLEAR WORLD AND ITS POLITICAL CRISES

The basis of the economy of the most powerful imperialist land, the U.S., is that it is now a debtor nation. The global ramifications of that fact, as well as its implications at home, have not been seriously dealt with. Paul Volcker, head of the Federal Reserve Board, and considered by economists to be the "second most powerful man" in the land, did not bother to attend the Economic Summit. He refused to be deluded by all the hoopla about the great state of the world economy, especially that of the U.S. Volcker claimed the U.S. "put all the necessary solutions off on other countries... The action taken so far is not enough to put the deficit on a declining trend." The strength of the economy, Volcker concluded, "is not an unalloyed joy."

The Grand Illusion, however, that all capitalist ideologues, including Volcker, have created about this nuclear world with its robotized production was achieved by them through forgetting that Alienated Labor is the irreplaceable foundation, essence and universal form—the creator of all values and surplus-values. That is exactly what produces both capitalist profits and what Marx called the "general absolute law of capitalist accumulation"—its unemployed army.

What the industrial giants cannot hear is the death-knell that labor, employed and unemployed, as well as the homeless, are ringing out. The industrialists are under the illusion—never more so than in this robotized stage of production—that the unemployed army can be made to rampage against the employed.

Their ideologues are busy "proving" that Marx was wrong. They have never understood that other fundamental Marx prediction, that the failure to re-produce labor means the death of their whole system. Political crises reflect the general absolute law of capitalist production differently in different historic periods. Thus, the Great Depression produced a John Maynard Keynes, with his *General Theory of Employment and Money*, which proved to the capitalists that they cannot get out of economic crisis unless they couple production with employment. All kinds of "New Deals" were thereby contrived to save capitalism from revolution.

Today, modern profit-hungry capitalists, both state and private, think they can do the exact opposite—that is, "uncouple" employment from production. They think they can still go merrily on with their computerized stock market, false super-profiteering through mergers, playing the margins, and alternating ownerships from corporations to "private entrepreneurs." They now talk of factory "incubators," where former large plants are leased out to small producers who employ far fewer workers at far lower wages. They act as if higher labor productivity can come from somewhere other than sweated, living labor; as if it can come out of computers.

The favorite word of today's economists is "uncoupling." Peter F. Drucker has written for *Foreign Affairs* (Spring, 1986) on "The Changed World Economy."¹ There, he arrogantly, and yet in an off-hand manner (as if the changes he is talking about are the true status of the world economy), insists that it is necessary to recognize the three truths of the uncoupling that he elaborates:

- 1) "uncoupling" employment from production.
- 2) "uncoupling" capital from capital investment, reducing capital to money by calling it "capital movement": "Capital movements rather than trade (in both goods and services) have become the driving force of the world economy. The two have not quite come uncoupled, but the link has become loose and, worse, unpredictable."
- 3) "uncoupling" industrial production from the whole economy, by which he tries to explain that he means uncoupling it from the "weak" sectors like the farm economy and raw materials. It is as if digging out the raw materials is done without labor. Or, for that matter, as if our so-called post-industrial world is so "advanced"

1. See also the Special Report on "The Hollow Corporation" in *Business Week*, March 3, 1986.



with its computers, its plastics, its synthetics, its "high technology," that labor which is not on a production line is not labor.

What they choose to disregard is that even those robotized, unimated production processes are built on sweated labor. A recent NBC television special on that most high-tech land, Japan, which has completely shaken up the global market, revealed how fully its production is rooted in the most wretched, low-paying, non-union, piecework labor, done by sub-contractors for its high-tech corporations.²

Indeed, all of the ideologues are rightly screaming against the astronomical indebtedness of the capitalist economy since Ronald Reagan has been in power. There is no way that even Reagan can deny that we have become a debtor nation. What the ideologues (who supposedly differ from the supply-siders and monetarists) have to recognize is this: once they have "uncoupled" industrial production from their whole economy, and capital from investment in production, reducing capital investment to money alone, they are left with what they supposedly rejected—monetarism.

These are not mere stock market fantasies; the monstrous reality they have created is a land in which, at one pole we see a thousand new millionaires, while at the other we see the pauperization of millions of the unemployed, of the homeless, of the masses of Blacks and women living so far below the poverty line that Hunger stalks the richest land in the world.

Once capital is not tied to investments in production, once even trade has been "uncoupled" from trade of products and reduced to mere exchange of services, there is nothing left but an exchange of monies and investment for more monies. The reason that the U.S., though itself a debtor nation, is nevertheless still at the top of the heap is because the international capitalists feel safe in only one country—the counter-revolutionary Reagan's U.S.A. It is not only "flight capital" leaving "unstable" lands that gets to the U.S.; Japan and West Germany have "invested" heavily here as well.

Let's take another look, then, at the "safe" U.S. and all of Reagan's victories in his ongoing counter-revolution at home against unions, against Blacks, against women, against the youth.

- It is true that the union bureaucracy has given too many concessions. But one look at Hormel's ongoing strike shows that militants know how to fight their own leaders, as well as the capitalists.

- It is true there is no ongoing General Strike. But if we count up all the "little" strikes from Minnesota to Chicago, from New York's sweatshops, to California farmworkers, and every place in between, we will see that U.S. labor is in daily, unrecorded revolt.

- It is true that the Women's Liberation Movement has seen a retrogression of all its hard-won gains of the

2. Back in the early 1940s when Plan, with a capital "P," was the rage among the Left, the first study of the Five-Year Plans of Russia, by those working out a State-Capitalist Theory, debunked the Plan as any kind of socialism, showing that "feudal" Japan, in the very same 1932-37 period, was out-producing "socialist" Russia. (See Raya Dunayevskaya's original 1942 study of the Russian economy, included in *Marxism and Freedom*, p. 233, and p. 358, footnote 220.)

1960s and 1970s. But anyone who thinks that the sudden mass demonstration of 100,000 in Washington, D.C. on March 9 was "just" against Reagan's stand on abortion has not heard the voices of the Black and white women who have made their rejection of Reaganism known on every front from housing to childcare and from affirmative action to freedom of choice—and this is not the question of abortion alone, but the passage for human relations.

- It is true that the youth today are not the youth of the '60s. But, as we have seen, the internationalism that was present in the anti-Vietnam War movement has reached a new dimension. Nor can one re-write the history which has proved that the two-way road of the Black dimension between Africa and America has never separated its struggles from its ideas of freedom, search for a philosophy of revolution.

The Black masses see right through Reagan-Weinberger's "conceptual arsenal," as the ceaseless nuclear arming and genocidal imperialism that it is. The utter barbarism of the Holocaust is what shows us where the post-World War II world of capitalism-imperialism is heading.

The significance of the new, the concrete, is not only the general fact that these struggles and crises point to the need to uproot the system. The significance is that this new form of production, which Drucker and others tout, is hiding the essence, creating the illusion that this Particular, this special appearance, is the new Universal. It is necessary to work out the new and concrete forms as they appear. That does not mean merely saying that it is only form rather than essence. Rather, it is to say that only revolution can abolish these forms; that only revolution can abolish the illusion some Marxists have that these forms are the new Universal. This kind of transformation can be achieved only through the dialectic of Absolute Method.

As Hegel articulated it:

"To hold fast the positive in its negative, and the content of the presupposition in the result, is the most important part of rational cognition; also only the simplest reflection is needed to furnish conviction of the absolute truth and necessity of this requirement, while with regard to the examples of proofs, the whole of the Logic consist of these." (*Science of Logic* Vol. II, p. 476)

Karl Marx projected his concept of the positive that would follow only after the old capitalist society was thoroughly uprooted:

"In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of individuals under the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor, from a mere means of life has itself become the prime necessity of life; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-round development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly—only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be fully left behind and society inscribe on its banners: from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs!" (*Critique of the Gotha Program*)

The positive in the negative was not—was not—Alienated Labor under capitalism is the human activity much less that science is the human activity. Rather, it was the struggles of the Alienated Laborers against capitalism, and the laborers' passion for an actual union of mental and manual labor, that spells out the urge of revolution.

What the revolutionary theoreticians need to do is listen to the voices from below, and concretize this new unity by practicing it in their own public activities, relations, as they prepare for revolution, participate in it, labor for it. The absolute opposite of the what oozes out from the ideologues under capitalism which is why Marx called them the "prize-fighters" of capitalism.

Let us return now to the Economic Summit that is actually all political.

(continued on page 11)

Views of
at UAW
Convention



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

the UAW Convention—"celebrating" 50 years of the UAW—was held in Anaheim, California, June 2-6, near Disneyland and far from the reality of most rank-and-file workers in this country. I heard UAW President Owen Bieber give an emotional Walter Reuther-type speech in support of the agreement the UAW bureaucracy signed with GM for a soon-to-be-built Saturn auto plant in Spring Hill, Tennessee. Bieber and the other bureaucrats have promoted the Saturn agreement as "historic" and "innovative" but most of the rank and file I have talked to condemn it as a betrayal of trade union principles.

ON AS FOREMAN

I wrote about Saturn in the March 1985 issue of News & Letters: "This isn't workers' control of production. It's part of the same system workers have been fighting for 200 years." GM's only interest in promoting

(continued on page 5)

Black World

Liberty
celebration
for whom?



by Lou Turner

Ronald Reagan — as "contra," as prop for fascist apartheid in South Africa, as a commemorator of Nazism at Bitburg, as the warmonger of Libya and Nicaragua as the retrogressionist in every area of human need and aspiration in the U.S., and as the persecutor of 10 million World refugees seeking the sanctuary of our "democracy" — will, on its 100th anniversary, unveil the new Statue of Liberty at a 4th of July celebration that will take place amid the most formidable tyranny ever imposed upon the city of New York. Nothing more could have manifested the absolute opposition of Reagan's "Liberty celebration" than the appearance of the "other America" on the streets of New York when on June 14, 90,000 Free South Africa demonstrators celebrated the 10th anniversary of the June 16 Soweto Uprising. Counterposing these two events, however, is not to say that there is anything "automatic" about breaking the ideological hold of Reaganism from it.

WORSHIP OF HISTORY

The truth is that American civilization suffers from idolatry of history itself as long as it is history controlled by the capitalist class. In fact, ABC-TV's David Byrne, the "producer" of the 4th of July/Statue of Liberty extravaganza, admitted as much when he had to respond to the criticisms of American and Caribbean Blacks who have raised the thorny question that inevitably goes to the historical root of American civilization: What about those "immigrants" who weren't granted liberty, for whom America was the absolute antithesis of freedom and whose slave reality the abstraction of democracy was made to hide? No wonder Black writers John Hope Franklin and William H. Harris concluded that the Centennial events have "nothing to do with me."

It is not surprising that Wolper could dismiss such criticisms with the argument that his "assignment was to produce a celebration and not a review of all that went on in the nation's history," also shows that this is not a Black question. As the New York Times (5/30/86) reported: "As the events do not touch on the subject of slavery, he (Wolper) said, they do not touch on the often dreary physical conditions, sweatshops and attitudes that many European immigrants faced as they sailed past the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island."

In other words, what lies hidden in this idolatry of history is what the Statue of Liberty originally represented when it was given as a gift to the U.S. by France in 1886, namely, that the idea of freedom was brought here as much as sought here. Only 15 years after the French made a gift of the Statue of Liberty to America, the Versailles government had drowned the Paris Commune in blood. Thereafter, Communists sought refuge in New York in such numbers that the Abolitionist Wendell Phillips, who had made his mission from Abolitionism to Socialism, could say: "If you go to New York and you'll find a Communist." Just as the early 1920s meant the anti-Black, anti-immigrant Palmer Raids, spearheaded by J. Edgar Hoover, according to Raya Dunayevskaya, meant the power of ideas associated with the Russian Revolution: "...I was 13 years old and had been but

(continued on page 8)

Soweto Day: tens of thousands march



New York, N.Y.— Nearly 100,000 New Yorkers streamed into Central Park on June 14 to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising in South Africa, in the largest anti-apartheid demonstration in U.S. history. Marching to the park from Harlem to the north and the United Nations to the south, participants from all walks of life sent their solidarity to Black South Africa, which on this anniversary faces the full brutality of the apartheid regime.

Thousands of whites and Latinos joined the Blacks of all ages who made up the majority of the crowd — Black people originally from every country in the Caribbean and Africa as well as every community in the N.Y. area. Many young people who came out to show their support had never attended a rally before, but felt they couldn't just stay home and read the news about South Africa.

In-person report:

Spain 50 years after the Civil War

by Mary Holmes and Jim Mills

The June victory for the Socialist Party (PSOE) government of Felipe Gonzalez cannot cover over the economic, social and political crises in Spain today, on the fiftieth anniversary of the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War. We saw this in our trip to Spain this past May.

We arrived just as thousands of anti-NATO activists went to the streets protesting the U.S. attack on Libya and Spain's collusion in the raid. Chants of "Felipe Idiote! This is NATO!" and "NATO No! Bases Out!" rang from the walls in Madrid and other cities for days. Many activists, workers and women's liberationists asked us who was the "Other America," opposed to Reagan's policies. We demonstrated our solidarity by showing the other America not only in the recent abortion rights marches, anti-concessions strikes and sanctuary movement activity, but also in the 50 years of development of Marxist-Humanism, dating from the Spanish revolution itself.

Disaffection in Spain often begins with the present PSOE government because it seemed to hold open some possibility of change in post-Franco Spain. That same government narrowly won a referendum in March for Spain to stay in NATO, though it had promised to pull Spain out before it came to power. And then planes stationed at the U.S. base in Zaragoza were shuttled to England to use in the attack on Libya. Demonstrators pointed out that this was the real meaning of NATO.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND STRIKES

The question of jobs is critical in Spain where the rate of unemployment is 20% and rising. But the threat of unemployment hardly intimidates workers from organizing and strikes, especially against the government's policies of industrial retrenchment now that the economic structural changes that have occurred in the rest of Europe have arrived in Spain only now, under the PSOE.

Workers at the Magafesa cookingware plant in Bilbao blocked roads and government buildings and burned a train after the company unveiled plans to eliminate 1,700 jobs. Workers at the Bazan shipyards in Cadiz, El Ferrol and Cartagena occupied their plants to stop a directive aimed at dismissing 6,000 workers. And in May, dockworkers began an indefinite strike against the government plan to denationalize the ports.

Since then they launched a national strike against denationalization of ports, May 18, which has paralyzed major ports like Tenerife, Las Palmas, Galicia and Barcelona. As 100 pickets marches in Cadiz, the headquarters of the PSOE dominated UTG, which has opposed the strike, was stoned.

When we talked with them about the new kind of strikes, unknown in Spain, against concessions like by the meatcutters at Hormel in the U.S., they asked to reprint articles from N&L in their newspaper, *La Estiba*. And because dockworkers had also been fighting for control over new technology and containerization in the ports, they took a copy of our pamphlet on the first automation strike in the U.S., *The 1949-50 Coal Miners General Strike and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism*. One of the

A number of activists came from as far away as Wisconsin, Minnesota and North Carolina. And the labor contingent which joined the march from the UN included workers from numerous occupations, from postal to hospital workers to the marchers whose T-shirts read, "Parking Meter Collectors Against Apartheid — Time Expired!"

On the march from Harlem, local residents lined the streets and joined in the shouts of "Amandla!" (power) and "Death to apartheid!" Chants against Ronald Reagan echoed the outcry against South Africa's Botha. The main speakers in the park began with Ossie Davis and Ruby Dee backing proposed Congressional trade sanctions against South Africa, and ended with an anti-apartheid/Presidential campaign speech by Jesse Jackson. However, the electoral limitations in their speeches only contrasted with the boundlessness of the concept of solidarity alive at this event.

What was taking place away from the stage was a serious exchange of ideas. People crowded around the many literature tables. "A tyrant knows no conscience," one older Jamaican woman told me. "What's happening in South Africa is unconscionable. These countries always expand with the blood of simple people, who aren't armed. Sometimes it takes a scream — like when you see someone being attacked and you can't directly intervene but you scream. That's what we're doing."

Two Black youths at our literature table said they have been studying together Fanon's *Black Skins, White Masks* and *Wretched of the Earth* because, as one put it, "He calls for a total revolutionary transformation, and I don't see any way around that. It seems

(continued on page 8)

dockers said, "I'm not against automation as such. But I'm only for the development if it comes with development of the workers, too."

WOMEN'S LIBERATIONISTS AND YOUTH

Women's liberationists told us of wide-ranging activities, from a national conference last September in Barcelona to women's participation in the recent anti-NATO campaign. In Tenerife, 350 women gathered at the courthouse in solidarity with four women accused of performing abortions who face at least a year in jail if convicted. The right to abortion is not fully recognized in "socialist" Spain.

Among the many women who want to unite militancy and ideas, women in Zaragoza organized meetings for us to present the recent Spanish edition of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburgo, La Liberacion Feminina y La Filosofia Marxista de la Revolucion*. One group, *Lisistrata*, formed to fight sexism in employment and teaching at the university, is also active in solidarity with Latin American revolutions, especially Nicaragua, and in anti-militarism.

The youth are among the severest critics of the military which in many ways has changed little since Franco's fascist state. They oppose universal military conscription for men and the values of a militarized society, including the use of police and soldiers to viciously break up strikes and demonstrations.

As against this militant thinking, many Leftist intellectuals believe that ten years after Franco's death — the period of "la democracia" — there is little interest in Marxist thought and women's liberation theory. While those intellectuals are ready to give expertise in Marxist theory over to the many small mass parties in Spain, the experience of a woman we met is not unusual. Most labor confederations and Leftist parties have made a nod to women's liberation by forming their own autonomous women's sections. However, she quit the women's group inside the Communist Party-dominated *Comisiones Obreras* because its promise of autonomy proved false.

The many Leftist parties in Spain saluted the 100th anniversary of May Day in Chicago, in posters and declarations. Yet remembering the 50th anniversary of their own revolution has been given over to the party ideologues or the Communist party which 50 years ago choked all mass revolutionary activity. On the other hand, there is a search underway for some new point of departure in Marx's Marxism. For example, an intellectual told us the copy of Raya Dunayevskaya's first work, *Marxism and Freedom*, which he had smuggled from Paris into fascist Spain and read clandestinely as a student, made a great impact on him. The many books now published and available on the Spanish Revolution show the thirst to know today what fascism had tried to blot out for 40 years.

Far from lending support to Gonzalez's militarist and economic retrogression, the ongoing labor strikes, anti-militarist demonstrations, women's liberation movement and overall thirst for ideas show that contradictions—and revolts—are more than ever open and deepening a decade after Franco.

International dimensions of Women's Liberation Movement

United States

NWSA Conference

The eighth annual National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) Conference of June 11-15, with over 1500 participants and 260 workshops, is difficult to characterize. Some workshops were excellent and others poor. There was never enough time for discussion either at workshops or at the four Plenary sessions—some of which cried out for dialogue.

Every bit as serious is the fact that after eight years and a special conference several years ago, "Women Respond to Racism," NWSA is still so overwhelmingly white that it appeared that less than 50 Black women were present.

At our workshop on "Black and Working-Class Women in the Development of Women's Liberation Theory," one young woman expressed her frustration at the small number of working-class women at the Conference and their invisibility in NWSA. Her working-class caucus planned to present a proposal that next year's Conference devote at least one Plenary to poor and working-class women followed by several workshops. Her aim, she said, was "to help change the political direction of the organization" and she asked those of us in the workshop to help her.

INTEREST IN MARXISM

Each year at NWSA we have sat at our Women's Liberation-News & Letters literature table. There we have the opportunity to talk to women in an informal way, asking why they came, from where, what interests them. It is from this vantage point that one can see what is new in NWSA. What we found this year was a very serious interest in Marxist-Humanism. That was shown also by the fact that 25 women came to our workshop to hear presentations on "Women Revolutionaries"—particularly the one on Raya Dunayevskaya.

Women who came by our table were certainly interested in women's issues but what usually began the discussion was the question of dialectics. Most of the women were not turned off by Marxism—indeed, that is what they wanted to talk about.

One element that brought some militance to the NWSA Conference this year was the many students from the University of Illinois, Champaign/Urbana, who attended—many without bothering to pay the registration fee. It was they who began to hiss and chant "Divest Now!" when the chancellor opened the Thursday night Plenary. What few in the audience knew was that six anti-apartheid activists had been arrested for trying to get the University of Illinois to divest.

HYPOCRISY ON DIVESTMENT

What needs a great deal of further discussion is that the hissing and chanting were hushed up by NWSA members in the audience, allowing the chancellor to finish his talk. Then when a South African woman, Motlalepula Chabaku, in a fiery talk held up her fists and shouted "DIVEST NOW!" the audience came alive, including the hypocrites who had hushed those who hissed in the first place. It is these kinds of dualities that arose at NWSA that need further discussion. For example, Nellie Wong of the Freedom Socialist Party spoke at the last Plenary, where she said only Socialist Feminism would lead to revolution, gave a three point plan for revolution, and used "dialectics" in a truncated fashion. Her talk certainly needs critical discussion, but, as soon as the Plenary was over, everyone went home. We invite those of you who attended to write your reactions and ideas. Let's continue, within the pages of News & Letters, the discussions begun June 11-15.

—Terry Moon

Mexico

Garment workers unite

Editor's note: In Mexico City, News & Letters interviewed Evangelina Corona Cadena, General Secretary of the newly-formed National Union of Sewing, Garment, Clothing and Related Workers 19th of September, as well as another woman from the same union.

Mexico City—The 19th of September we heard the earth shake. We garment workers went to work and found our factories had collapsed. The bosses didn't show up, the union reps weren't there. We decided to look for the bosses to pay us our earnings and severance pay. That decision to unite is what has given our movement its strength.

In the following month we didn't get a thing from the bosses. They chose to save their machinery, raw materials and safes, but cared nothing for the lives of workers. We were abandoned to our fate with the challenge, "Do as you wish, but we won't pay you one cent." Their words reverberated in our ears day after day and caused us to organize ourselves and demand compensa-

tion, and to demand it of the government as well.

We organized a demonstration on Oct. 18. There



has never been such a large march of women workers—10,000. We carried a petition to the President of the Republic. We won the right to be registered as a union, to organize the women who are working and to get compensation for those whose factories were destroyed.

At first we demanded the re-opening of the factories, but the bosses refused. Then we started

the struggle for indemnification. Many of the women had 30 or 35 years in the shops. When we won recognition as a union, 80% of the workers from the 43 factories that started the protest joined. Now women from 82 factories are getting our help.

UNION CHANGES EVERYTHING

The new union is democratic. The executive committee of 18 people is all women sewing machine operators except for one man.

Our problems are not only those of the garment shop, but the thousands of problems of all workers. Our rights are never respected. We never have a chance to learn anything, our time is always watched. Sometimes we didn't even know what days were national holidays or what our rights to social security were.

Now we have changed, especially our consciousness as women. Before, we would work so long, come home and have to report to husbands and care for children, a way of life in which there was always a time to go out and a time to come home.

The experience changed us. You begin a struggle around what touches you personally. I was a garment worker for 23 years, but until the earthquake, the workday didn't seem long to me, the boss didn't seem bad, the work didn't seem a burden. I was grateful the boss gave me such long hours, thinking otherwise I would have even less money. But when we were so completely abandoned, everything changed. All my compañeras thought the same: The bosses took from me and now that I'm old, now that I'm tired, now that I've given the boss everything, he leaves me with nothing.

We hope to become a national union as we have no victory unless we help others. The war with the bosses continues. They don't want to accept the September 19th Union. We have demonstrated in front of their houses, made posters denouncing their attitude, etc. At one factory, we had an indirect victory. When the boss heard the September 19th Union was coming in, he started to raise wages, register the workers in social security, promise yearly raises and a dining room, all this so they wouldn't join the union.

WOMEN'S HISTORY FOR TODAY

The majority of union members have gotten jobs in
(continued on page 10)

North Africa

Saharawi women speak

Zaragoza, Spain—In April, 17 women from Zaragoza visited the Saharawi women to see the situation of their country and the role women are playing in the liberation struggle. As a result, a week of solidarity with them was organized in Zaragoza. Below is what the Saharawi (a former Spanish colony in North Africa) women told us:

We bring revolutionary greetings from all the Saharawi women. Today, the 20th of May, is a significant day for us all as it is the day we decided to take up arms for our own liberation. When we started the struggle eleven years ago we had only camels and two guns. Today our army is well equipped. We were sold against our own will to our neighbours, Morocco and Mauritania. Thus the basic human right to self-determination was violated and war was imposed on us due to a disastrous de-colonization process. Mauritania today is one of the 64 countries which have acknowledged RASD (Arab Saharawi Democratic Republic).

But the war against Morocco goes on still. The POLISARIO Front has shown the will to reach a peaceful negotiation. We want a referendum and the withdrawal of the troops and administration from Morocco but Morocco has not agreed to it.

WOMEN BUILD THE FUTURE NOW

Originally we were a nomad people wandering in the desert. There was great participation of women in the economic, political and social life of our society. When we became a Spanish colony we became sedentary and the whole situation changed for us. We are the only Arab country that is Spanish-speaking. With the Revolution, we want to come back to our roots.

The biggest part of our territory is already liberated. Our struggle is doubled—against the domination of Morocco in which 90% of our men are engaged in the front line (some women too have taken up arms), and struggle to build a new society. Meanwhile, we are aware that we cannot wait until our whole territory is liberated and we, the National Union of Saharawi Women, have started to build our own future.

We are organized in four Uleyas. Each Uleya has several camps and in each camp there are five Women's Committees in charge of education, health, justice, crafts and food. Every child goes to school every day (in 1975, 90% of the population was illiterate). Justice is also made by the Women's Committees.

There is a big difference between the Saharawis and the Moroccan. The Saharawies know their ground, their homeland is the desert, they know where there is water and they are fighting for their own cause.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

You might have heard of the "walls." Morocco built six walls on the front line. After so many losses they built those walls to keep up the morale of their soldiers and to threaten our army by saying those are sophisticated walls with mines. But in the Vietnam war there were also walls built and also in the Algerian war of liberation the French built a wall. We know it. We learn from the past experiences of other countries.

Spain made a big mistake in the way Sahara was colonized. We are the victims. We had hoped that Spain would acknowledge its mistake but when PS (the Socialist Workers Party of Spain) came to power they washed their hands of us. We have serious doubts on whether your government (Spain) is led by others (USA). We need your support. Today RASD is an irreversible reality. We are ready to be free or to die. We want our own country. We want your solidarity!

South Africa

Domestic workers organize

Johannesburg, South Africa—The Black Domestic Workers Association of South Africa (BLWASA), a Black consciousness oriented union, formed in September 1984 in Johannesburg, South Africa. The union affiliated with the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) in 1985 to advance Black consciousness thought in South Africa.

This union plans to unionize domestic workers, cleaners, gardeners, chafers and office cleaners in the Johannesburg region and other places of importance. They are trying to instill a spirit of self-confidence, initiative and self-reliance in workers. They are mobilizing and raising their consciousness as to their rights.

The union has a literacy programme where basic skills in reading and writing are taught. Their women's department offers sewing, knitting and cooking lessons and adult education to "improve skills, more bargaining power and better communication between employer and employee."

However, all their efforts are futile when one gets employers who pay their employees as little as R35-00 (15 dollars) per month.

Most of the domestic workers are also mothers. From this meager salary they must feed their children and pay their house rental and bus fares. In a special case a mother earned R35-00 for 12 years without increase in her salary. This kind of situation made it urgent and imperative for domestic workers to form a union to fight for their rights.



women
worldwide

Women are fighting back against right-wing policies "abortion counseling" and "pregnancy testing" clinics which, through false advertising, trap women into signing "The Silent Scream" or subject them to a lie on "murdering babies" or the dangers of abortion. sides lawsuits, 75 demonstrators protested one New York "clinic" on May 8. The National Organization for Women has also filed suit seeking a nationwide injunction against three anti-abortion leaders who travel around the country organizing efforts to intimidate legitimate abortion clinics into going out of business.

Polish police have arrested Anna Walentynowicz for their continuing attempt to crush Solidarnosc. Walentynowicz has been an activist for over 15 years. Her defiance has taken many forms, from laying flowers in honor of murdered strikers to hunger strikes in prison. It was her firing, only weeks before she was to retire, that set off the shipyard workers strike that was the beginning of Solidarnosc in 1980. Her arrest will end it. FREE ANNA WALENTYNOWICZ!



GDANSK

AT&T strike: reports from the picket lines

New York, N.Y. — The 155,000 members of the Communication Workers of America (CWA) were forced to go on strike nationwide against AT&T on June 1 when the company insisted on drastic give-backs. At the picket line at the Canal Street building in Manhattan, one woman with 20 years at the phone company explained that AT&T is demanding a \$1,000 reduction in medical benefits, the elimination of cost of living allowance (COLA), the loss of two holidays, and the power to increase work hours from 35 to 40 a week with no increase in pay.

"I fought for a lot of these things over the years and they are trying to take them all back—no way," she said. "If they can afford to give the president a 5% increase, they can afford to give us one too."

"A contract is only words," one woman said. "The company always seems to find a way around it." One way AT&T gets around it is to hire "temporary help" who are not in the union. "We train them, and eventually they will take our jobs," one woman said. Between 1980 and 7,000 temporaries were hired the third day of the strike.

Another way of getting around the union is for AT&T to classify workers as "managers". AT&T has 110,000 "managers," one for every 1.8 workers.

One woman complained that the company had already virtually eliminated job descriptions, so workers are being given more and more work. The proposed contract would allow the company to downgrade a lot of jobs, she said, giving people even more work and less pay.

A maintenance worker said his work load has become heavier and heavier. "Sometimes conditions are unsafe. In December they had to knock down a wall, and they gave us a paper cup to cover our mouth to keep it all the dust."

When the New York Telephone workers tried to go back at the beginning of this strike, the company got an injunction against them. AT&T and the CWA had to agree to change the expiration date of the other union's contract so it would not expire at the same time. Now the New York Telephone workers are picketing in support on their lunch hour.

— Strike supporter

Detroit, Mich. — We counted up over 50 concessions in the contract AT&T wants us to swallow. They

want operators to take split shifts with a four-hour break. They want to lay-off technicians and bring them back at 50% less pay. They want to take away the COLA we won in the 1971 strike. They want us to pay



more for health benefits.

They want to cut pension benefits. I figured I would only get \$247 a month in benefits if I retired now — and that's after 25 years! They want to cut sick days and absent time.

This contract definitely discriminates against women. AT&T management came out publicly and said they have figured out that operators are paid \$20 a week too much! They think we don't need to support our families, or else they want us to live in poverty. They want us to take an 8% wage increase over three years—that's nothing! Operators start at \$219 a week, but with this two-tier contract, new people will never reach top pay (now \$430).

We have received more support now than any strike in the past, including from the public. We heard operators in Europe were supporting us by cutting off international calls. The local operators support us too. A lot of them come out and picket with us on their lunch hour. Their contract is up in August — they tell us to hold out until we get what we want, and they will join us then. And we will stay out until we get what we want.

I think any working person, especially union brothers and sisters, who feel they can't use AT&T in good conscience while we're out on strike and management and temporary workers are scabbing, should definitely go to another carrier (Sprint is unionized) and let AT&T know why you are switching.

— AT&T strikers

Rouge Steel lines drawn

Detroit, Mich.—Our contract at Ford Rouge Steel plant expires on July 31, and there still have not been any steps taken by our officers of UAW Ford Local 600 to negotiate anything. They said they would begin negotiations when they returned from the UAW Convention June 2-6, but decided to leave town for a week when they got back. We still don't know anything, except that it looks like both the local officers and Ford management are working to force concessions from us.

Our financial secretary, Bob King, has been quoted in the daily press as saying that Ford Rouge Steel lost a million dollars last year. Our local president, also named Bob King (we call them "Bob and Bob") is playing the safety angle for his own political reasons, telling the committeemen to "stack up" the safety grievances to give him a stronger hand in negotiations. But we know from past actions that this is nothing but talk.

We don't have health and safety provisions as part of our Rouge Steel contract, just safety procedures. It's a known fact that working on the coke ovens is one of the worst cancer-causing jobs around, and after working there for 30 days you're supposed to be monitored for your health on a regular basis, but that just doesn't happen. I don't know what I'm carrying around in me right now, but we know that there are plenty of workers who are dying, and have died, from working on those ovens.

The company has been reducing the workforce in the steel plant, and the union is doing nothing about it. We have a new battery that started up recently, and they have eliminated at least two people from each shift. We know that management is always trying to reduce the work force, but it is something else when the union supports management on cutting jobs.

We all say we're not going to take any more cuts, but you can't be sure what will happen. In 1983, the union allowed all Ford Rouge workers the opportunity to vote on the Rouge Steel contract because they knew the steelworkers would vote the contract down.

I believe only the steel workers should vote on the Rouge Steel contract. We have work and safety conditions no one else has, and we know better than anyone else, and especially the union bureaucrats, what we want and need.

We see all around us that the big wheels—both union and management—are all getting big bonuses and raises, with the workers being the ones forced to give concessions. It's way past time for us to start fighting back.

—Rouge steel worker

Worker sacrificed to profit

Los Angeles, Cal.—At the roofing tile company where I work there is a new attempt at speed-up. This plant has a foundation of machinery 30-40 years old and the company gets a profit of 130%. But that is not enough profit. So to stay competitive without costly machine investment the company was forced to cut back human labor.

The sand operator's job was eliminated. He is responsible for sifting out the granular rock from the sand that is used to give texture to the roofing tile. When his job was first cut out, the first shift workers shut down the line and were told by the manager to go home if they could not do their job. So the whole first shift kicked off the line.

The second shift was forced to work without the sand operator. The coating machine operator and press operator were to cover the sand operator's job plus their own. The coating machine operator burned his whole hand in 500° F asphalt due to the added job pressure and responsibility. Now the workers have no relief man and no lunch time.

The workers' resistance has shown itself through a reduction in production, from 1800 to 700 rolls of tile per hour shift. There is also a possibility of a strike July when our union contract is up for renewal.

This production-mad company will not be satisfied until it has exhausted labor to the bone and thrown us on a scrap heap like old burned-out machinery. Labor's only choice is to take the means of production out of their hands. This is the only way society can be free.

—Eugene Ford

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 3)

"team work" is to see how they can get more production from fewer workers. The only new thing that has been introduced into the sell-out game with Saturn is that the union committeeman becomes another foreman, making sure that the foreman's commands are carried out, just like in the Army.

That the union leadership should promote such an agreement is no surprise to me. Look at the Convention itself. All the bureaucrats were saying how democratic the UAW is, as opposed to the totalitarian way the Teamsters Convention is set up and run. But the truth is that the UAW Convention is not democratic.

You are sitting in a sea of 2,500 people. Each region has a microphone. Bieber recognizes the individuals who can come to the microphone—one person on each side of an issue—and more often than not he picks the regional director or the international rep. from the region, rather than a delegate elected by the rank and file!

It is true that there were some at the Convention who argued against Saturn and the Bieber leadership, just like there are some at the Van Nuys plant here in southern California who fought GM's proposed institution of the "Japanese-style team concept of production," which will soon come to Van Nuys.

But even the "opponents" call the debate one between "old style aggressive unionism" vs. "new style cooperative unionism of the 1980s," and by old style they don't mean the rank-and-file sit-down strikes that founded the UAW 50 years ago, but all the sell-outs negotiated by the so-called union "leaders" ever since.

S. AFRICAN RANK-AND-FILE LINKS

John Gomomo of the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union, affiliated with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), also attended the UAW Convention. What he told me about the direction of South African trade unions has very little in common with the sham democracy of the UAW Convention:

"Our hope is that we can build ties with rank-and-file workers in America. I work at a Volkswagen plant in Port Elizabeth, and we have direct shop steward to shop steward links with Volkswagen workers in Germany.

"Last year Volkswagen fired 320 workers who refused to work overtime; the workers said, 'Why should we work longer hours when there are so many unem-

ployed?' The workers demanded that the department head come to the shop floor to talk with us.

"At first management's attitude was very negative, but after we had contacted the German workers, and they put pressure on Volkswagen management there, management in Port Elizabeth changed their position. I could tell when we saw them after they had heard from Germany—the look on their faces as they talked to us had changed. Our workers were rehired.

"It is this type of link we are hoping to build with American workers.

"We are still young in trade union experience. There are differing internal tendencies in COSATU, but the federation is founded on a working-class line. The preamble to COSATU's constitution rejects the 'two stage' concept of revolution, that first is the anti-apartheid struggle and then the struggle for socialism.

"It is common for people to play around with words and call the two stages a 'process.' But look at Mugabe—Zimbabwe got caught in the first stage and now the labor laws and wages are worse than before. Once the Black middle class gets into power, it's difficult for them to pull out!

"For workers there is only one stage. If apartheid is ended but capitalism continues, workers will still be oppressed. We believe in democracy, in the trade unions, in the street and area committees, and in all the revolutionary organizations and the revolutionary movement. Workers must be in the lead of the struggle; we must make our voice and demands heard." *

* Remarks of John Gomomo also appear in the Jan.-Feb. 1986 N&L

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SOUTH AFRICA 1986: A WORLD REVOLUTIONARY IMPACT

The capitulation of the American news media to South African fascism's blackout, or rather "white-out," of coverage of the world-historic developments in South Africa on the tenth anniversary of the Soweto Uprising has not been totally successful. Human contacts are getting through. On June 16, a South African friend told me that he called home to Durban that day: "I asked my relative there what is happening. And he told me: 'I'll look out the window and count the tanks for you—there's one, two, three...'"

My South African friend also told me that recently he has been receiving letters every day from South African students who tell him of the new form of education that they have created. They call it "people's education." The students have taken over the schools and established their own curriculum, bringing in people to teach who they feel have something to offer to their political education. So much have revolution and education become one that instead of recessing for the summer they have decided to keep the schools open.

South African youth and workers are telling us how total must be our vision in the U.S., if we are to actually aid in changing the uneven balance of power in that vicious undeclared civil war in which only one side is armed.

Lou Turner
Chicago

At a recent meeting of the Free South Africa Movement in L.A. there was a big argument over private capitalism and corporate capital investment in South Africa. An "independent" Black Shell gas station owner was mad because his station was singled out for picketing, as part of a push to boycott all Shell stations. This was a mistake; the boycott was to have centered on a company-owned station for now.

The best way for this Black capitalist to get out from under the rock of picket signs would be for him to make a public statement of his opposition to Shell's investment in South Africa. One Black woman who had been on that picket line every Saturday for the past six weeks got highly upset. She told the gas station owner that she did not give a damn what color he was—oppression is oppression. She asked him, "Do you know what is going on in South Africa?"

Black worker
California

I went to visit a friend in prison here. He is a political prisoner, a very dedicated brother. We talked about the conditions in the prisons. There is an outbreak of cholera which was never reported by the authorities to the medical department until the whole thing got out of control. This resulted in the death of two prison brothers. More will likely die shortly. The prisoners have been without soap for six months now. When I hear the government claiming that there are no political prisoners in this country, I become wild...

I am involved now with others to launch an anti-apartheid society. We sent our Constitution and registration letter, but still the government did not reply to us. We shall continue with our program, but it is likely that we will not be legally registered. Here is another South Africa; they know the very conditions they have created in this country. It is a repressive regime and one must be prepared to die at any time.

Correspondent
The Gambia, Africa

Last month I heard Mary Mkhwanazi, an organizer for the South African Domestic Workers Association, speak on their union movement. It is a union for women who work as "housemaids" for white families. Even by South African standards, these domestic workers are badly off, since they don't have the solidarity of the workplace. Each individual woman faces a family of white bosses, and they are excluded from such few legal rights as Black industrial workers have, like compensation for in-

jury on the job.

The women who run the union are themselves former domestic servants, and they have done their best in this restrictive situation. They need our help.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

What I liked best about Michael Connolly's review-essay on the 1986 edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought* (June N&L) was the way it showed how different 1986 is from 1978 for the Third World revolutions, especially South Africa. In 1978 there was virtually no Black trade union movement; in 1986 Connolly shows that it is large and militant and that it is challenging all the Left parties by asking hard questions. The ANC Freedom Charter will never stand up in a revolution, and neither will the other party programs.

Anti-apartheid activist
Evanston, Illinois

When I read the article on "Miners' struggles: in America, in South Africa," (June N&L) I was so excited I almost jumped out of my seat.

I enjoyed reading about the South African woman who proved she was the "best man for the job," and about the relationship between workers in the U.S. and South Africa, and Marxist-Humanist philosophy.

Black worker
Los Angeles

I was interested in Mike Connolly's discussion of C.L.R. James' rejection of any concept of African roots for Caribbean Black culture. I was shocked by James' statements denying any such affinity. This led me to remember another disturbing passage I found in an article by James on Haiti. I found the following lines on Haitian independence in a 1964 article reprinted by James in his 1984 collection, *At the Rendez-Vous of Victory*: "Toussaint was deported and imprisoned, and the independence was won by his barbaric lieutenant, Dessalines, under the slogan 'eternal hatred to France.' For this divorce from Western civilization Haiti has paid dearly." I find that a rather curious explanation for Haiti's problems of today, smacking of Eurocentrism and elitism toward the world's first Black revolution.

Intellectual
De Kalb, Ill.



IN THE
AFTERMATH
OF
CHERNOBYL

The title of the article, "Does Chernobyl nuclear reactor show us our future," (June N&L) was very good. I am a pre-med student, and I'm worried about the direction science is going in today. The threat from nuclear reactors shows you that the idea of science helping the world solve its problems has gotten lost. It's not only a problem about nuclear power. I worry about genetic engineering and other developments in science. Many of the students in my class are going into medicine for a career; they want good money. I want to help people, to change conditions. Not many of them understand why I'm doing this...

Pre-med student
Univ. of Illinois-Chicago

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. But this is only one example of how high-tech is

Readers' Views

unsafe for human lives...

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.

Correspondent
Milan, Italy

FIGHTING GIVEBACKS

The government and the corporations are so full of lies and trickery, and they try to use language to cover up what they're doing. Look at Reagan—as soon as he came into office he changed the way the unemployment rate is calculated. Now AT&T is offering us a concessions contract, with a multi-tiered wage system, but they're not calling it "two tier"; they actually say they're creating jobs!!

They tell us no one will be forced to accept one of the lower-paid new jobs, but if we don't want to take that lower-paid position after the one-year transition period, we can "choose" to "separate ourselves from the company"! These games and tricks are teaching me how much this whole capitalist system is based upon a lie.

Striking AT&T technician
Los Angeles

Thanks for your coverage of May Day (June N&L). Your view of the Haymarket events in Chicago corresponds to what I saw when I was there. I also liked the fact that the reports had South Africa and Poland, plus meatpacking workers in Iowa and Nebraska.

Young activist
New York City

I've been looking at data for the U.S. economy in the 1970s. Productivity (hourly output) rose on average less than 1.1% between 1969 and 1980, and actually fell during three of those years. This decline in productivity growth, which seriously worries bourgeois economists, is closely connected both to the decline in the rate of profit (down 27% from the previous decade) and to the rapid introduction of automation in the 1970s.

Years of high net investment in durable producers' equipment (machinery) were followed by declining productivity growth. Automation hasn't produced the results capitalism wanted. To understand the data better, I'd be interested in hearing from production workers about how they have responded to the new automation.

Economist
Univ. of Utah

ASIAN CRISIS: THE PHILIPPINES...

The dialogue with Philippine youth (May N&L) was very interesting, but I wish that the writer from Manila had been more specific about the furor over ideas on campus. The guerrilla movement is important there, but N&L doesn't mention it much. It isn't concrete enough. Revolution isn't just "people power," but ongoing events. N&L should be harder on Marcos and the debt; you give a blurred picture of what Aquino is saying and doing.

Veteran socialist
Oakland, Calif.

I heard a former missionary who just returned from visiting the Philippines, Sister Blaise, speak. She was stunned at the military presence all over the country, and the continued daily deaths. "The revolution had no meaning" in many parts of the country, she said. In some places, the New People's Army is the only government. She described a town in Davao where the people built the entire town themselves out of coral, provide their own health care and are trying to solve the problems of poverty

and unemployment themselves. In other places such as Negros, sugarworkers are actually starving to death. Thousands of workers struck 78 haciendas in Negros in March to protest starvation wages.

Sister Blaise stressed the difference the effect of the Aquino revolution in Manila. There, a flood of new newspapers and information has resulted. There is also new antagonism among groups working for social change, and that the unity around ousting Marcos is gone. She described the Urban Poverty Association in slum areas where the people are trying to deepen the revolution. They protect their own neighborhoods by keeping the military out; 50 or 100 people will turn out in an instant to protect each other.

Activist
Manhattan, N.Y.

... AND SOUTH KOREA

What John Marcotte wrote on "Conditions of labor in South Korea" (June N&L) was right. I have talked to several Korean students in the U.S. this year, and all of them say conditions in their country are intolerable. The workers are driven like slaves in the factories (and most of them are U.S.-owned); the students are spied upon and harassed for political protest on the campuses. There will be an explosion in South Korea, and the U.S. troops there will be in the tight spot. Already students say that U.S. soldiers have to watch their step...

Student
Ann Arbor, Mich.



ON O
CRITIC
DE BEAUVOIR

It's been years since I read *The Second Sex* by Simone de Beauvoir. I remember that, as impressed as I was by both her scholarship and her analytical abilities, I felt unsatisfied. Olga Domski's column (June N&L) has articulated some of my impressions.

De Beauvoir described the condition of women throughout history as that of victims, which we certainly have been. But instead of emphasizing women's will, historically and internationally, challenge the status quo through individual and group self-development, I concluded that women as a whole have become so stunted in our ability to live our own lives creatively that our liberation should ultimately be provided by enlightened men. This attitude appears to me to betray a lack of confidence in what women have been, are, and will be.

Feminist
Los Angeles

WARS THEN AND NOW

I was with the Vietnam Veterans Against the War contingent at the Vietnam Veterans memorial demonstration. While apprehensive at first, I was surprised to see how well the anti-war veterans were received by both the Vietnam veterans and the crowd. The reality of the event as I saw it was pretty apolitical. It was so far removed from the TV coverage featuring Gen. Westmoreland that I turned off the TV in disgust. That super-patriotism is not what I saw on the streets of Chicago.

Anti-war activist
Chicago

Reagan and Qaddafi, if they want to fight, they should put the gloves on Caesar's Palace and have it out. Vietnam should send the young people to die for them?

Black youth
Brooklyn, N.Y.

MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES ENLIVEN DISCUSSIONS

What struck me about Raya Dunayevskaya's "Open Letter to Paul Buhle" (June N&L) revolves around archives and what happens to oral history in the hands of intellectuals. Intellectuals seem to use oral history for the most malicious of purposes. It is shocking to see what an intellectual, especially a politico, does in an oral history interview. Raya calls our attention to the absolute fabrication that Grace Lee Boggs creates in her interview, how she turns upside down the facts of the split between Dunayevskaya and James. Oral history was originally developed as a way to recapture the ideas and activities of people who were not always able to write down their thoughts and experiences, those who were deprived of the tools of writing by class society. Here it is something very different.

The contrast to Dunayevskaya's archives (which I'm now studying), with its 10,000 pages filled with history and philosophy, could not be clearer. Dunayevskaya presented the development of the idea of Marxist-Humanism in documents as they were written at the time, not as they were re-written later.

Archivist
Illinois

At a Soweto Day rally here a supporter of a Trotskyist organization bought a copy of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*. Then she began asking about Marxist-Humanism's critique of Trotskyism, about Raya's work with Trotsky in the 1930s, and how the idea of Marxist-Humanism emerged out of the critique of Trotsky. Her interest was genuine, and the discussion was good. What helped so much was that we could have the discussion while looking at Raya's "Retrospective and Perspective" on her Archives. It made the conversation much more concrete.

Committee member
Chicago

I've been following for almost 20 years the activities and views of News and Letters Committees as expounded mainly by Raya Dunayevskaya. The

basic postulates of Marxist-Humanism and the need to formulate a new philosophy fused with practice are acceptable to me. But what I'm unable to comprehend and detect in Raya's theoretic-philosophic writings and her political commentaries is the question of how the comprehension and assimilation of Raya's ideas by the workers, the oppressed women, youth and minorities will turn them into an organized political force, able to intervene effectively in the revolutionary process and transform the capitalist jungle into an egalitarian socialist society.

Since you reject the "elitist vanguard party" concept—but unlike the anarchists you do not reject the Marxist concept of the state and the need of the oppressed to seize political power as a transitory stage to the classless-stateless society—you don't point out by whom and how it is to be achieved politically and organizationally...

Nachum Sneh
Beer-Sheva, Israel

The Marxist-Humanist Archives—and in particular the period of the break-up of the state-capitalist tendency in the 1950s, with Dunayevskaya breaking from C.L.R. James and Grace Lee Boggs—came alive to me in a new way recently in the course of a discussion with an activist who had been looking into different radical tendencies.

He had been reading some material by Grace and James Boggs, and his comments on the American workers echoed their position—that workers are conditioned into the system, that they're not political or revolutionary. I recalled the different reactions of Grace Boggs and Dunayevskaya at the time of Stalin's death in 1953. The only voices of American workers that Boggs heard were those of workers who ignored the news of Stalin's death and discussed hamburger recipes, whereas Dunayevskaya elicited from Charles Denby the magnificent expression from his shop floor, "We have just the person to take Stalin's place, our foreman." The differences have intensified since.

Women's Liberationist
Los Angeles

APPEAL FROM HAITI

Organization Nationale de Defense de la Jeunesse (National Organization for the Defense of Youth) and our newspaper, *Jeunesse en Action* (Youth in Action) were founded this year in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Our main objective is to defend youths of all social strata (peasants, workers, students, unemployed) and especially to support them in those demands which we regard as honest and just.

ORNADEJE has several affiliates around the country: in Gonaives, Cap-Haitien, Petit-Goave and Petite Riviere de l'Artibonite.

ORNADEJE and the paper *Jeunesse en Action* face many economic problems. For example, we have a debt of \$800, staff who need salaries, many bills to pay, printing of the paper (which costs \$600 every two weeks). In addition, we would like to buy a typesetting machine so that *Jeunesse en Action* can become a weekly. We hope for understanding and ask for urgent financial aid.

Please send check to:

Renan Hedouville
Delmas 24: Rue Leonabo #50
Port-au-Prince, Haiti



**'FREEDOM
ROCK':
CONSPIRACY
OF
HOPE**

Amnesty International (AI), the worldwide human rights organization, is marking its twenty-fifth anniversary this year. In June, it enlisted the help of some of the biggest names in rock-and-roll to take part in a six-city "Let Freedom Rock: A Conspiracy of Hope" concert tour, to raise public awareness about the organization and its goals.

The six-hour concert was exhausting but inspiring. Musicians and fans gathered to have fun while remembering the inhumanity in this world and vowing to use our freedom—while it still exists—

to work for others.

Some people were there just to see big names, but most of the audience seemed receptive to the message behind the music, and many visited the literature tables for more information on AI. The organization's objectives are: the release of all prisoners of conscience; fair and prompt trials for all political prisoners; an end to torture and executions in all cases. AI publicizes the cases of political prisoners and torture victims in all countries of the world, under all systems of government.

For more information about Amnesty International, please write: AIUSA, 322 Eighth Ave., NYC, NY 10001.

Reader
Los Angeles

SALVADORAN REFUGEES

The desolation in my country, El Salvador, is terrible. So many have been killed. I had to pay 20,000 Colonos (about \$3500) to leave with my family. I've been here six months. In El Salvador, they picture life here in rose colors, but now I know how hard it is to survive here. And of course the government here won't give us asylum; that would go against their politics in my country.

Salvadoran worker
New York City

AS READERS SEE US

What I like about the paper are the great international articles. It gives me a good picture of what's going on around the world. What I don't like is that many of the articles are so deep that I really have a hard time understanding them. Sometimes I need a dictionary to read it. I like the "Readers' Views" section. I always read Lou Turner's column and the women's page, but there are not enough articles on women of color.

Subscriber
Chicago

Who is your magnificent 14-year-old cartoonist? Let's see more of his/her work in N&L!

Reader
California

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board
Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion
by Raya Dunayevskaya 75¢ per copy
- Working Women for Freedom
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Latin America's Revolutions
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, by Lou Turner and John Alan
New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan
Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o \$3 per copy
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by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitriyev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 20¢ postage
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Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1.00 per copy
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by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- Subscriptions to News & Letters
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year \$2.50 per year
- Bound volume of News & Letters (Aug. 1977 to May 1984) \$20.00 per copy

ARCHIVES

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

BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future 294 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95 (\$38.50 hardcover)
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution 234 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 to today
1982 edition. New introduction by author 381 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao
1982 edition. New introduction by author 372 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal Life in the South and North
by Charles Denby 298 pgs.
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In-person report: Albert Market fire exposes Gambia crisis

Serre Kunda, The Gambia—The Albert Market is a colonial building, thus the name becomes today a colonial symbol. It is situated in the central part of the capital city of Banjul and is the main centre of economic activity in the country. This market contains millions of Dalasis (Gambian unit of exchange) worth of goods and cash. It also serves as the main centre for "gray marketeering."

This mighty building was one night swallowed in a wild fire that started about 3:30 am. The market

U.S. 3M workers supported by S. African 3M strike

San Francisco, Calif. — At the union hall of the local (ILWU 10) that spearheaded last year's worker actions boycotting South African cargo, a new kind of worker solidarity meeting was held on June 7. It was about a solidarity action Black workers at 3M in Johannesburg staged in support of workers at 3M in Freehold, N.J.

Stanley Fischer, President of Local 8-760 of OCAW, spoke of U.S. workers fighting the shutdown of 3M's Freehold plant. Fischer said the 25-year-old plant was on a steady six-day week. 3M milked the plant, refusing to upgrade critical machinery and now is abandoning 450 workers there. As a possible solution, Fischer talked of a need for a super-fund to retrain workers, like himself, for whom there is no job that requires a skill he developed over 17 years.

When searching for support from 3M workers internationally, a response came last year when Emma Mashinini, head of the Commercial Catering & Allied Workers Union of South Africa, visited the U.S. and took OCAW T-shirts ("3M DON'T ABANDON FREEHOLD") back to 3M workers in Johannesburg. We then saw a video showing a spirited demonstration of 300 Black South African workers all wearing OCAW T-shirts. They risked their lives staging a four-hour strike on Feb. 27 as they marched to deliver a declaration to 3M in support of their brothers and sisters in Freehold.

The next speaker was greeted with a standing ovation. He was Amon Msane, a 3M shop steward for Commercial Catering & Allied Workers Union of South Africa (affiliated with COSATU). Here is some of what he said:

burned to ashes and left poor merchants with nothing to count on again. This great havoc drove poor merchants to madness. One among the merchants was said to have fainted immediately when he appeared on the scene.

The question has been: How can the whole market catch fire at the same time that a similar case was taking place some 7 kilometers away from the city, at the Gambia Technical Training Institute? This convinced both the state and the people that it was sabotage.

Comrades, I greet you in the name of freedom-loving people of the world. I doubt you will see me ever again. I work for 3M. I am also based in community activities, presently working on June 16th (the 10th anniversary of the Soweto Uprising). In our union we believe in trying to put some flesh on the bones of international solidarity. That's why we greeted with both hands the opportunity to show solidarity with Freehold.

Corporations deal with us globally. We have to cement this link of international solidarity. We can't fight corporations with capital. We have to fight them with the power of labor. It is time we came together by withdrawing our labor and strengthening the power of labor.

Some who are misinformed say Blacks will suffer if corporations pull out due to divestment. We have been experiencing pain long before companies came to South Africa. Companies like 3M came 30 years ago with the message that they are trying to help. In 30 years they have done nothing but strengthen the government of South Africa. We are in a fight against apartheid and are in great danger. Divestment will help in that fight.

The National Education Crisis Committee has been created to arrange for June 16th. We are going to march to Pretoria with T-shirts of all the banned organizations. On the 18th we are planning to visit the graves of our fallen heroes. The government has banned all meetings for June. We are preparing for confrontations. Brace yourselves for these events. COSATU and the new organizations again will test their strength.

The dying mule of apartheid is kicking hard. We are not prepared to listen to all these banning orders and we express our appreciation for all your support.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by Lou Turner and John Alan

Late this spring, during the anti-apartheid protest meetings at the University of California-Berkeley campus, many speakers mentioned the fact that each year there are fewer and fewer Black students and faculty at UCB. This is not a trend that is peculiar to UCB alone but a part of the dramatic drop in Black enrollment in colleges and universities that started a decade ago when the institutions of higher education began to slow down their recruitment of Black youth from the inner city ghettos.

Since 1976, the peak year of Black undergraduate enrollment as well as the hiring of tenure-track Black faculty, there has been a 30-50% decline in the Black presence at every major white university in the country.

University administrators have hastened to account for this decline by pointing to severe cuts that the Reagan administration has made in federal educational grants and compensatory education programs that were set up to seek out and aid economically disadvantaged youth. This, they say, along with the inferior education that Black youth received in the urban ghetto secondary schools, is the main reason fewer and fewer Black students are in attendance.

However, a total picture of what is now happening to Blacks on the campuses of the elite universities cannot be related wholly to Black poverty, to the incomplete educational foundation received by Black youth in ghetto schools or even to the everyday presence of racism, no matter how subtle, that haunts the academic campus lives of Blacks. We need a historical/theoretical understanding of its roots, as well as the class nature of American higher education.

It can be said that Black education in this country, while it suffered from the domination of racism, as well as the domination of American capitalist interests, is at the same time closely connected to the idea of Black freedom. Thus, it has historically been a battleground.

In our time the Civil Rights Movement and the urban mass revolts broke the racial barriers of the elite universities, sending for the first time in American history an appreciable number of Black students onto those campuses. Their entrance into elite education was a continuation of the Black freedom struggle. From the very beginning the Black student movement demanded that Black history be added to the curriculum.

The idea of adding Black history to the curriculum drew the greatest ideological opposition from white academics. Charges went around that such a course contained ideological bias, that it was infused with revolutionary commitment, and thus an educational disaster.

Blacks on white campuses

The significance of Black history had become one of seeing the continuity of the Black struggle for freedom by unifying education and the idea of freedom. This was the "theoretical" high point of the Black student movement. In content, it went beyond the withering criticism that white students had directed against the universities for being nothing more than the alienating extension of America's corporate capitalism.

In January 1969, *News & Letters* carried an editorial defending Black history on the ground that "this revolutionary Black consciousness will hopefully lead to a demand by white students that the real history of America...be taught in all schools. It is not Black people but especially white people who need to know the history of this country. This is not 'educational reform' but a part of the revolutionary movement."

Today, Black students at UCB feel that they are neglected or steered into courses that they don't want by aggressive white professors. But the original highpoint of the Black studies period still offers a new beginning.

Soweto Day march

(continued from page 3)

to me that until now there's just been a trading of faces."

Many others, from countries as far away from each other as Nigeria and Belize, Ghana and St. Kitts, bought copies of *Franz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* and took part in this exchange, giving new life to the three-way road of revolutionary ideas between Africa, the Caribbean and the U.S. June 14 in the U.S. and June 16 in South Africa set the stage for new developments in a truly international setting.

— Laurie Cashdan

Haitian general strike

A general strike shut down the capital, Port au-Prince, once again on June 10. Strikers were following a call by diverse Left and liberal opposition groups, including the Autonomous Center of Haitian Workers, the Committee for Democratic Unity, Women of Haiti, and others. The opposition groups are demanding the resignation of Duvalierist ministers in the National Governing Council (CNG). The general strike followed weeks of demonstrations where barricades sometimes went up, and people were killed by the army.

BANJUL RESPONSE

There have been lots of analyses as to the cause of the fire, both in local newspapers and on street corners. It has been said that the government made a secret conclusion that it was sabotage by an underground political movement. Immediately, government forces were deployed in strategic places which were also rumored to have been a target for similar sabotage. Armed men can still be found in these strategic areas.

The analysis made by the people confirms that it was sabotage by the government itself. Some people concluded the government did it so as to cripple the Gambian economy and/or to increase their forces in the country by spreading false rumors that it was sabotage by a clandestine organization. This was why immediately after the incident all the foreign diplomats were invited by the Banjul City Council to visit the site. Since then funds have been pumping in. In fact, the American Embassy promised to rebuild the market, and the British Embassy also promised to participate; other embassies promised the same.

UNRAVELING OF SENEGAL-GAMBIA?

Since the launching of the Senegal-Gambia confederation in 1981, which followed the 1981 coup and the intervention of Senegalese forces in the country, many agreements have been laid down, especially defense, security and economics. On the economic level especially, little or nothing has been realized, and both the Senegalese press and government have been accusing their Gambian counterparts of being slow with the whole process, which, of course, means the economic agreements.

In the economic agreements, it is stated that there should be a common monetary union. Senegal is a
(continued on page 10)

- New expanded edition
 - Introduction/Overview by Lou Turner, John Alan and Raya Dunayevskaya
 - Rene Depestre on Negritude
 - Ngugi wa Thiong'o on language and literature
 - Raya Dunayevskaya on revolution and counter-revolution in Grenada
- To order see literature list on page 7.



BLACK WORLD

(continued on page 3)

a single year in the United States. I was leading a strike against the school principal...She forced all to memorize *Shylock's* speech, where he demands his pound of flesh...The story took place in 1924 in the Cregier public school in a Chicago ghetto. I credited my supposed bravery to the Russian Revolution of November, 1917, which had burst upon the scene six years previously and had left an indelible impression on me of great doings, like equality and comradeship.

LIBERTY AND BLACK THOUGHT

That red coloration also extended to the Garvey movement, itself a product of the convergence of the Black mass migrations from the South that came with the cessation of European immigration at the outbreak of World War I, with the great influx of Blacks from the West Indies.

Finally, it is because migration and movement have always been at the core of the African-American experience that whether as trans-Atlantic trading in slaves, molasses and rum, as forced migration out of the South, or as immigration within the Black diaspora, the freedom of movement and of ideas has molded the very form of Black thought. It is with that realization that Frederick Douglass' 4th of July address of 1852 speaks to us, on the eve of the 4th of July/Statue of Liberty Centennial in 1986:

What, to the American (Negro), is your Fourth of July? I answer, a day that reveals to him, more than all other days in the year, the gross injustice and cruelty to which he is the constant victim. To him, your celebration is a sham; your boasted liberty, an unholy license; your national greatness, swelling vanity; your sounds of rejoicing are empty and heartless; your shouts of liberty and equality, hollow mockery; your prayers and hymns, your sermons and thanksgivings, with all your religious parade and solemnity, are, to him, mere bombast, fraud, deception, impiety, and hypocrisy—a thin veil to cover up crimes which would disgrace a nation of savages. There is not a nation on earth guilty of practices more shocking and more bloody than are the people of these United States at this hour.

YOUTH

After Chernobyl: the questioning deepens

by Sheila I. Fuller

"The moment I heard of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, I was terrified. I ran home after school to turn on the television news. The next day at school, people were making jokes about it. But I think it was a way of showing they were terrified. I kept thinking that almost any job in this society can be deadly. But it is very hard for us to talk about these questions because teachers and some students label you as if you are a Communist." So spoke a Chicago high school student.

He is not alone. In the past two months, we have seen the beginning of a wave of anti-nuclear demonstrations in the wake of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster:

- In West Germany, 40,000 walked for three hours through police blockades to demonstrate at the Brokdorf nuclear power plant on June 8.

- In Poland, thousands demonstrated in Warsaw demanding full information on the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and the release of Solidarity leader Zbigniew Bujak.

- In Russia itself, even limited reports on the 60,000 children from the Kiev area who have been relocated to "summer camps" could not hide the depth of youth questioning about the whereabouts of their parents and their own future.

YOUTH IN THE U.S.

And here in the U.S., youth are thinking of and acting against the danger of a nuclear holocaust. On May 30, hundreds from all over the U.S. gathered at the Nevada test site near Las Vegas for a three-day protest against all nuclear testing. As one Utahian said: "We are concerned about the continued downward radiation dangers from the U.S. testing programs. In the last 'Mighty Oak' test, two of the three containment doors in the detonation tunnel failed to close. Radiation was leaked and two workers were irradiated. But the Department of Energy lied about all these events. We cannot take seriously their assessments that we are not at risk."

In New Hampshire, 1,500 blockaded the Seabrook nuclear plant which is adjacent to a beach where thousands swim everyday. They are continuing the protest against the opening of the plant this month.

The new questioning among youth after the Chernobyl disaster has not been recorded. Last month Gary Clark wrote his column for News & Letters on the youth opposition to Reagan's war drive and the new questioning among high school students in Los Angeles. This month, I had a chance to share his column with some youth in Chicago to continue the discussion.

AFTER THE LIBYA BOMBING

One young divestment activist told me of his own reaction to the Chernobyl disaster: "I kept thinking of what a nuclear disaster would mean in Illinois where there are so many nuclear power plants around Lake Michigan. If a nuclear disaster happens here, that is the end of the Great Lakes water source. The nuclear industry is not the only one that has no regard for human beings. My brother, who worked for a chemical company, used to come home with burns on his arms every night. After Reagan's bombing of Libya, my friends and I vowed that if the draft starts again, we would get arrested but not fight for the war machine."

Another anti-war activist, from De Kalb, told me of

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Three fraternity members at Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore firebombed an anti-apartheid shanty there on May 24, severely burning Kevin Archer, one of three students inside the shanty at the time. Another shanty was destroyed May 26 at the University of Washington in Seattle. The administration of Dartmouth College in New Hampshire demonstrated its disregard for human life by reducing the sentences of several anti-divestiture vandals. One student protesting the sentence reductions, Rajiv Menon, was arrested for trying to participate in commencement ceremonies from which he had been banned.

About 200 African students marched through Beijing June 7, protesting racism in China. On May 24, 400 Chinese students attacked a group of African and other international students who were holding a party for African Liberation Day.

Continuing student unrest in Nigeria was met by the closing of at least 12 universities at the end of May. The protests spread like wildfire after police killed 19 students at Ahmadu Bello University in Zaria. The students had been demonstrating against the suspension of two students who had helped organize a commemoration of students killed in protests in 1976.

Six young Czechoslovakian workers were sentenced to up to 20 months in prison in late April. The punishment was for putting up posters and painting slogans opposing the installation of Russian missiles in Czechoslovakia.

the new youth who had come to an anti-war teach-in at his university after the bombing of Libya. "Many of us are sure that we are not going to fight in Reagan's war, but we want to have a view of history and a world view to fight Reagan's ideology — he that labels any opposition to himself as pro-Libya or pro-Russia."

Reaganism seeks to silence Latino dimension



New immigration police

Los Angeles, Cal.—I work for a labor union which represents employees who work for the City Housing Authority, a federally-funded agency. The federal government, through Housing and Urban Development (HUD), has recently issued a ruling requiring all housing authorities around the country to check that prospective and current tenants in publicly-assisted housing are U.S. citizens.

These regulations will be especially devastating in Los Angeles, with its large undocumented population. Any adult member of a household who is "illegal" may be forced into the streets beginning July 30.

The union I work for has not taken a strong stand against these new regulations. It makes Housing Authority employees into immigration enforcement officers! The union says it cannot afford to sue to stop these regulations, and it "hopes" some poverty lawyers will take this issue to court instead.

This do-nothing stance is prompting many workers

"Accuracy" in Academia

This spring I had the dubious distinction of hearing Reed Irvine, the far-right-wing founder of "Accuracy in Academia." In its 18-month existence, this group has organized rightist students around the country to monitor the political orientations of their professors. It also publishes a newspaper, Campus Report, which attempts to blacklist and vilify those with a Leftist political orientation. I was interested in hearing Mr. Irvine's presentation because as a Marxist-Humanist sociology teacher, I am one of those Accuracy in Academia wishes to purge from the teaching profession.

But as the meeting proceeded, the content of the discussion became almost totally focused on abstract questions of political tolerance. The audience of sociologists was absorbed in an attempt to convince Mr. Irvine that his project, if successful, would undermine the "free marketplace of ideas." The assumption on the part of the sociology professors seemed to be, if only they could convince Mr. Irvine through an academic discourse of the errors of his ways, he would cease Accuracy in Academia's attack on the American Left.

What these sociology "experts" could not comprehend is that Accuracy in Academia is a material force in Reagan's America. Accuracy in Academia is not acting alone: it has close ties to many far-right groups and to the U.S. government, especially the Departments of Defense and Justice. The organization that constitutes the nexus for Accuracy in Academia is the Institute for Educational Affairs, which was founded by William P. Simon, former Secretary of the Treasury. This institute funds such rightist college journals as the Centerpoint (University of Chicago), which received \$27,955 from 1981-83.

Some of the corporate sponsors of this group include Coca-Cola, Dow Chemical, General Motors, Boise-Cascade and Smith-Kline-Beckman. Its government connections include Kenneth Cribb, who is a special assistant to Edwin Meese, and Robert Schadler, a top administrator in the U.S. Information Agency.

It is hardly sufficient for teachers or their organizations to denounce Accuracy in Academia for the threat it poses to campus freedom of speech. The university is not some "free marketplace of ideas" but rather a battleground where the struggles for minds occur. It is necessary for youth, women, minorities and workers to develop their ideas of freedom and organize not only against Accuracy in Academia but the whole right-wing organizational matrix out of which it emerges.

—Sasha Hasan

Under the impact of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, there is no doubt that youth, whether in Germany or Poland, whether in the U.S. or Russia, are questioning not only nuclear power but the whole basis of this society. They are not waiting for Reagan or Gorbachev to decide our fate but are beginning a deeper questioning.

within the union to ask, why doesn't the union protest these regulations or encourage union members to join the sanctuary movement? Already sanctuary movement support groups are picketing the Housing Authority offices.

At a union meeting where these new regulations were discussed, one rank-and-file member stated: "I work in a project where over half of the tenants are undocumented. They are wonderful, hardworking people and it would be a crime for them to be put out on the street and made homeless. We should be getting involved to try and stop this!"

Hopefully we will be able to stop this latest retrogressive move of the Reagan administration, and begin to change this society into a human one.

—Sanctuary supporter

A voice from El Salvador

Los Angeles, Cal.—What I have learned about life here in the U.S. is that they give you slave wages and you have no rights. Right now I'm working two jobs, seven days a week, so I can pay my rent and expenses. It's no different from anywhere else in the world. People want to do the work that is fulfilling, to be able to think and not be a machine.

I've been parking cars for seven years. I went to the unemployment office and said I was looking for a better job, but they told me I had no skills. When I came out, a man approached me and said he could get government money to send me to school for job training in tele-communications. I could earn \$16 an hour.

This man kept phoning me and saying, "You deserve a better life," so I went and took this test. They told me I passed, but that I needed training and I would have to pay some money. I took the course, but later they said they couldn't find jobs anymore. The system we were trained to operate is now obsolete. So after four months of hard studying, spending lots of money, thinking of really accomplishing something—here I'm doing the same job again.

My brother works at the airport. Parking-lot workers were told to go to immigration and get a "sticker" to wear that shows they're "legal". To me this is no different than what they did to the Jews in Nazi Germany, branding them like horses. The sticker has a picture of the Statue of Liberty on it. What cynicism! My brother drew a picture of Reagan alongside Hitler. This is what Reagan means to us who have experienced his policies, both here and in El Salvador.

—Salvadoran in the U.S.

Navajo struggle continues

Chicago, IL.—A recent meeting on the University of Illinois-Chicago campus demonstrated that the struggle of the Dineh (Navajo) people for their land (see Shainape Shcapwe, "Native Americans in U.S., in Nicaragua," News & Letters, May 1986) continues. The meeting, attended by about 40 students, was held to organize support for the resistance to the forced relocation of Navajo Indians which was to occur on July 8, 1986.

A slide show presented at the meeting, called "In Defense of Sacred Land," told the history of the struggle between the Indian Tribal Council set up by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and those opposing the relocation. Both the Dineh and the Hopi people are matrilineal societies, and the slide show showed that much of the opposition to the tribal councils and relocation is led by the women.

Over the past few months the 500 families who have refused to leave their land have been harassed by the government and coal and uranium companies. The Air Force has been flying jet fighters over the Big Mountain area, creating massive sonic booms. The coal companies are using so much water to move coal off the reservation that the water table has dropped significantly.

The Dineh, some of whom are shepherders, are finding it more and more difficult to survive on the low water levels. In addition, the government has limited the number of sheep each family can have to where it is impossible for the families to make a liveable income.

Although the government—for now at least—has called off its forced relocation of the Dineh that it originally planned for July 7, the struggle at Big Mountain continues. As one Dineh woman said, "to leave our land is to lose the rhythm of the earth."

—Lily Hunt

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Massive strikes in Belgium

Throughout May and into June, the Belgian working class—both in the French-speaking South and the Flemish-speaking North—has been united, determined and militantly active by the thousands in a way seldom seen since World War II. The immediate issue is worker outrage against Reagan-type budget cuts and lay-offs. The conservative Wilfried Martens government wants to let healthcare costs skyrocket, while cutting unemployment benefits, raising the retirement age, increasing the length of military service and doubling university tuition. All this occurs at a time when unemployment is a staggering 14%, 500,000 out of work.

The working class has struck by the hundreds of thousands in recent weeks, having to pressure its trade union leaders to act every step of the way. In the industrial town of Charleroi, railroad workers voted to send a message to their union leader, Vandembroucke, demanding the "calling of a national, unified labor action." Everywhere, as in the defeated 1983 general strike, "also against Martens," the railroad workers are in the forefront. But this time the anger and self-organization are deeper, as is the distrust of the labor bureaucracy.

Canadian meatpackers

Meatpackers at Gainers in Edmonton, Alberta, have been locked in a bitter strike since the beginning of June. Two years ago, the Gainers workers accepted a contract providing for a two-tier wage system and work rule changes in overtime, among other concessions. This year, they are refusing to give up anything. A week into the strike, on June 7, 3,000 strikers and supporters marched on the Gainers plant in a line five blocks long.

The strike has shattered the image of Alberta as a haven of "labor peace." Striking workers of Local 280, United Food and Commercial Workers, turned out en masse to block busloads of scabs. The Edmonton police, clad in full riot gear, responded with flying-wedge charges against the pickets to allow the scabs into the plant. At midweek, the company won a court injunction limiting the number and location of pickets. After over 350 pickets were arrested the first week of the strike, the courts handed down a decision limiting the number of strikers picketing the plant to three per gate. In response, the next week over 7,000 workers came to the plant to demonstrate their refusal to capitulate.

Peter Pocklington, multimillionaire owner of Gainers and of the Edmonton Oilers hockey team, is a free enterprise fungus common in the era of Reaganism. He has called the workers "terrorists" for striking and refusing to take his suggested "market value" wage of around \$7.50 an hour. Scabs are being paid around \$8 an hour to break the strike. Of Pocklington's frequent references to the "days of Adam Smith," one striker said that was when workers slaved in sweatshops and children crawled through the mines. The workers have renamed the Edmonton cops "Pocklington's Private Police," and have drawn the line at the obvious attempt at union busting.

The collapse of Alberta's oil boom has resulted in an unemployed army of around 100,000 in Edmonton and Calgary and, unfortunately, scabs for Pocklington. As capitalist labor laws now stand in Alberta, a company can shut down and lock out its workers, and then reopen with new workers, slave wages and no union. The striking Gainers workers clearly do not intend for this to happen, and Gainers could become the Canadian word for Hormel.

The Gambia in crisis

(continued from page 8)

member of the C.F.A. (Communite Francaise Afrique) zone and, without a doubt, the C.F.A. Franc will serve as the currency. The Gambian bourgeoisie is now more concerned with the political effects of changing the currency to C.F.A. Francs. Thus, they are still dragging their feet. Senegal, being conscious of this, could embark on sabotage to cripple the Gambian economy, which is almost bankrupt and has virtually no foreign exchange deposits for imports. Since the Albert Market crisis the C.F.A. Franc is daily rising against the Dalasi, especially in the gray market. And goods are becoming cheaper in Senegal than in The Gambia.

The prices of goods have been rising daily beyond the reach of the workers. At times the price of a bag of rice, which is the staple food in the country, is equivalent to two months salary of the average Gambian worker. The prices of almost all essential goods have risen up to 50% and more, and 1,000 workers have been terminated in different government departments. The gray market also grew in strength, giving many problems to the banks, which are seriously in need of foreign currency. Thus, the state becomes more repressive and confused.

—Ba Karang

Xu Wenli, Chinese dissident

Xu Wenli, former editor of the Chinese dissident journal *April Fifth Forum* and a political prisoner for five years in Beijing, smuggled out to the world a 262-page manuscript titled "My Self-Defense." It is dated Dec. 12, 1984. A recently-published English translation begins with Xu's description of the time between the government's suppression of *April Fifth Forum* in 1980, and his own arrest in April 1981. Though the Deng government had already arrested and thrown in jail a large number of the dissidents who put out the hundreds of journals during Beijing Spring years, Xu reports that his serious theoretical discussions continued, particularly his critique of the One-Party State and the Chinese Communist Party.

Xu writes of meeting in that period with Wang

Poland: arrest of Bujak

On May 31 authorities arrested the Polish "Robin Hood," Zbigniew Bujak, 31, original founder of the Free Trade Union at the Ursus tractor factory in Warsaw, Solidarity leader, the best known member of the Temporary Coordinating Committee (TKK) which has directed Solidarity's underground activities since martial law was declared on Dec. 13, 1981.

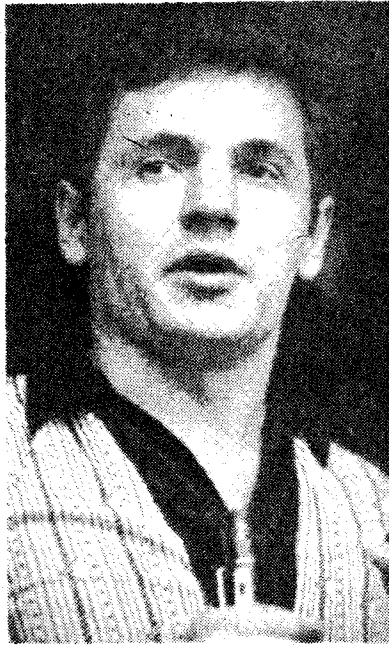
Bujak's arrest is a blow to the TKK and the movement. Yet

police have arrested many other Solidarity leaders and found they could not stop the movement. Instead, the trials themselves became a further embarrassment for them. Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Solidarity spokesman remarked, "I am not sure whether Bujak on trial and in prison may not prove to be as much of a problem for the authorities as Bujak at liberty." Signs of this became evident immediately; several thousand people gathered in Warsaw on June 2 and chanted Bujak's name for 20 minutes, while in Krakow 1,500 who assembled to condemn Russia and the Chernobyl disaster altered the all-time favorite chant "There is no freedom without Solidarity" by adding "and Bujak."

Bujak himself understood the danger he was facing better than anybody. Yet when asked last January about his life he responded that he does what he does because he himself believes in it. The real danger of being in the underground, he warned, is not the fear of being caught or isolation, but "a 'martyr's complex' of feeling one is sacrificing for others and thus thinking oneself better than the rest."

One of the last statements Bujak signed as member of TKK (dated May 13) pointed out that the Chernobyl accident only called attention to the widespread water, air, and soil pollution which is biologically endangering the nation. The struggle to free Zbigniew Bujak and other political prisoners goes together with the struggle against the regime on all other fronts: whether complete disregard for workers' lives in factories or the austerity measures that are sure to be heightened now that Poland has been admitted to the International Monetary Fund.

—Urszula Wislanka



Kizhe and Sun Weibang: "...I took the opportunity to discuss with the two of them some speculative thoughts about whether or not it might be possible, under socialism, to implement a proletarian two-or multi-party system...If we were going to have a proletarian two-or multi-party system, might we not first consider setting up a 'Chinese League of Communists,' taking Marxism as our guiding ideology?...it would need to be open and public, and on no account be clandestine..."

The conclusion reached in several days of talks among themselves and with others was the need to keep this "ideological intercourse" going, which they did in the collectively-edited publication, *Study Bulletin*, which subsequently came out only five times. The first *Bulletin* began with an outline and bibliography for studying Marxism.

Xu then describes his impending arrest with the April 1981 arrival of the days commemorating the deceased, Qing Ming — "the season for arresting people." (During Qing Ming in 1976, which was after Chou Enlai's death, April 5 became the "occasion" of the protest by 100,000 in Tien Anmen Square. *April Fifth Forum* took its name from that demonstration.) Xu was picked up April 9, 1981. He retells with irony his interrogators' ignorance of the writings of Marx in the *Communist Manifesto*, which Xu called upon in his defense of "the matter of the 'League'":

"Marx himself never opposed the proletarian two-or multi-party system, and he acknowledged this in fact. Moreover, the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* was actually drafted for the 'League of Communists' at that time." The investigator smugly reports he can't find such statements in the *Manifesto*, and Xu writes: "I turned to the section of the *Manifesto* on 'relations between the Communist Party and other working-class political parties.' I informed him that here Marx specifically states that the Communist Party by no means excludes other working-class parties..." But the interrogator dismisses Marx and the *Manifesto*, saying it was written over 100 years ago and, at any rate, "...China has its own national conditions..."

Xu also tells of his acute concern when the authorities make threats against his wife and daughter, and of the so-called trial he was finally subjected to in June 1982, over a year after he was first taken from his home in the middle of the night.

The walls of Beijing No. 1 Municipal Prison have not locked up this voice of opposition. Xu's full manuscript was published earlier in *China Spring* (New York), and extracts from a partial English translation were printed this May in *Index on Censorship*, and also distributed by the Society for Protection of East Asians' Human Rights, P.O. Box 1212, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

The Palestinian dimension

The death count in the most recent fighting around the Beirut Palestinian refugee camps—Sabra, Shatila and Borj el Brajneb—has surpassed 100 dead and many hundreds more wounded. The Amal militias, supplied with Syrian arms, have besieged the camps. Amal has come into armed conflict with PLO fighters who reportedly have returned to the camps in the past year, where they have been joined by young Palestinians who were barely teenagers at the time of the 1982 camp massacres carried out by Christian militias under Israeli supervision. A year ago, Amal attacked the camps in a long and bloody siege and, then as now, Syria did nothing to stop it.

In Beirut, the Palestinian refugees are the ones now paying the human price of the aborted civil war of ten years ago. For Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza strip, June marks the 19th year since the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Now, for half its 38 years, Israel has been an occupying state power, in these lands as well as the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem.

Palestinians in these occupied lands live under martial law, and last fall the government reimposed summary detentions and deportations, along with the bulldozing of homes of those suspected of "political violence." Conditions of life are perhaps the worst in the crowded refugee camps of Gaza, where a third of the land in the area has already passed into Israeli control.

A Palestinian lawyer in Gaza described living there in the 1980s: "I guess you could say we have fallen off the map." Half the men and women workers (90,000) are forced into low-paying menial jobs inside Israel. Rashad al-Shawa, Gaza mayor kicked out by the Israeli military, likened the situation to Soweto: military humiliation, harassment and killings; provocations by racist Gush Emunim settlers; deteriorating conditions of life, from hunger and lack of housing to soaring unemployment. He called Gaza a "slave market for Israel."

The Palestinians in the Gaza camps are sure that things must change. A teenager saw the future as "more crime, more punishment, more punishment, more explosion." And a cab driver expressed the period to come, "I don't know when the explosion will come, in two years, five or 20, but I know that it will come."

Mexican garment workers

(continued from page 4)

factories that are still working. Only those past 40 can't find work. We want to start cooperatives for these women. We have one registered with the government; it started to make dolls. We are fighting to get another one registered—a factory where the workers stopped the boss from removing the machines and took over. But the government wants to control cooperatives, just as it controls most unions.

We celebrated International Women's Day this March. The Triangle Shirt Waist workers left an example, they created an opening to women garment workers way back then. We've learned about other women who have struggled to liberate themselves. For example, the banners we carry in demonstrations reflect changes in the lives of women. One is after a famous painting from the Mexican Revolution of a woman in the doorway of a train. On our banner she is on the Mexico City subway. These pictures signify the changes in our lives and activities, our rebellion against the domination of the bosses and all the pressures we lived under. Here in Mexico, the women who took up arms in the Revolution are an example to us.

III. ONCE AGAIN, REAGAN AND NATO, THIS TIME FOCUSED ON THE THIRD WORLD AND THE PACIFIC

(continued from page 2)

The "success" of the Tokyo summit—the communique in which the summitters approved U.S. military action against Libya on the ground of fighting terrorism—can, as we have shown, hardly veil their present open hostility to Reagan's action where the NATO allies are directly involved, SALT II.

Whether or not the Allies will slow Reagan's ever-recurring drive to abrogate SALT II, one thing is clear. Russia, as the other superpower, is at this very moment shoring up its influence in the Middle East, by having met with Syria and Libya and promising to continue rearming both.

Reagan isn't rushing to apply his so-called strategic defense against terrorism against Syria, which not only harbors many terrorists, but is directly involved (if not solely responsible for) the bombing of the West German discotheque for which the CIA claimed to have "irrefutable proof" that Libya was the guilty party.

Thus, when Israel was sending up trial balloons about the possibility of war between Syria and Israel, the U.S. must have said, "Not this time."

The reason Reagan isn't ready to attack Syria is because that could very well become the "incident" that proves the impulse for World War III. The nuclear superpowers must ask themselves these questions, even more so now that the U.S. has announced that it may not be "bound" by SALT II, and Russia may feel "bound" to go all out in arming for the nuclear holocaust.

In a word, Russia's promise to sell arms to Syria if it is attacked cannot be anything as simple as what Russia did previously, when Israel destroyed Syria's SAM missiles in 1982. No one can know, but it certainly is a possibility that neither Reagan nor Gorbachev can ex-



May Day march in El Salvador

clude, that nuclear war could break out from a local war in the Middle East. This is what keeps the global situation heated up right now.

The imperialist reach of Reagan's militarism, whether we look at the Middle East, South Korea or any other part of the Third World, has its beginnings in the U.S. domination over Latin America.³

Presently, it is in Nicaragua and El Salvador where Reagan has been intensifying his counter-revolutionary hold. Indeed, his desire to overthrow the legitimate government of Nicaragua has made him christen the counter-revolutionary troops, which he had bought, equipped and tried to send into battle, as "freedom fighters," pro-

3. The greatness of the Black dimension can be seen at the point of the first expression of U.S. imperialism in 1898. The Black opposition was the only one to call it both imperialism and racism; the only one to organize the very first anti-imperialist leagues. (See *American Civilization on Trial*, pp. 16-17.)

claiming that he, too, "is a contra." In El Salvador the murderous bombings of the countryside by U.S.-supplied and equipped planes have wrecked havoc.

It has been the new revolutions in post-World War II Latin America and the whole of the Third World, involving peasant/worker/Indian/women, that have helped to give a new concretization and todayness to Marx's continual search for revolutionary forces, a search he worked out anew in his last decade.

It is upon this Third World that Reagan tries to impose his East-West—Russia-U.S.—context, adding only the phrase about "a fight against terrorism." The industrialized nations' acceptance of Reagan's attack on Libya reveals their own imperialist tolerance of such illegal acts when they are directed against Third World countries.

The same was true in Chile during the years of the Allende government, when Nixon-Kissinger were directing the overthrow of that legitimate Socialist government. The Chilean masses are still struggling today in mass protests against that U.S.-propped-up Pinochet dictatorship. In nearby Paraguay the emergence of open protest in the streets has shaken General Stroessner's rule. In Guatemala, the May Day protests this year were the largest in the past seven years, and brought together unemployed workers, peasants and Mothers of the Disappeared, who attacked the newly-elected President Cerezo for capitulating to Reagan's policies.

The unfinished Latin American revolutions have had a long, contradictory history of great leaps forward and jolting halts. In 1937, Mexico's Cardenas initiated the very first expropriation of American oil interests, nationalizing the oil industry. And yet the revolution remained frozen.

The 1960s saw the fires of revolt sweep through Latin America under the impact of Cuba's revolution which overthrew Batista and freed Cuba of American imperialism. The theoretical underpinning, however, for those revolts of the 1960s was based on Cuba's attempt to substitute guerrilla warfare for social revolution, and the Army for the Party as the vanguard. That, too, was changed once Cuba attached itself to Russia.

The 1970s opened a new stage in Latin America with the eruptions in Central America. It was then that we published our Political-Philosophic Letter on "Latin America's Unfinished Revolutions" and, later, the bi-lingual pamphlet on *Latin America's Revolutions: In Theory, In Reality*.

Indeed, that decade of the 1970s opened a new stage not only in Latin America, but in South Korea.

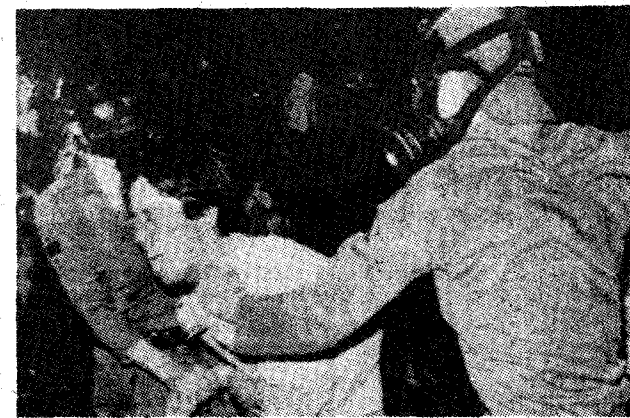
Our Draft Perspectives Thesis in 1980 was entitled "Tomorrow is Now" (N&L, June 1980), and centered on events in both South Korea and Latin America. We had been showing the ever-deepening stage of revolt that had been occurring in South Korea, beginning in 1978. We stressed, both that year and next, not only how widespread was the student revolt in terms of universities and cities, but how many successful strikes had occurred in a country where strikes were illegal. They included miners in Sabuk and steelworkers in a sit-in strike in Pusan. The universities in revolt included the Ewha Women's University.

The climax, of course, was the Kwangju uprising of four days in April, 1980. The counter-revolution which put down that revolt was not just Korean. The U.S. Army approved the withdrawal of all Korean troops from the U.S.-Korea Joint Command to crush the Kwangju uprising in a bloodbath.

In Secretary of State Schultz's recent visit to South Korea, though he supposedly came to criticize Chun Doo Hwan on human rights, he turned his back on the new revolutionary demonstrations that were occurring. His trip demonstrated all over again the pivotal role South Korea has played as a determinant in the whole

U.S.-Russia global struggle for single world domination. The revolt that is now seething dates itself back to the Kwangju uprising of 1980, which had not been crushed but only driven underground.

On June 17, 1986, the *New York Times* detailed the



Police attack S. Korean protector.

new 1986 upsurges which revealed that "Korea is Breeding a New Kind of College Radical," who studies Marx seriously and whose study groups are inseparable from the new intense activities.

We had earlier learned from a South Korean exile that South Korean youth are looking philosophically for a revolution that would overthrow not only their military dictatorship, but would clear the ground for a new society that differed both from North Korea and from South Korea—totally different from either East or West. They refuse to believe that there is a choice only between Russia and the U.S. as forms of government because they are searching for new human relations. One such underground group had actually got hold of and discussed *Philosophy and Revolution*. This, to them, showed genuine human relations that differed not only from those in the U.S. and Russia but also from those in China.⁴

The ongoing revolts in South Korea, on the one hand, and Schultz's counter-revolutionary journey this year, on the other, make it necessary to look all the way back to the Korean War of 1950, this time centered on the fact that that was the first time the U.S. was confronted with the fact that some U.S. soldiers, Blacks especially, did not recognize the "enemy" as Korean, but rather as their own U.S. officers. Indeed, they intensified the whole Black struggle against racism in the United States.

What distinguishes the late 1970s and early 1980s revolts, whether Caribbean, Latin American, African or South Korean—is the fact that the masses' opposition to their own rulers was inseparable from their opposition to U.S. imperialism, even as the East European revolts were directed against Russian imperialism.

Ever since the late Brezhnev announced his Doctrine for the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia to crush the Prague Spring's search for "socialism with a human face," the Russian counter-revolutions in East Europe have never stopped. In 1981 they found a "native" Polish dictator, Jaruzelski, to crush the independent Polish trade union movement, Solidarnosc. Again, instead of crushing it, they only drove the movement deeper underground. This month they finally succeeded in capturing Zbigniew Bujak, who had eluded them for nearly five years since the proclamation of martial law. On June 14, Anna Walentynowicz, the crane operator whose dismissal in 1980 had touched off a nationwide strike that led to the creation of Solidarnosc, was also arrested along with 30 others.

4. See *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions* for a further discussion of this point.

IV. HISTORIC TURNING POINTS ON THE "ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTION" AND OUR, 1986-87 PERSPECTIVES

Turning points in the objective situation have a way both of shaking up the world and putting attitudes to objectivity to the test. History, as the remembrance of things past that recorded the event when ongoing, illuminates the future in the present.

The March 24 fait accompli by U.S. imperialism in the Gulf of Sidra divided the attitude of even the Left towards that criminal act. It was not that all of them weren't against the act, but they did not show what they were for. Marxist-Humanism, as organization and as paper, felt it imperative to articulate our distinctiveness, to show what we were for, to react by acting as if we had a daily press. That is to say, we introduced changes in the assigned lead and editorial of the April N&L to reflect the changed world.

It was clear the world had not waited for the actualization of the proposal to transform N&L into a bi-weekly. Marxist-Humanism responded to Reagan's March 24 foray into the Gulf of Sidra as it happened with:

1) The "Special, Special, Special" letter written to the organization on March 27;⁵ and

5. It was that type of alert to the changed world situation that dictated our response in 1961 when we opposed the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba with a Political Letter which initiated a whole series of Weekly Political Letters.

2) A lengthier Dear Colleagues Letter to the Resident Editorial Board-National Editorial Board, written on April 10.

These two letters produced such serious responses from our labor editor, our West Coast organizer, and a columnist for *Our Life and Times* that it was decided to make the Dear Colleagues letter available to the whole organization, and to issue a "Pre-Pre-Convention Discussion Bulletin" dated May 1. May 1 was also the time that new doors were opened to us in Chicago with the events around the 100th anniversary of Haymarket. Nor were the new openings restricted to Chicago; we met there with national and international visitors.

As the Call for the Convention pointed out, the organizational pivot this year—the proposal to transform *News & Letters* into a bi-weekly—makes it necessary to take a look at the three paths we mapped out as the road to it:

1) News and Letters Committees held Workshop/Classes that asked each reporter to write a brief two-page article for N&L on some objective event that happened the week of the class.

2) News and Letters Committees planned outreach with new collectivities for trips made abroad, with the aim of establishing relations with revolutionary groups as well as the projection of Marxist-Humanism, especially as related to the possible publication of our theo-

retical works in other languages.

3) We saw both the trips and the writing for the paper as ways of carrying out what we need to do to become practicing dialecticians. As we know, the objective situation put us to the test before the year we had set as our deadline.

Though it was impossible to carry out the new kind of trip to Appalachia we planned this year, trips to Mexico and Spain were achieved, and the trip to India will also take place. All our trips opened new doors for Marxist-Humanism. With the new Mexican edition of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, we now have all three of our major philosophic works in Spanish translation. This takes on new significance in 1986, the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Revolution, to which the latest expansion of our Archives Collection⁶ has now traced our roots.

The greatest of all achievements, however, came not from our outreach this year but from the outreach to us. It came from actual revolutionaries in ongoing revolutions in Haiti, the Philippines, South Korea and South Africa. In a word, spontaneity, too, reaches out

6. See especially Vol. XII, "Retrospective and Perspective, 1924-1986" of the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism—A Half-Century of its World Development*.

(continued on page 12)

Marxist-Humanist Perspectives News and Letters Committees

(continued from page 11)

philosophically, internationally. That it reaches to Marxist-Humanism is surely no accident, as we have been theoretically digging deep into the whole post-World War II period that extends into our day.

This year's Call for the Convention focused also on the 1982-83 period that our production worker-editor, Charles Denby, considered crucial because with the publication of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, we now had a trilogy of revolution. Indeed, new editions of both Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution were also published for the Marx Centenary.

The 1983 extensive Marx Centenary tour that followed, resulted in the addition of new paragraphs on the Black Dimension and on Women's Liberation to the completed book. These in turn opened new doors to us in both movements. Denby asked us in 1983 to incorporate the new paragraph on Black as central to the new 1983 Introduction to the Resident Editorial Board statement, American Civilization on Trial, which traced the American revolution both historically and currently.

The whole question of organizational responsibility for the full body of Marxist-Humanist ideas became inseparable from the dialectics of revolution. Indeed, in gathering the 35-year collection of writings on women's liberation, we chose to entitle it Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution. Chapter XI of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization," had made it clear that the question of dialectics of revolution and dialectics of organization were inseparable to Marx. As our 1986 Convention Call puts it:

"It is true we have not worked out Dialectics of Organization: Philosophy, the 'Party,' and Forms of Organization Born Out of Spontaneity. But 'The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization' will be its ground. Indeed, it is this which has permeated our organization from its beginning. Instead of proclaiming ourselves 'a party,' News and Letters Committees concentrated on that missing link, dialectical philosophy."

All our writings focus on the Great Divide Lenin created in 1914, not only by attacking the betrayal by the Second International, but by doing so philosophically. Lenin had dug into Marx's roots in the Hegelian Dialectic with his Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic, which, however, he did not publish. When it finally appeared in full in Russia in 1929, it revealed what a shock of recognition Lenin had experienced in seeing the revolutionary nature of the dialectic: "Movement and self-movement...Who would believe that this is the core of Hegelianism?"

That was the philosophic leap Lenin had made from rejection of philosophy to seeing it as a key to the theory of revolution. Indeed, instead of subordinating philosophy to economics, Lenin concluded:

"It is impossible completely to understand Marx's Capital, and especially its first chapter, without having thoroughly studied and understood the whole of Hegel's Logic. Consequently, half a century later none of the Marxists understood Marx!"

The following year Lenin re-read Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program. By the eve of the 1917 Russian Revolution, Lenin's profound grasp of Marx's central point in his Critique on the imperative need to destroy the capitalist state, together with his witnessing masses in motion destroying that state, resulted in the actual manifesto of the Revolution. Lenin called it State and Revolution. He did not, however, relate Marx's critique of the German Workers' Party to his own vanguard concept; he left out of State and Revolution the whole question of organization.

The burning question of our day on Organization can no longer remain suspended. The whole question of forms of organization, its dialectic, poses the determi-

7. See Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 38, p. 180

nant question: Who or what carries the organizational responsibility for the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism? Activities and the process of philosophic development loom as inseparables now that we are working out Dialectics of Organization: Philosophy, the "Party," and Forms of Organization Born out of Spontaneity.

Whereas that book may not be finished for two years, the organization has always been brought into the process of working out the ideas of every book. The bi-weekly is a test of how rapidly we respond to today's myriad crises. But, as crucial as the bi-weekly is for the year 1986-87, it is not a Universal; it is not the whole of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism. It is the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism that has been the determinant in all of our activities and writings—whether in the paper, in the pamphlets, in the books, in the mass activities we have participated in and sometimes initiated.

No pamphlet of the 1960s or the 1970s was only a recording of what somebody said—whether that be Workers Battle Automation, Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves, Notes on Women's Liberation, or the bilingual pamphlet on Latin America's Revolutions, which centered around their unfinished nature.

Take the activity of the Freedom Riders of the civil rights movement at the time Marxist-Humanist Freedom Riders were in jail. They recorded voices of other Freedom Riders, established relationships that continued when they were freed, showing their fellow Freedom Riders the editorial in an issue of N&L on the Smith Act and the McCarren Act. Freedom Riders who read that editorial experienced such a shock of recognition that their actions and achievements were related to the ideas articulated by News and Letters Committees, that it was suggested that this editorial be included in our pamphlet, Freedom Riders Speak For Themselves (1961).

Or take Workers Battle Automation (1960), in which Charles Denby succeeded in getting other workers to collaborate in the whole process of working out that pamphlet. Even there, it was the Resident Editorial Board which worked out a framework to include not only production workers, but a white collar worker who said, "I'm not a production worker...I work with computers...The machine does a sort of mental process for you."

The whole question of artificial intelligence and machines that supposedly think, but dehumanize the human being was inseparable from Automation—be it in mining, in auto, in steel, in the office, or in medicine. Two worker-leaders in our organization—Charles Denby and Angela Terrano—had such different views on Automation that it became imperative not to close discussion. Thus, we published both of their views in the same pamphlet. Besides having the voices of production workers from different fields, the pamphlet also included the computer specialist quoted above, the M.D. columnist from News & Letters, and a youth who articulated her anger at relationships in this society: "I don't want to wait to be 21 until I am treated as a human being." It is these kinds of attitudes that we wish to permeate the bi-weekly.

Everything centers around organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism. This rests on the self-disci-

pline needed for the concretization of that philosophy, be it in actual activities in mass movements as well as analyses, in journalism and in financial responsibility, outreach as well as projection. These are all tests that are demanded by the objective situation for any serious revolutionary on the long, hard road to revolution.

Self-discipline is not the absence of discipline; it is the absence of an order to be disciplined. Self-discipline is born out of the Idea of Freedom as Absolute and History as not only past, but history-in-the-making which Marx saw as the actualization of freedom, its struggles throughout human development. The long, hard road to revolution cannot be achieved if History is skipped over; history-in-the-making, as well as in the past, is inseparable from the self in the self-determination of the Idea of Freedom.

It was no accident that it is precisely in the post-World War II period that Marx's Humanist Essays were re-discovered and the imperative for revolutionaries became working out the relationship of these essays to our age.

Our present activities in fighting Reagan's retrogression, whether they be activities we initiate, or whether they be our participation in the mass movements around the anti-nuke struggles, the Black fight against racism, women's liberation struggles, or the youth struggles in education, were always a matter of not separating activity from theory, or finances from philosophy.

Last year the objective/subjective situation made it imperative for us to issue an expanded edition of the 1978 pamphlet on Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, with a new Introduction/Overview and our Political-Philosophic Letter on "Grenada: Counter-Revolution and Revolution," as well as the essays on Negritude by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o. Non-members together with members raised a special fund for its publication. The relevance and the urgency of this decision has since been demonstrated by orders direct from South Africa for this new 1986 edition.

To actualize our perspectives for this year, we need:

- 1) A minimum Sustaining Fund of \$35,000.
- 2) Rigorous preparation, during the period between the end of the Convention and the end of the year, in each Local as well as at the Center, for the new kind of brevity-yet-totality demanded by an eight-page newspaper every two weeks.
- 3) Finally, the National Chairwoman is to be assigned to take this period, before the bi-weekly begins, to concentrate on the writing of Dialectics of Organization.

It is impossible to predict the precise date, place, and all the revolutionary forces of a spontaneous outbreak, whether it is the American Revolution or the beginning of the world revolution. This makes it imperative to be theoretically prepared for the act as well as the ceaseless movement that arises to determine the unity of theory and practice which creates the ground for totally new human relations.

That is what makes it imperative to concretize Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence" for our age.

—The Resident Editorial Board
June 17, 1986

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