

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Will labor  
gain a mind  
of its own?



by John Marcotte

"The bosses are getting tougher and tougher on us. They got us like slaves. If the union backed us up, I would rebel. As it is, there's no unity because there's no support from the union," a fellow worker told me the other day. That was when another worker with four years seniority was arbitrarily transferred to another department just because the new foreman disliked him personally. When the worker went to tell the boss he had no right to take his job and give it to a new man just off the street, the boss started talking about "competition" and the "good of the company" and said: "The foreman has the absolute right under the contract to make the team he needs to get the most production out. Management has always had the absolute right to shift workers as we see fit."

On the one side is the worker, recognizing that we are being reduced to mere slaves and not for a minute accepting the boss' "right". On the other side is the boss, arrogantly claiming his "absolute right" over the worker. There is no possible ground between the two. They are in absolute opposition.

Here is the boss' attitude when he fired a new worker the very same night she asked to go from part-time to full-time if there was an opening. She left crying because her three small children were

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From outer space to Lebanon, from Nicaragua to the U.S.

## What would four more years of Reagan, world outlaw, mean?

By Olga Domanski

National Organizer News and Letters Committees

When Ronald Reagan was awakened on Sept. 20 with news of the latest bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Lebanon, he met briefly with reporters and then proceeded on to his helicopter for a leisurely day of campaigning for "four more years." This B-actor President of the most powerful country in the world clearly is intent on continuing with his latest Mary Poppins role, smilingly assuring us that all is well and America is healthy, while the grim reality of the world crises—at the center of which stand the two super-powers, equally bent on either world domination or world destruction—grows ever worse.

Exactly what does Ronald Reagan promise us, as our "Leader Maximum," if he gets his "four more years?" In the face of the fact that fully 75 percent of the American people support an end to the nuclear arms race by a mutual and verifiable freeze, this President is so against any arms control that he has opposed every single agreement ever reached, no matter how "rhetor-

ical" they have been — and that includes those of Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford and Carter. His Administration has spent four years producing nuclear weapons as fast as possible. While he sings us lullabies about how much stronger and safer we are than we were in 1980, Russia continues to produce four and a half and the U.S. one and a half new nuclear weapons every day — a day during which the interest alone on the current national debt increases \$300 million!

### STAR WARS AND FIRST STRIKES

The escalation is never-ending. Thus, we now learn that as soon as the new Federal budget year begins at the end of September, the Navy will stop buying Trident I missiles for their nuclear weapon submarines and begin producing Trident IIs, with four times the destructive power of the Trident I, and the new capability of destroying Russian land-based ICBMs in hardened underground silos. By the time the Russians match the Trident IIs, they will be able to reach America's inland missile silos in less than 15 minutes. (As against all of 30 minutes now presumed available to presidential "decision-making" after detection of a possible ICBM attack.)

Most fantastic of all is the drive with which Reagan is pushing his Star Wars schemes, officially called "Strategic Defense Initiative" — the deployment of a system of laser or pulsar beams aimed at destroying incoming nuclear missiles — which he launched last year in an attempt as much to defuse the anti-nuclear movement as to gain support for a Pentagon war budget of \$239 billion, by scaring Americans witless at the supposed superiority of the "evil Empire," Russia. This year he has asked for \$305 billion, and Congress, — Republicans and Democrats alike — considered it a "compromise" to give him "only" \$292.9 billion for 1985!

What the experts call a "nearly leak-proof" Star Wars plan means, in the most optimistic terms, that "only" six percent of incoming warheads would get through — more than what is needed for a holocaust. There is no defense against nuclear war, but the very concept of Star Wars is enough to propel the already deadly arms race right into space. (Indeed, space is already being used for military purposes, as every space launch testifies.) The terrifying talk of "first strike success" has already begun.

Nor does the world consider it beyond these mad rulers to think a nuclear war could be "winnable." The expression "gallows humor" found its epitome and crossed over into frightening reality with Reagan's so-called "joke" that "We begin bombing in five minutes."

### FROM GERMANY TO JAPAN;

### FROM WWII TO . . .

The headlines of any daily paper on any day give all the proof that is needed that no corner of the world is free from the constant threat of and preparation for war. Thus, while the anti-nuclear movement was swelling throughout Europe, we learn that in West Germany a refuge for 3000 senior government officials on "Day X" was being built under a mountain, where they evidently expect to remain for up to two years to plan what to do with what is left after a nuclear war. Now, ever since new Soviet and U.S. missiles were installed on both sides of the border between the two Germanies this year, there has been an increasing demand for public and private shelters—to which the major cities such as Bremen, Hamburg, Berlin and Munich have responded by updating old World War II bunkers and giving after-work voluntary survival courses. (One lesson: Minimizing exposure to fallout by holding a briefcase over your head while running to the nearest shelter!)

As Britain's largest field-training exercise since 1945 got underway on Sept. 17 for some 58,000 British soldiers and airmen just east of the frontier with East Germany—and the U.S. exercise (dubbed "Certain Fury") began in southern West Germany—West German protesters began a week of mounting demonstrations against these NATO "maneuvers." As we go to press, the news carries pictures of a human

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See Azania revolts p. 12; Steve Biko, p. 8; Black Education p.8;



Rally in Sharpeville, South Africa to protest rent increases was part of demonstrations in many townships.

### Black World

Aboriginal  
women  
speak



by Lou Turner

*We Are Bosses Ourselves: The Status and Role of Aboriginal Women Today*, ed. Fay Gale. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, 1983.

In 1983, a spontaneous revolt of Aboriginal people erupted around Sydney, Australia, known as the Redfern revolt which among other things was over land rights and education, and was led by women. The government's brutal suppression of Aboriginal militancy very nearly hid this revolutionary dimension of women as an indistinguishable force within the continuous struggle of Black Australia.

It cannot be considered as accidental, then, that the first Australia-wide gathering of Aboriginal women held at the annual conference of the Australia and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science, of which the present study, *We Are Bosses Ourselves*, is the summary compilation, took place just two years

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### ON THE INSIDE

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"Disappeared" spark new form of  
women's revolt worldwide p. 5

## WOMAN AS REASON

by Angela Terrano

The recently released 1980 census figures that show that men's wages are twice as high as women's, as well as the fact that more than 15% of Americans, 13 million of them children, live in poverty, confirm what women have known all along—this society is hell-bent on keeping women ill-fed, ill-clothed, ill-housed and ill-paid.

The fact that since the mid-70s only a small number of women workers has been able to break into higher paying jobs that heretofore had been for men only, is proof not that these are "exceptional" women looking for "traditionally male" jobs, but that American industry is determined to keep women out of jobs that would make them far more independent.

For example, in 1979 there were 3,000 women miners. They not only had to use the courts to crack the shield surrounding that job, but once in the mines they came face to face with male chauvinism in circumstances and working conditions found only in the mines.

Being compelled to confront this chauvinism at the same time as entering a new, hard and dangerous job, made it imperative for women miners to establish their own groups within their own communities and without. *Southern Exposure*<sup>1</sup> reports that by the end of 1981, "a number of very active support groups (were) banded together into a larger umbrella organization called Coal Mining Women's Support Team." In 1979 it was women miners and their supporters who made the UMW move its convention out of Florida, a state that did not pass the ERA.

### WHAT MUST LIVES HAVE BEEN?

These women sought jobs that would enable them to provide for themselves and their families. In some cases it meant not having to work 16 hours a day at two miserable minimum wage jobs, never being able to see their families. The fact that for many of these women, mining coal was an "easier" job than they had been doing speaks volumes on what kind of jobs had been available to women workers and what these women's lives had been like. One 59 year old woman miner, who went into

1. *Southern Exposure*, Vol. IX, No. 4, Winter, 1981.

## Sexism out of the subways!

*Ed. Note—In our last issue, we printed an article on four Japanese feminists' victory against a viciously sexist ad that appeared in Tokyo railway trains. We have just received word of a similar victory in Washington, D.C.*

Feminist protest and community pressure recently forced *Penthouse* magazine to cancel its subway advertising contract with the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority. The ad, which first appeared in 100 DC subway cars in late February, pictured a woman lying on a billiard table with poker chips around her neck. Incensed by this callous and purposeful reference to the gang rape of a woman on a pool table in New Bedford, a coalition of women's groups held press conferences, leafletted subway stops and drew up petitions.

Many of the ads were torn down or marked up by individuals who were also outraged. One man, arrested for writing "This is a sexist and racist magazine" on an ad, had charges dropped when he argued that he had acted in self-defense, as the father of two young daughters.

Information from Lesbian Connection, Ambitious Amazons, P. O. Box 811, E. Lansing, MI 48823

## Women in Nigeria

Women in Nigeria (WIN) is the monthly newsletter of the feminist organization of the same name, which presents a new expression of Third World feminism in Africa. WIN takes up the struggles of women on many fronts from the fight against landlords who evict single women from their lands, to laws which force single women to get married within three months or 'be dealt with', to struggles for child custody and rights of victims of rape.

Below we print excerpts from the July issue of WIN for our readers:

*On Women's Oppression:* Malama Ayesha Imam explains that "The reason (women's oppression) could not be biological is because if that were so, all women in every society would suffer in the same way. Nor could it be only class, since women suffer in different ways from men, and since some women do have the power to exploit some men, the reason for women's oppression cannot be universal sex oppression either. Rather, women suffer from a combination of class exploitation along with men and sex exploitation specific to women. The organization Women in Nigeria was created to fight both class and sex oppression."

And in a section of responses from readers, a WIN reader writes:

"I am of the opinion that WIN should never have existed if we just accept defeat and believe that man has been claiming ownership of children in case of divorce because God has made it so and it has to be so.

...The tradition of marriage has eroded the condition of women to that of slavery to man, for whom marriage was introduced. Until women know that the historical books (Bible and Quran) were written by men whose aims were to reverse the position of women, we shall remain where we are."

To contact WIN, write to: Women in Nigeria, P.O. Box 253, Samaru, Nigeria.

—Neda Azad

## Women miners fight poverty, chauvinism



the mines at 54 and who had been working since age 15, said:

"When I was 20, I was working in the cotton mill...I worked 23 years as a weaver...the 10 months I worked as a spinner like to get the best of me. It was the hardest work I've ever done. Face ventilation in the mines is the easiest job I've ever done, and it's some of the hardest work in the mines...When I went in the mines, I no longer had to work 16 hours a day, which is what I was working when I went in. Six days a week at the factory and seven days a week at the diner right down the street. The other eight hours I slept...Five more years (in the mines) and I'll get a 10 year pension. That's what I'm planning on. Then I'm going to write my book and buy a kiln and do ceramics."

Another woman worker on entering the mine said, "They worked me real hard at first, to see if I 'was man enough to take it,' as the old saying goes. The first 30 days, they about bruted me to death, I didn't think I

### VDTs: woman vs. machine

Chicago, Ill.—I work on a machine that is commonly called a VDT, shorthand for its actual name—video display terminal. The working conditions for women working on VDTs are taken lightly and unseriously. The conditions for women workers sometimes get reduced to questions of psychology (to see if the conditions are imagined) or the attitude is that women do not "really know" what the actual problems are. And yet, the facts remain—the effects of working with a display terminal are serious.

What is just beginning to be discussed concerning VDTs are the health effects—from carpal tunnel syndrome and severe back strain from the position you must hold your hands in and sit in all day, to the radiation effects of cataracts of the eyes, miscarriages and even cervical cancer.

But there is also the particular kind of alienation that the VDT breeds. The VDT's "logic" produces the strangest kind of false consciousness—a plastic kind of knowledge.

"Knowledge," in this case only goes so far as to whether data are "right" or "wrong." There is no compassion, no human reasoning, no understanding in working with VDTs. Rather, there is a cold, calculated, empty kind of knowledge. Both the worker and the machine learn by rote (the same manner in which a robot "learns"). When a VDT worker presses the wrong button—the machine produces an unmistakable, hauntingly high pitched beeping sound—a sound that is recognizable to any VDT worker.

And what is more unnerving is that for eight hours a day—this "process," with the continual back and forth between worker and machine goes on every single second. The VDT worker has no relation to any one else for the entire eight hours. Workers are not supposed to talk to each other. Instead they begin to talk to the machine as if it were another human being. I've heard workers speaking to their machines continually throughout the day. But they also try to get beyond the VDTs confining systems.

Workers do try to get beyond this confining wall of so-called logic in many ways. One worker who has worked with video displays for a number of years was having problems on one job. The machine was not producing the information she fed into it. So what she did instead of punching in new information was to repeatedly punch down hard the same keys over and over again to get the machine to work. Only now the machine skipped all the time. Many workers have to do this continuously—punching down hard their hands on those keys. VDT workers feel very much the alienation of their work and want to change it.

—Diane Lee

## MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

### For further reading:

● See Angela Terrano, electrical worker, on "Which Way Out?" in the 1960 N&L pamphlet, *Workers Battle Automation*. Archives p. 2843.

● See Raya Dunayevskaya's 1962 reports from West Africa, including descriptions of the self-activity of African women during the struggle for independence. Archives p. 3184.

The Guide to the Marxist-Humanist Archives is available from N&L for \$1.00.

could stand it. I worked every day. I'd be so tired that I'd come home and could hardly put one foot in front of the other."

### WOMEN IN MINERS' HISTORY

Women miners of today fought to enter union mines for wages equal to men. However it does not mean that women had not been used in mines before. It is known that many women worked in family mines, small mines and non-union mines, to help their husbands and/or fathers. They worked without pay and without records that they had ever been there, so that many women miners of the past facing black lung disease today cannot receive help from black lung benefits.

Another truth is that women miners today have a long history of women's participation<sup>2</sup> in the struggles of miners and their families against coal companies, the courts and the Federal Government. They will bring a militancy to the mines, not only in contract demands that benefit men miners as well as themselves but a militancy that combines the history of those struggles in the past with their struggles deep in the mines today that is sure to astound us.

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



## Women-worldwide

Remember the Willmar 8, eight women bank tellers who picketed for months during the bitter Minnesota winter and whose heart-breaking struggle inspired two films? Following their lead, women at another Willmar bank, First American, used "Tupperware parties" as a guise for union organizing this summer, and forced the bank to recognize the union after two-thirds of the tellers signed union cards.

—Information from *New Directions for Women*

"Daily housework" for hundreds of Black South African women living near the township of Crossroads means rebuilding their plastic sheet-and-willow-branch homes, which government crews demolish each day. The government plans to demolish the entire township of 20,000 residents early in 1985. They want to move half the people back to tribal homelands—which they had left due to lack of work; and half to a new "modern" township further from Capetown, designed to destroy the self-organized community of Crossroads.

A study of cotton mills near Calcutta found that no women had been hired since 1965, the year equal pay for men and women became law. The remaining women workers have continued to agitate for increased hiring of women, establishment of legally required child care facilities, an end to harassment, and decent toilet facilities. One union commented: "Women have legitimate demands, but it is not feasible to take them up with management."

—Information from *Manushi*

"We don't want to treat the donors like they're on an assembly line," said one nurse as 124 Red Cross nurses struck Detroit area blood donor centers for nine days at the end of August. With donor safety the main issue, the nurses of Local 1199M of Michigan Health Care Associates rejected management's attempt to "increase productivity" from 20 to 30 donors per nurse. The final settlement, ratified Sept. 19, agreed to a 24-donor case-load.

## Production, racism rule at U.S. Auto Radiator

Detroit, Mich.—Recently there has been a lot of harassment at U.S. Auto Radiator. They got a new daily report which means they're going up on production. There was a meeting on scrap recently. They're telling us that we should try and fix the scrap. We have obsolete machinery, machinery that doesn't cut the material right, that cuts people too. It makes defective parts that workers are expected to fix.

They have always harassed every worker for production, but it's hitting Black women the hardest. Right now four women have been transferred out of their regular work areas to areas that are the dirtiest and the hardest. And the job classification has lower pay.

The contract says you get paid for whatever job classification you are. Two of them got switched from testers to assemblers. The difference in pay is thirty cents. So they got cut 30 cents for not speeding up their production. The other two were sent to Plant Two. But most of the pay there is based on assembler's pay. Everybody in the plant says it's racism. Their goal is to divide everybody with racism. They'll get the opposite of what they want. The other workers sympathize with the women.

The harassment has gone so far that they harassed a pregnant woman. The foreman thinks she can't do the job. She does her work, she works hard, and she's not sick on the job. But pregnancy at U.S. Auto is treated like a disease.

And there was even a man who went to the bathroom, and the boss followed him, saying "Are you supposed to be here? This is 15 minutes before break."

I heard one worker say the only way to solve this problem of harassment for production is a wildcat.

—U.S. Auto Radiator worker

# FROM THE AUTO SHOPS

## Worker control needed for real job security

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Los Angeles, Cal.—After pulling 69,000 workers off the job in a "selective strike" against General Motors, the United Auto Workers reached a tentative settlement with GM on Sept. 22. The UAW leadership says the new contract will "guarantee job security for all workers". But to me this looks like one more give-back to GM.

The tentative agreement doesn't really provide any solid guarantees on job security. It doesn't prevent GM from laying off more auto workers, nor does it limit import of foreign parts. Instead, it calls for a billion dollar fund to be set aside to pay for a "re-training program". But what guarantee of a job is that? What is to say that after being trained for a new job, there will be any jobs available?

What we have gotten is only a 2¼% pay increase, which doesn't even keep up with inflation. In addition, the \$3.04 cost-of-living increase will not be figured into the base pay for some two years. That means auto workers actually end up earning less in real wages.

### BIGGER PROFITS, FEWER JOBS

Almost every worker I talked to thought the main issue in the strike was job security. Many workers walked off their jobs after the "selective strike" was announced, even though their plants were not targeted for the strike, because they felt so strongly about job security. But instead of getting a guarantee that would save their jobs, they are being told that, because it will cost GM \$17,000 to re-train each laid-off auto worker, GM therefore won't lay them off.

The reason workers were so concerned about job security is that despite the huge profits of Ford, Chrysler and GM, 24.6% of all auto workers are unemployed. Since 1978 auto industry employment has fallen from 735,000 to 565,000—a loss of 170,000 jobs. Tens of thousands more jobs have disappeared from the parts plants. The capitalist system tries to make people think that bigger profits mean more jobs, but the opposite is the case.

All GM has offered in the face of this is a "re-training program" for laid-off auto workers. But what workers need to get job security is not a re-training program, but control of production. This the UAW leadership cannot see. They talk plenty against "imports and foreign made parts taking jobs away", but they never show why the auto companies are doing this.

The companies are relying more and more on imported parts because they are cheaper and can give them an even bigger profit so they then can go out and buy new

automation and unimation. Instead of looking to the drive to build more and more machines as the cause for auto worker unemployment, the UAW wants to take up the issue of "foreign imports" as if it exists by itself. They haven't even raised the issue of automation and unimation at the bargaining table.

### "MACHINE INTELLIGENCE"?

GM announced just a few days before the strike deadline that it is buying into three more high-tech companies, this time firms that produce machines able to "see" faulty parts and welds on the assembly line. They call this "machine intelligence." I want to know what kind of intelligence the UAW bureaucrats have when they let this go through without a peep while putting all the attention on foreign imports.

What I do know is that the tentative settlement was a surprise to everyone when it was announced. No one thought GM and the UAW were anywhere close to an agreement just 24 hours before it was reached. It looks to me like the UAW wanted a quick settlement because the strike was spreading faster than they could contain it. The strike may now be over, but the issues that produced it are not.

## Detroit: which job?

Detroit, Mich.—GM workers at the Clark Street Cadillac plant joined other selected plants already on strike against GM five days after the contract expired.

Workers had heard little about bargaining over wages, despite GM's record profits, except for the company's offer of a lump sum payment.

Job security is the key issue, and that includes putting a halt to outsourcing. One striker asked, "Why hasn't outsourcing been a big deal till now? The companies could outsource work to low wage suppliers all along, and some have, but I have to blame the government partly for policies that encourage companies to shut down their own plants and get the same work done with cheaper non-union labor." Another worker said, "Reaganomics is part of our problem, but the guy running against him won't get it done."

Strikers also discussed that job security means more than just keeping a job; it is also which job you have. A worker with some seniority has spent years getting a decent job in the plant. If your plant shuts down and you get another job at another plant, but have to start all over again with the worst and hardest jobs, that is still no job security.

Strikers said that whatever is called job security in the next contract would not apply to all workers; they just did not know what and who it would protect. One Black worker carried the official union picket sign plus his own: "Jobs for now and the future!"

—Strike supporter

## Van Nuys: no contract, no work

by Peter Wermuth

Van Nuys, Cal.—Workers at the GM Van Nuys plant voted overwhelmingly Sept. 18 to remain on strike and reject a GM-UAW local contract agreement, just 24 hours after thousands of angry workers walked off the line in defiance of both GM and their local union negotiating committee.

When GM and the UAW failed to reach a national contract agreement on Friday, Sept. 14, Van Nuys became one of 13 plants closed as part of a "selective strike" against GM. Then on Sunday, Sept. 16, the evening news reported that GM and Van Nuys local union leadership had reached an agreement covering local plant issues. The news said all workers had to report to work in the morning.

### "WE WALKED OUT"

"Here we come to work Monday morning," one worker told News & Letters, "and we didn't know why we were called back or who authorized it. No national agreement had been reached, and we hadn't voted on the local one announced on the news. Workers were real mad and asking why we were working without a contract. About 80% showed up to work, but we were only running 20 cars per hour. There were no union people around to explain anything; we couldn't even find a committeeman. Everyone was real agitated, and by 10 o'clock we walked out."

Hundreds of workers left the plant and went across the street to the local union hall demanding an explanation from Local President Pete Beltran as to why Van Nuys was breaking ranks from the national strike. Beltran told them that a "mix-up in communication" had occurred and that all workers should leave the plant.

"But most workers had already left by that point," another worker said. "What I don't understand is why didn't Beltran take any action until he was confronted. How could he not have known that hundreds of workers

were reporting to work right across the street from his office?"

Most of the 2,000 present to vote on the local contract at the union meeting the next day left no doubt about their opposition to returning to work so long as other assembly plants were still on strike. When a UAW international representative got up to explain that "nothing unusual has happened here...we have gone back to work before on the basis of a tentative agreement before the membership has had a chance to vote on it," he was met with shouts of "not this time!" and "strike, strike."

Local union officials made little effort to explain how or why the Monday "mix-up" had occurred. But workers said they knew what was involved. "When the national contract expired (on Sept. 14) the night shift walked out, leaving a lot of cars unfinished on the line," one worker said. "GM wanted those cars built out because in just a few days the plant goes to model change over. That way they could sit out a strike for a few weeks and not worry about losing any money or paying us a thing. It's a good thing it didn't turn out that way."

Union officials who tried to convince the membership to agree to the local contract were booed heavily. The sentiment from almost everyone was to stay out until full national agreement was reached. "Management says we wildcatted; the local leadership says they pulled us out. But the workers acted on their own. They stood up and did something and that feels great," another worker told us.

## Oklahoma: mobile work force

Oklahoma City, Okla.—The big issue at GM in Oklahoma City is job security. GM wants transfer rights, giving them the power to move workers from one plant to another. They are pushing for corporate seniority, which would allow a worker to keep his seniority as he moves from plant to plant, no matter how many years the workers at the plant he arrived at had been working.

Corporate seniority is a touchy subject in Oklahoma, where hundreds were forced to move from plants in California. Workers say it sounds good at first, but in no time it will be used to move workers around at random. We've been saying for years here that what Oklahoma workers experienced will become nationwide; it will lead to a mobile work force.

What is on everyone's mind is the news that this plant will stay open until 1987, when a major re-tooling will be done. No one can be sure how many workers they will need after they put in all those new machines. We're also losing a lot of jobs over design change; there is a lot less that gets built into a car these days. All signs point to a smaller and smaller work force.

—Paint shop worker

## Baloney from Oscar Mayer

Chicago, Ill.—On Sept. 25 the word came down that the arbitrator had ruled that Oscar Mayer had to pay us every penny of the \$2.44 an hour they cut from our paychecks for the last five months, money they took without negotiating, against the union contract. So what did the arbitrator's award mean for us? Nothing! The award is on hold. The company says they are appealing the ruling to the courts. They put out a letter saying that they won't pay us the wages in our contract, even though it doesn't expire until June, 1986, unless the federal court forces them to pay it.

People here are angry. In 1981 the company cut our cost-of-living pay. Now they refuse to give us the money the contract and the arbitrator say belongs to us. I feel that it's all a way to pressure the workers in Iowa and Wisconsin. They voted down the concessions there, even though they are all on lay-off. Everyone here feels they were right to vote it down.

But what is the position of our Local 100 leadership? I heard that some of them told the Wisconsin workers that Chicago is "satisfied with the cuts." This was before the arbitrator's ruling. They knew it was nonsense. All I know about Local 100 is that they take \$14 a month out of my check, and we get very little for it. It seems like whatever the company says, the union goes along with it sooner or later.

Now Oscar Mayer is bringing in quite a few new workers—right off the street. I have been training one the last six days. This is totally wrong, when you consider we have workers laid off here for over a year. I personally know 5 or 6 women laid off in baking who could have been called back to do this job. The company hires new people because they can pay them \$2.25 an hour less than laid-off workers, and then get rid of them after 45 days if they want. We feel like they are doing increased work that should be done in Iowa or Wisconsin. They are doing it here to keep the pressure on workers at those plants.

Where is the union in all this? I have worked here over 15 years, and all along we have had a no-strike clause. I'll tell you what that means to me: it's a bunch of baloney!

—Oscar Mayer worker

## WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

waiting for their visa appointment in her country, and if she didn't have a job they would lose the visa to come join her. Workers felt bad and the next day asked the boss to please give her one more week, since she still had two weeks left in her trial period. But the boss shot back, "Look, I don't care about her problem!"

But I have never seen anything get such universal revolt from the workers in my shop as a letter the boss posted by the time clock when he accused one worker of punching out for another. The letter said, "If you act like animals, we will treat you like animals." When the boss went into some departments the next day workers started barking and mooing at him. He stayed in the office after that. Then some workers circulated a caricature of the boss as an animal and posted it up, which really showed, who is calling whom an animal? The boss' lack of respect and denying our humanity struck a deeper response than all the miserable wages, accidents and hazardous conditions we suffer daily.

It is true we do not have human relations with the bosses. A worker with 30 years seniority told me, "It burns me up when the bosses walk through here and don't even look at me, like I was a piece of steel. I get so angry I can't even look at them. I never believed in being friends with your boss, but at least they could say good morning. I worked for your daddy and now you don't even see me!"

While the bosses would have us as slaves, the German philosopher G.W.F. Hegel in the "Lordship and Bondage" section of his Phenomenology shows the slave gains "a mind of his own" by struggling to be free and stands higher than the lord who lives in luxury, does not labor, and therefore cannot really gain true freedom.

What is very important to us in the shop, with one year left to go in our contract, is what atmosphere the nation will be in then. Will labor be gaining a mind of its own, like in the Phelps-Dodge strike and the wildcat at GM's Van Nuys assembly plant? What is at stake for all of us is not only will Reagan win or be defeated, will we have to accept concessions or not, but as Hegel showed, will we become "aware of the idea—aware, i.e., that women and men are aware of freedom as their essence, aim, and object...this very idea itself is the actuality of women and men—not something which they have, as women and men, but which they are."

# THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

author of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

Professor Louis Dupré's *Social Critique of Culture\** is a most original critique of all of Marx's works by an independent scholar who has previously made a serious contribution to the study of the young Marx with his *Philosophical Foundations of Marxism*. He achieves this, not by extending his study, nor merely by now focusing on what Marx is best known for—his "Economics." Rather, he has embarked on a totally new venture, which is at once disclosed in the Foreword, where he states: "What started as an attempt to correct and further explore certain theses I proposed in an earlier publication eventually led to a wholly new assessment of Marx's significance in the history of Western consciousness." (p.vii)

The uniqueness of a study of Marx as "the first major critic of a process of cultural disintegration that began with the modern age and has continued unabated to our time," challenges both Marxists and bourgeois interpreters of Marx.

## CULTURE AND IDEOLOGY

Dupré grasps most presciently the impact of Marx's concept of ideology as a false consciousness when he writes, toward the end, that "the term ideology receded almost as suddenly as it had risen to prominence. But the concept reemerges..." (p. 217). To stress that it was not limited to Marxists, Dupré prefaced that statement with: "No aspect of Marx's work has more profoundly affected the modern mind than his critique of ideology" (p. 216).

Nevertheless, none before—and this includes Marx himself—had ever viewed Marx's works from the vantage point of culture. Furthermore, far from that vantage point having been embarked upon by Prof. Dupré as some sort of specialized study, it indeed excludes no major work, be it philosophic, economic or political, from his purview. Let me begin with the most specialized field—that of the "law of motion of capitalism" to its collapse, and not restrict that to Chapter 4, "Economics as Sociocultural Activity," which is entirely devoted to "Economics," since it pervades the whole work.

Thus, in the second chapter, "Culture as Historical Process," Dupré not only deals with "Base and Superstructure" but touches on something as pivotal for that final decade of Marx as his critique of Mikhailovsky who tried to make a universal of Marx's law of accumulation of capital. Marx insisted that he had been analyzing West Europe only and that precapitalist societies could find another path to revolution. Thus, in Chapter 3, "Structural Dialectic," Dupré tackles the whole question of "The Dialectic of Economic Concepts" as well as "The Historical Principle Radicalized: Capital"; and in Chapter 5, "The Uses of Ideology," to which we have already referred, what stands out is the relationship of ideology to superstructure.

There is no escaping from Dupré's preoccupation with "Economics" as both what he considers his most pivotal analysis of Marx's concepts and his concern with righting the record on the manner in which critics of Marx have not given sufficient attention to Marx as a serious, indeed "the first major critic of a process of cultural disintegration" in Western consciousness. To further emphasize that, he keeps returning to the point that it simply isn't true that Marx meant to completely subordinate culture to economics. Furthermore, he seldom says anything on economics without stressing it as a social phenomenon. Therein precisely lies also the weakness because it leads to very nearly so subordinating human activity to "social" as to make the two appear synonymous. I therefore will start with the very first chapter, where Dupré is strongest and most convincing, as he tackles the question of fetishism of commodities.

## ALIENATION OR CLASS STRUGGLES?

His subtitle for the section on *Capital* is "Alienation as Economic Contradiction." Dupré holds (correctly in this writer's view) that alienation and fetishism are not at all synonymous, that fetishism of commodities is directly related to the process of production where the "reification of all aspects of man's productive activity" occurs. He also denies a direct relationship of fetishism as Marx develops it in *Capital* to his concept of the fetish as he presented it in his 1842 Notebooks, when he

\**Marx's Social Critique of Culture*, by Louis Dupré (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983) \$25.

# Marx's critique of culture—a new study



This contemporary cartoon on the suppression of the paper Marx edited, *Rheinische Zeitung*, shows Marx chained to the printing press while the royal Prussian eagle gnaws at his vitals. The original lithograph appeared in 1843 without any accompanying text, since printed comment was forbidden by the censorship.

was summarizing Charles DeBrosses's famous 1785 work, *Ueber den Dienst der Fetischgoetter*. Dupré approvingly quotes Theodore Adorno's letter to Walter Benjamin: "The fetish character of commodities is not a fact of consciousness, but dialectic in the eminent state that produces consciousness."

At the same time, however, Dupré shows an affinity to what the Frankfurt School later did by extending the question of fetishism to the whole cultural field. His ambiguity continues though he is well aware of the fact, as he himself put it, that thereby "we have left the area of Marxist hermeneutics for what is in fact a critique of Marx" (p.50). Nowhere is this more jarring than on the question of praxis. No wonder that in a "Provisional Conclusion" to that chapter, Dupré suddenly questions why Marx concentrates "primarily on the capitalist mode of production and its exclusive orientation toward the production of exchange value" (p. 55). He points to the determining factor of "the negativity of praxis, in alienation, in the total dialectic of society, and indeed of all history" (p. 57), which is exactly where Dupré's ambiguity stands out most sharply. It is only now that we can turn to that Chapter 4 on "Economics" and, with it, the greatest weakness of the whole work.

Dupré fails to see that it is because of the priority of the mode of production and the relations between capital and labor at the point of production that Marx is not dealing only with "economic laws." It is there that Marx hears the "stifled voice" of the worker, follows his actions of resistance in the factory and extols the workers' struggle for the shortening of the working day. Dupré pays no attention whatever to the 80 pages Marx devotes to the chapter in *Capital* on "The Working Day." While Western ideologists have dismissed that as a sob story, it is precisely there that Marx credited the workers with creating the ground for a philosophy greater than what the Declaration of Independence expounded: "In place of the pompous catalogue of the 'inalienable rights of man' comes the modest Magna Charta of a legally limited working-day, which shall make clear 'when the time which the worker sells is ended and when his own begins'" (*Capital*, Vol. I, Kerr edition, p. 330).

All this is missing from Dupré, as if it had nothing to do with "culture." Marx, on the other hand, as early as the *Communist Manifesto*, referred to it as "class culture." But to see that, one has to not separate culture any more than philosophy from revolution. So all-present was that concept of revolution to Marx that he called the whole struggle nothing short of a civil war: "The creation of a normal working day is, therefore, the product of a protracted civil war, more or less dissembled, between the capitalist class and the working class" (*Capital* Vol. I, Kerr edition, p. 327).

## MARX'S LABOR THEORY OF VALUE

Dupré prefers, when he comes to that "Economics" chapter, to make the usual beginning—critique of Marx's law of labor value, and to stress the fact that "...outside the strictly Marxist ambit no living economist accepts Marx's value theory" (p. 178). The expression "living economist" is supposed to hide the fact that Dupré is both relying on bourgeois economists, and, at the same time, excluding Third World economists. It is true that he quotes two great economists who are sympathetic to Marx—Joan Robinson and Joseph Schumpeter; but both are pragmatists, hostile to Hegelian dialectics which Dupré certainly is not. Somewhere (I believe in the very essay Dupré quotes) Joan Robinson expresses her great indignation at Marx for constantly allowing Hegel to "stick his nose" into the field of economics: "The concept of value seems to me to be a remarkable example of how a metaphysical notion can inspire original thought, though in itself it is quite devoid of operational meaning."

Schumpeter, who is just as hostile to Hegelian dialectics in the economic field, nevertheless was most profound in understanding why it was impossible to argue with Marx on strictly economic

grounds, asking how you can argue with an "economist" like Marx when he is forever "transforming historic narrative into historic reason."

The very first sentence of the "Economics" chapter states: "While the tendency in the modern age has been to emancipate itself from any other functions of the cultural process, Marx's theory aims at reintegrating economic activity with the overall process of socialization" (p. 165). Despite that declaration, and despite the fact that Prof. Dupré over and over again disclaims any attempt on his part to consider Marx an economic determinist, we will see him here falling into what I consider the Engelsian trap, that is to say, quoting Engels as if that were a statement of Marx.

## MARX AND ENGELS AREN'T ONE

On the second page of that "Economics" chapter he suddenly declares: "...Ever since he (Marx) had read Engels' 'Outline of Political Economy' (1844), he had known that an economic system, once established, cannot be simply dislodged by a better one" (p. 166). It is true that the young Marx as a philosopher was overly impressed with Engels' early essay on political economy. It is not true that he first got from Engels the concept of the solidity of the capitalist system.

Marx's *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts*—which he described only orally to Engels that same year—had already singled out a great deal more than the need to break with capitalist society. Marx's Promethean view of new human relations had projected not only the need to overthrow capitalism but to establish such totally new human relations that communism was also rejected as "the goal of human society." On the contrary, Marx insisted: "Only by the transcendence of this mediation, which is nevertheless a necessary presupposition, does there arise positive Humanism, beginning from itself."

Prof. Dupré has such a profound grasp of those 1844 Manuscripts and so much stresses the fact that Marx totally opposes a purely economic view, that it is hard to know how Dupré could have fallen into the trap. I believe it results from not grappling with the last decade of Marx's life. Despite Dupré's appreciation of Marx, not Engels, as the founder of a whole new continent of thought and revolution, he still treats Marx and Engels very nearly as one. Thus he writes as though Engels was right to claim that his *Origin of the Family* was a bequest of Marx: "It is, of course, impossible to verify this claim. Yet Marx's recently published ethnological notebooks appear to support it. Hence there is every reason to take Engels' word as, at least, in substance concordant with Marx's latest development" (p.99). Nothing could be further from the truth, as can be seen from the actual transcription of Karl Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, which discloses the wide gulf between Marx's multilinear view of human relations and Engels' unilinear view.

Engels' near identification of Lewis Henry Morgan as a "materialist" differs sharply from Marx's critical attitude to Morgan; Engels' view of women as suffering from some sort of "world historic defeat of the female sex" ever since the victory of patrilineal over matrilineal society sharply contrasts to Marx's multidimensional view of all human development.

Dupré couldn't have fallen into this trap if what he calls Marx's "application" of the dialectic to economic categories were actually Marx's transformation of that dialectic of thought to the dialectic that emerges out of the actual praxis of the masses, of the historic events that shaped and reshaped history, and developed into the dialectic of revolution itself—not only as an opposition, as a first negation, but as a continuity, as what Marx called "revolution in permanence."

## WHAT IS ECONOMICS TO CULTURE? AND WHAT IS IT TO REVOLUTION?

Dupré himself—despite his deep comprehension "in general" that Marx had the category of praxis as the divisive line between all different varieties of socialism and his own philosophy and practice of revolution—nevertheless makes this fantastic conclusion: "Since the production of surplus value by means of surplus labor practically vanishes, revolutionary action loses its purpose. Marx did not pursue this line of thought. If he had, it might have changed his entire political program" (p. 192).

It is true he, himself, rejects that as Marx's view, but he nevertheless continues to manifest this ambiguity when he writes: "Our present criticism bears only on the fact that Marx singled out economic relations of production...from the social complex as a whole being more fundamental, and that his work displays a tendency to regard these relations as being primarily determined by the means of production...Yet the ambiguity remains..." (p. 215).

The "ambiguity" is Dupré's, not Marx's.

From Dupré's Introduction: "The Reintegration of Culture," to his Conclusion: "Culture Reintegrated through Praxis," he develops the unique view of Marx as a social critic of culture without in any way trying to hide Marx's disdain of bourgeois culture as he shows that Marx "the great critic exposed the spurious claims of a culture which had erected itself into an independent, quasi-religious reality, a dehumanized, denaturalized fetish" (p.3).

And though he sees that praxis is a dividing line also within the Marxist movement, Dupré himself does not fully comprehend what Marx meant to express in the category of praxis. It was certainly a great deal more than practice, especially as intellectuals consider practice to be merely the practice of theory, rather than grasping that theory itself emerges out of praxis—and that praxis is an activity both manual and mental. Put differently, and as we have tried to show throughout

(continued on page 10)

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# "Disappeared" worldwide spark new forms of women's revolt

by Terry Moon

Women worldwide are confronting, directly, a death that has tried to remain faceless—those governments that in the dark of night or the light of day, in front of wives, grandparents, brothers and sisters, children, grab human beings, take them away, imprison them, torture them, murder them—make them "disappear".

The first to create a new form of revolt against this threat were the women of Argentina, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. For eight years they have marched in the center of the city with the names of their missing children painted on or sewn into their head-scarves. They began this at the height of the junta's power and are one of the reasons for its downfall. Their protests were as consistent as they were open, and there was nothing to prevent them from being murdered as well.

## FROM EL SALVADOR TO SRI LANKA

The form of revolt that has made public to the world the atrocities of the junta has been recreated by women in other countries:

●In EL SALVADOR, the Mothers Committee of Political Prisoners and El Salvador's Mothers of the Disappeared have been able to hold open demonstrations in San Salvador when all other protests in the cities have been stopped.

●A founder of the Mexican National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, Exiles, Fugitives and Disappeared Persons, Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, ran for president of Mexico in order to publicize that MEXICO has its own secret police grabbing people off the streets and murdering them.

●Inspired by the women of El Salvador, women in GUATEMALA have just formed their own organization, Apoyo Mutuo (Mutual Support), thus showing the

## Latinas: U.S. and Nicaragua

Chicago, Ill.—On Chicago's West Side a newly organized Latin American women's group recently met with Gladys "Daisy" Zamora, Vice Minister of Culture and head of the Social and Economic Institute for the Nicaraguan government. Sra. Zamora had been in Chicago for a week discussing the issues surrounding the survival and continuation of the Nicaraguan revolution. As the Mexican Independence Day parade marched by on the street below twelve women sat in a small office to listen and share ideas with Sra. Zamora.

As a newly formed group, the Chicago women were interested in how the official Nicaraguan women's organization first got started during the pre-revolutionary times of Somoza. Sra. Zamora explained that initially the organization was formed to fight repression and defend the human rights of people persecuted and imprisoned by the Somoza regime. Many of the first organizers were women from the university and the legal profession. As the organization grew, more women who were workers and peasants and who had had relatives killed or imprisoned joined. Sra. Zamora felt that these women politicized the intellectuals and professionals. It was the coming together of intellectuals, professionals, workers and peasants that made the organization evolve from concentrating on repression to fighting for the revolution.

After the overthrow of Somoza, Sra. Zamora said that the organization has continued and is now the official Nicaraguan women's organization. She talked about the enormous problems that the Nicaraguan women are facing today. Similar to the United States, many women are left alone to raise their children. More day care centers are being started and a law has been passed that makes fathers responsible for the support of their children. The government can deduct payments from the father's check if he does not contribute voluntarily.

Sra. Zamora said that many of her Cuban sisters feel that women in Nicaragua have made greater advancements than in Cuba. Twenty years of struggle for women's liberation have made the difference.

She also brought up the fact that abortion is not yet legal. It has not been made a priority to fight for by the official women's organization. Unfortunately, there was not enough time for the women to discuss this issue with Sra. Zamora. However, after she left, several of the women did discuss abortion. One woman thought it was hard to believe that women were denied their choice to control their own bodies. When discussion led to the fact that many women in Nicaragua were dying from illegal abortions, one woman exclaimed, "Many! If one woman's life is in danger, that is too many!"

—A Chicago Reader

world that President Oscar Humberto Mejia Victores continues the death squads of Rios Montt.

●In SRI LANKA, minority Tamil women formed a group called the Mothers Front. Five hundred marched through the streets of Jaffna to the district's chief civil administrator demanding the release of over 500 youths arrested in August.

●In July, women in Beirut, LEBANON, both Christian and Muslim, block roads, burned tires, stopped the operation of the airport and traffic, occupied the government television studios and for four days stalled the plan to reunite Beirut and stabilize the cease fire. Women in Beirut had held protests throughout June as well.

## FROM LEBANON TO ARGENTINA

It is in Beirut and Argentina where we are seeing a development in this movement. The bloodbath was supposed to be over in Lebanon; in July the government wanted to return to "normal life". But what can ever be "normal" again after your relatives are picked up, not even killed in a regular war, but simply murdered for



The Mothers Committee of Political Prisoners Missing and Assassinated, demonstrating in San Salvador.

## Latin America, U.S. labor struggles linked

*Editor's Note: At a recent meeting in Chicago of The Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), two trade union activists spoke. One, Fernando Rodriguez, was active in the Council of Salvadoran Trade Unionists and is now in exile. The other, Noel Beasley, is a representative of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. What follows are excerpts from their speeches.*

### El Salvador

Greetings from all Salvadoran workers. I would like to talk about my experiences in helping to organize workers in El Salvador.

At McCormick Company which produces mustard and mayonnaise for the U.S., we were faced with the owners of the company and the ministry of labor who wanted to stop any union activity. The majority of the workers lived in the old zone of the city of Coscatlan in a slum where houses are made of cardboard and there is only one communal bath for 140 houses in filthy conditions. There the government only came when it was time to collect taxes or when the owner figured out that we were organizing. Immediately 62 workers were fired and the union was stopped. That's the way multinationals work in El Salvador.

Another company was Texas Instruments. Workers there started to organize in secret. We finally won a union but it lasted only eight months because the company didn't accept collective bargaining. Workers took over the factory. But soon the army surrounded the plant with troops and took workers out by force of guns. The radio and newspapers said it was a clash between terrorists and the government, but this operation was directed by a U.S. military advisor. The union was crushed and the company still pays only \$3 a day.

If El Salvador liberates itself, there is a possibility that other countries can do the same. This is what the Reagan administration wants to stop. If we have a workers' government, we can control our lives. If El Salvador liberates itself, that would mean stopping the free enterprise zones in our country where multi-nationals don't pay taxes, don't have to pay a minimum wage, allow no trade unions and have the army's protection.

### Chicago

I am involved in helping to organize Mexican immigrant workers in Chicago as well as a small sewing factory in North Chicago with Salvadoran workers. What we have to realize is that there is no longer a separation between the problems of Salvadoran workers and labor in Chicago. We no longer have a simply American work force. This is why we can't separate the struggle of labor from Central America.

First of all, we have a common revolutionary heritage. The zones of exploitation created in Central America have always existed in the South U.S.A. If you look at the free enterprise zones in the State of Illinois, you see that our conditions are beginning to exactly equate with the Third World. And it is not just the Reagan Administration that has created this. It has been the active and continuous operation of the Democratic Party as well, and the policy of the U.S. historically.

I first studied El Salvador when I was battling

being in the wrong place or the wrong religion?

Ms. Wadad Halwani, a leader of the Lebanese women, put it this way: "We refuse to have the curtain dropped on the fate of hundreds of kidnapped people, and demand in each case that those responsible be taken to account and punished." These women, some of whom have four pictures of their kidnapped relatives pinned to their clothes, are refusing to let things return to "normal" because Syria now wants to impose its idea of "peace", just as, earlier, Israel tried to impose their "peace". The women and children, those who are supposed only to be victims, are demanding justice and saying that they will have a say in what is a "normal" society.

In this they have much in common with the women of Argentina, who as well are making it impossible for things to return to normal. They, along with the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo and other human rights groups, have kept the pressure on the government even after a special commission was appointed to study the disappeared, and even after the military trials have begun. In fact, they are protesting these very trials. They argue that an army will not police itself, letting murderers go free with the loophole that a serviceman cannot be punished for following orders, a plea even senior generals are using.

Many don't agree that the investigation of the disappeared is reaching a climax with the publication of a report by the National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons and a TV program aired in July called "Never Again". That report documents only 9,000 out of 30,000 missing. The Mothers oppose the report, insisting it is not enough, that thousands of Argentinians will be left with haunting questions.

What is new is the persistence of the women and the creativity and development of their form of protest. They are making sure that they have a say in what is justice, that no society can ever be "normal" until all questions are answered and all the guilty punished.

They are making sure that "never again" is not to be only a heartbreaking plea, but a fact. With that they have taught all theoreticians where theory comes from—their activity.

the free enterprise zones in the State of Indiana and discovered that in San Salvador there are 200,000 workers in such zones and that the U.S. owns 80% of El Salvador's major manufacturing firms. So for us the question is not one of feeling sorry for the Central American workers, but we have to realize that when auto workers bargain with GM or Ford, that has to be done in the context of knowing that there are four parallel plants in Mexico who get much lower wages.

Trade union rights are not an abstraction. We can't say, here is the American worker and here is the El Salvador intervention, because all aid to El Salvador supports those free enterprise zones. We need international trade unions. You can't bargain in isolation. We need a global and not just a Chicago map.

## Protest Chicago fair

Chicago Ill.—"You must think we are crazy. You want to give us this beautiful gift with such pretty wrapping. But the thing inside is rotten. Everything we have we got ourselves. Nothing is given to us."

These are the words of a Latina woman as she expressed the sentiments of nearly 80 of her neighbors in Chicago's Hispanic Pilsen Community who gathered to protest a plan designed by Chicago's corporate elite to develop a \$900 million World's Fair adjacent to their neighborhood. The meeting was the first of a series of public hearings agreed to by World's Fair developers as a result of earlier protests. World residents told representatives of the Chicago World's Fair Commission and the City of Chicago in no uncertain terms that the proposed fair was diverting their own money for a "party on the lake," that it was a plan that would destroy their homes, jobs and community.

One Latino man stated, "It's a shame that you corporate leaders like First National Bank won't lend us money to fix up our homes, yet have plenty of money for this fair. I've been lied to so many times about how many jobs there will be in other projects. It never happens."

Another man added, "Fires are happening every day in our community. People can't get loans to fix their homes. The people who want the fair are only concerned with money, not with our community or the people who live here."

"You mean to tell me that I'm so stupid that I don't know what is going on here!" shouted a Latina woman. "It is very hard for me as a working mother to keep up my home. The fair will bring the speculators to take my home. The question about the fair is, at whose expense?"

An older Latina woman pointed to the fact that the opposition to the plans of the corporations is only just beginning. "You all must eat at that Chicago restaurant named 'Let Them Eat Cake'. We don't believe there will be jobs for us. We've heard that before. The Hispanic community is always being pushed around. You great liberal humanitarians are telling us to stand aside. But we are not going to stand for it." —David Park

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## ELECTION HORRORS VS. MARXIST-HUMANISM'S VISION

This year's election campaign has me scared. The organized disruption of the Mondale and Ferraro rallies reminds me both of the Nazi assaults on Socialist meetings just before Hitler came to power, and of the Likud supporters in Israel's 1981 election, who broke up Labor rallies by chanting "Begin, King of Israel!" I don't think that the problem is limited to Reagan, but to the deep and totally perverted phenomenon called "Reaganism."

The most horrible example of this is the widespread wearing of a new T-shirt on US armed forces bases. It has a picture of a nuclear mushroom cloud, with the words "Hiroshima/Nagasaki. Made in USA, Tested in Japan." Then in big letters, above and below the bomb, it says: "Mess with Us, We'll Do it Again." This is so degenerate a society that I know you are right—we need "revolutions in theory and practice"—if we are to ever be really human.

Observer  
Brooklyn, NY

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I am kind of new to the movement, so I do not know everything about Marxist ideas. But what I want to know more about from Dunayevskaya's article is the material on "Absolute Method". Everybody else in the Left seems to think that Hegel is some kind of embarrassment. But the way it is presented there makes me think it has a lot to do with the question of how revolution can avoid counter-revolution. When you look at some recent activities, especially among Chicanos, you can see how much need there is for some ideas that are new.

Chicano Youth  
Los Angeles

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Reagan's administration is as lawless as they come, even though he talks all the time about "the rule of law". I got furious when I read that 491,300 medically disabled were purged from the social security rolls. When judge after judge ordered them re-instated, the Administration simply refused to follow the decisions even of their own U.S. Court of Appeals. So brazen was the "nonacquiescence" that the House and Senate finally had to pass a bill to prevent further mass purges from the rolls.

Social security taxpayer  
Philadelphia

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I am so mad every time I hear Reagan use religion to justify what he does. When I think of how it was used in the 1830s, 40s and 50s in the fight against slavery, and I remember how Harriet Tubman said that God is against slavery, it seems like they had a different idea of religion from what Reagan has in mind. His idea of religion is to say you pray for the meek, and then starve them, jail them or kill them with bombs.

Factory worker  
Detroit

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It didn't surprise me that the Russians would decide to help Reagan where he is most vulnerable by sending Foreign Minister Gromyko to the White House just five weeks before the elections. But what do you think of the coincidence that the date for that meeting, September 28, is the 45th anniversary of the Hitler-Stalin pact on friendship and frontiers—which followed the infamous Non-aggression Pact of August 23, 1939?

The N.Y. Times (8/16/84) reports that a recent Tass commentary recalled the pacts by "explaining" that Stalin made the agreement as a tactic to gain time against a "Nazi first strike," and that there was no illusion Hitler would not press for "military superiority." The Times writer speculates that the current-sounding phrasology of this commentary has something to do with the news that the mortal enemy Reagan gets an election boost. Nuclear madmen in power today can shift from tirades to cordial sweet-nothings without changing their deadly intentions one bit.

Student of history  
New York City

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The inseparability of political and philosophical principles for revolutionaries was illuminated powerfully for me in the Lead article by Raya Dunayevskaya last issue. The totality of the "organizing Idea" of Marxist-Humanism is so different from that of any party, state, or institution. When I read the full Perspectives thesis, I was made aware of

ministrators, but also the tragic shortcomings of great revolutionaries when they ignored philosophy and rushed to conclusions based on the immediate situation. Very enlightening.

Economics student  
Salt Lake City

*Ed. Note: The full thesis, "Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85: The Movements from Theory as well as from Practice vs. the Great Artificer, Ronald Reagan, for whom the Whole World is a Stage", is still available from N&L for \$1.00, postage included.*

## VIEWS FROM THE SHOP FLOOR

As an autoworker what came to me as I read the Perspectives was that what makes intellectuals go backward in their thinking is that they have not worked out any theory of state-capitalism. Without this theory of criticising "Soviet" regimes, they become apologists for these regimes. That is also true when you don't see state-capitalism as a world stage, and not just a thing Russia went through.

Look at the union bureaucrats like Bieber of the UAW and you can see he has no idea of what state-capitalism is. He calls for selective strikes as if that is going to get to the root of the crisis in auto. You aren't going to get rid of state-capitalism by some mild reforms. Mondale has a hell of a time fighting Reagan because he takes Reagan's ground that this is some sort of "free market economy" that has to be saved.

Former autoworker  
Pico Rivera, Calif.

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All through the GM-UAW negotiations the workers were in the dark about everything. The way you find out news about your union here is to read it in the newspapers. I think this is intentional, because the UAW leadership must be afraid of what will happen if the workers get some input into this strike. It reminds me of the 1949-50 coal miners' general strike, as I read about it in your pamphlet. When the workers there got to know how the union leadership was looking to cook up some deal, they took things in their own hands, and as a result, their strike shook the whole nation. The UAW doesn't want to shake Reagan that hard. They know they can never control the power that is below once it is released.

Paint shop worker  
GM Oklahoma City, Okla.

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I was one of over 300 striking restaurant workers and supporters who participated in a march through the Fishermen's Wharf district of San Francisco last week. We joined picket lines where 22 restaurants are on strike, and 25 more are under boycott. There is a new movement of solidarity among workers here, with workers from many industries joining the lines.

At Scoma's, one of management's worst, I talked with a group of picketers. One waiter told me how they felt almost no control over the job—no breaks, and they can be ordered around to do anything, no matter what their actual job was. He also said the owners had a policy of hiring Asians like himself because they thought Asians could be used as cheap labor. Another told me that he wanted a new type of union, since this one wasn't strong enough to keep scabs out. Labor revolt has picked up in this town since the Macy's/Emporium strike, and the solidarity movement is growing.

Strike supporter  
San Francisco

## ... AND FROM SOLIDARITY WORK

In working with a number of Latin American solidarity committees, especially CISPES, I have found that the pull of Popular Frontism is one of the most powerful forces around. I'm not referring necessarily to the popular fronts in Latin America, but the way the committees here often want to tie you down to uncritical focus on just one event or one activity, and treat you like a sectarian if you say anything else. I recently read over Dunayevskaya's 1960s letters on Cuba and what came across was the necessity of criticism, especially when a revolution is being drawn towards state-capitalism. Critical

## Readers' Views

thinking is not just something for your private study, but for how we approach political events.

CISPES activist  
Los Angeles

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What bothers me about those who talk on and on about how land reform is the answer to the economic problems is that they never get around to saying who it is that distributes this land and what will become of it. In the Black community there are people who say welfare recipients should be given land and that way we would become self-sufficient. It's about time people thought about their relation to society, to classes, and to who really controls such programs.

Black woman on welfare  
Los Angeles

AFRICA, USA:

TWO-WAY ROAD

OF FREEDOM

IDEAS



A picket line was called in front of the South African consulate in midtown Manhattan. The crowd—overwhelmingly Black—included many from the city's African and West Indian communities as well as Left groups. As the crowd grew to nearly one thousand the chanting became a continuous roar. The focus for most of the marchers was the release of political prisoners, especially ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

There was a visible presence of Haitians who have been holding regular pickets against the repression of President-for-life Jean-Claude Duvalier.

Picketer  
New York

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When you break it down block by block, Chicago is similar to apartheid South Africa. It is the only place in Illinois other than Cairo that would come

under the Voting Rights Act if the law was enforced. We have seen over the last two decades how white school officials and political organizations use the demographic figures of the Black community to get money for redistricted white schools and neighborhoods.

The biggest threat of apartheid, Chicago style, is to Black children. When we were trying to desegregate the public schools on the Southwest side, we learned that white children were literally taught racism in elementary schools when they were given inflatable Black dolls to beat with sticks, shouting "n----, n----!" The white police would pick up older Black children and, for sport, turn them loose in racist Marquette Park so that white bigots could chase them. That is why there is no doubt in my mind that it will take a revolution in Chicago to clear up this mess.

Black woman  
Southwest side Chicago

## DISCUSSION ON IRELAND

I did not think that the article in "Our Life and Times" on Northern Ireland was a good enough analysis. It doesn't explain who NORAID is, and why a cynical Martin Galvin was more interested in a publicity stunt for the Provos than in the peaceful protesters who came to the rally. Don't the Provo IRA and the INLA represent the Stalinist halfway house of state-capitalist anti-imperialism? Here in Britain we are trying to get out of the "Up the IRA" mentality as the solution to serious political analysis.

Nigel Quinten  
London

*Ed. Note: For a Marxist-Humanist analysis of the "Irish question" from the time of Marx and the Fenians, through the period of James Connolly and the Irish Uprising of 1916 (which was hailed by Lenin), to the contradictions of the present-day, including those within the Republican movement, readers can order "Ireland: Revolution and Theory" by Michael Connolly. Available from N&L for 75¢, postage included.*

## SUBSCRIBE TO NEWS &amp; LETTERS, \$2.50 A YEAR

I was reading Marx's Humanist Essays and was especially struck by how Marx considers man/woman relationships as a measure of society's humanity, and how he shows the similarity between "vulgar communism" and the degradation of women in prostitution. After that I read the 1984-85 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives and it seemed to me that the theory of state capitalism, which Dunayevskaya founded in 1941, also had roots in Marx's 1844 manuscripts and his struggle against "vulgar communism". I want to get N&L regularly.

Middle Eastern student  
Indiana

Thank you for the copy of N&L. I do want to subscribe. I am interested in the Black struggle and its inner conflict—Black male/female struggle—as well as the labor movement, especially the role of Black workers. I belong to District 65-UAW. I originally heard of N&L through a work by Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter*.

Black worker  
East Orange, NJ

To some Americans, Raya's focus on Marx and revolution is hard to swallow because of Anglo-American prejudices arising out of British abstract empiricism and capitalist ideology. I once took a sociology course at the Univ. of Chicago entitled "The Theory of Revolution". The professor defined revolution as "the illegitimate succession of elites". That is not what Marx meant. Marx meant the progressive transformation of society in the direction of individual fulfillment and empowerment. For Marx the details of political procedure were not important, the quality of human life was...

The Anglo-American tradition holds only a weak version of philosophy, a positivism or abstract empiricism. I remember, in my youth, the career of a he-man was business, for which intellect was not needed, only will and aggressiveness... That is the dead end which we have reached. The opposite of that is philosophy, if it is a philosophy of taking control of one's own life as a social individual. At its best, philosophy is power, the power needed for liberation...

New subscriber  
La Grange, Ill.

I think that N&L is an informative piece of work. It addresses quite often the needs of the today woman of the 1980s, in that it reminds her of a struggle for freedom for both men and women. It reflects upon her strengths and endurance to overcome obstacles in today's era. We have to confront issues of upward mobility in the workforce in the face of discrimination in hiring and promotion, and we know about issues regarding sensitivity and social attitudes toward women in careers and rearing children. Above all N&L keeps me abreast on subjects of Black heritage, Reaganomics and Marxism.

Black working woman  
Chicago

OK, I am well satisfied with N & L. So here is a gift subscription for a friend, and here is another year's sub for myself. Where else could I find out about the Black history of Cincinnati 100 years ago and about Japanese feminists activities today? You say that you are unique and you are. But when are you going to get serious about the price of your paper?

Student  
Massachusetts

IF N&L IS A "UNIQUE" VIEW OF "MARX'S MARXISM", IF "AT ITS BEST, IT IS THE POWER NEEDED FOR LIBERATION" ... ISN'T IT TIME THAT YOU JOINED OUR SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE? HELP US NOW EXPAND THE BATTLE AGAINST REAGANISM ON MARXIST-HUMANISM'S GROUND OF HUMAN FREEDOM!

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION'S CRITIQUE: YESTERDAY, TODAY**

Two women steelworkers filed suit Sept. 13 against McLouth Steel Corp. in Michigan, charging that the company condoned and participated in a campaign of sexual harassment against them. I was furious when I read the details because it shows how far we still have to go to achieve even basic civil rights for women in the plant. These two women were hired in 1976, yet they have been repeatedly laid off without regard to union contract seniority since 1981. Male co-workers used peepholes to watch them using showers and toilets, and urinated on them from overhead cranes. McLouth officials ignored all their protests.

I hope they win their suit, but even more, I hope that it doesn't take 10 years, like it took ARA workers in an earlier sex discrimination case, to be "vindicated" in these courts.

Women's liberationist  
Michigan

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Although the Democrat's woman vice-presidential candidate, Geraldine Ferraro, is maintaining a principled, pro-choice stand on abortion in the face of relentless, vicious, personal attacks, she nonetheless is not fundamentally challenging Reagan on the issue of "traditional family values." Rather, both Ferraro and Mondale are saying how loyal they are to God, family and country. That surely isn't women's liberation.

Subscriber  
Los Angeles

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Lou Turner's column on "Black Women Writers Today" (Aug-Sept N&L) was very moving, very necessary, and certainly revealed Black women writers, not as a sum total of oppressions, but as Reason—creative thinkers who, because of their "lived experience," are able, "to show political principles about freedom in such personal terms..."

But I did question a phrase Turner uses elsewhere in the column, when he speaks of the "painful reciprocity between man and woman." I can't help but wonder if "reciprocity" is the right word. Is it "reciprocity" when the fight to change human relationships between men and women is always waged by the woman alone; when it is she who always carries the fight to him, thus forcing him to make some changes, however minimal they are? If the man is happy

with the way things are now between men and women and thus she is the one who fights—is that reciprocity?

Women's liberationist  
Chicago

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I just heard about Raya Dunayevskaya's description of the 1929 Aba Women's War in Nigeria in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and appreciated the way Dunayevskaya makes a category of tribal women's methods of resistance. Her reference to the practice of "sitting on a man" is what my women relatives did when a man insulted or beat his wife. They would get together, go to the man's cottage, sing songs to ridicule him, and all this time the man had to serve them food and do what they ordered him, such as crawling on his knees. The women continued by pounding their sticks on the door and left after a few days after the man had apologized. Many writers miss this magnificent women's liberation struggle in looking at African history.

Nigerian woman  
San Francisco



URANIUM  
DEATH  
ON NATIVE  
PEOPLE'S  
LAND

Native people of the community of Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan are fighting to prevent the opening of a uranium mine that will extract ore from under the lake itself. Members of the Lac La Hache Band fish and trap for income, and hunt and gather berries from the land around the lake. But the Wollaston Lake area has already been severely affected by radioactive wastes from the nearby Rabbit Lake mine, wastes which have been discharged into Wollaston Lake since 1975.

Eldorado Nuclear, which seeks to open the new underwater mine, operated uranium mines in other parts of the province from 1953-83. Three lakes where they operated are now totally dead. The Wollaston Lake community people are now dying of cancer, and many are afraid to eat fish and ducks.

One native activist asked: "If the water is not fit to drink and fish not fit to eat, what are the children in the future going to live on?" You can still help stop the mine. Write to:

Diana Leis  
c/o Lac La Hache Band  
Wollaston Lake, Sask. SOJ3C0  
Canada



Two Solidarnosc leaders, Wladyslaw Frasnuk and Jozef Piniór, only lasted a month in the government's "amnesty" program before being re-arrested, supposedly for placing a flower at the train depot in Wroclaw where the 1980 mass strikes began. Frasnuk had slipped out of sight for a day right after the amnesty and met with Zbigniew Bujak, leader of the underground Solidarnosc. Piniór had made a public speech at his old factory right after his amnesty, during which 100 workers downed their tools for a while "to discuss the situation."

Solidarnosc supporter  
New York City

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Those who think that the setbacks in Poland mean that it's time to cry despair and hang crepe for Eastern Europe should do some re-thinking. My recent trip to Czechoslovakia was full of surprises. The borders were easier than a few years ago, but when I asked people whether this was a sign of liberalization, they said no, it's just that the government needs trade dollars.

But things have changed a great deal. In contrast to the fearful silence of a couple of years ago, people talked very openly of their opposition and contempt for the government, calling it the "mafia". I also heard it described as "state-capitalist" more than once. In a country not yet mummified by TV, people are out meeting each other in the pubs and parks, and news travels quickly.

The opposition to the regime doesn't mean "pro-American". Since his "bomb joke", Reagan is now generally hated as much as the Russian premier, perhaps more. I was asked about the "joke" everywhere. When I left, I couldn't help but think that we may see some profound changes in Eastern Europe very soon. Such a situation of complete separation between the official way of life

and the way people actually live can't last very long.

Traveller  
Eastern Europe

**DEFEND KURDISH FREEDOM**

On Sept. 15 about 150 Persian, Kurdish and American supporters of the Kurdish freedom movement gathered in front of Amnesty International in Los Angeles to protest the Iranian government's effort to forcibly relocate thousands of Kurdish men, women and children living in 66 villages. These peasant families who live in the border area of Iraq and Iran form the backbone of the movement of the Kurds for self-determination, which, despite their loss of 75,000 lives, remains the most visible challenge to the theocratic regime of Khomeini in Iran and the bloody Sadaam Hussein regime in Iraq.

The mass expulsion of thousands of villagers ordered by Khomeini is aimed at separating the Kurdish population from their pishmargas (guerillas) and completing a military encirclement of Kurdish areas. The demonstration in Los Angeles was part of a worldwide mobilization of Iranians and Kurds in support of the Kurdish struggle against Khomeini's counter-revolution.

Iranian activist  
In the USA

**COPPER MINERS HOLDING OUT**

The struggle at Phelps-Dodge continues. Over Labor Day about 1,000 copper miners and supporters held a rally to show support of the miners on strike for over a year now. Cars came from California, Arizona, all over the Southwest. This time the state police made sure to keep a distance from the demonstration. At the last rally in June, they charged the miners with tear gas.

The media has been spreading a lot of talk that Phelps-Dodge might close the mine soon, but that has not stopped the miners' determination to keep fighting. We have been getting support from some local unions. UAW Local 600 in Detroit was especially generous. We went to the local there asking for a \$1,000 donation, and a worker got up and said, "No, I don't think they should get that much money." We all held our breath for a second. Then he said the local should give us \$10,000 instead!

Send help to:  
Morenci Miners' Womens Auxiliary  
1113 Third Ave.  
Safford, AZ 85546

**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS**

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard  
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Eleanor Marx in Chicago  
by Terry Moon 15¢ per copy
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by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
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## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

The seventh anniversary of Steve Biko's murder by South Africa's Security Police witnessed a new wave of Black revolts. Starting in Sharpeville, the revolts quickly engulfed all of the Black townships in the industrial area surrounding Johannesburg, closing factories, businesses, and schools.

A flash point for the revolt in Soweto was the tear-gassing of a Biko memorial service by the police. It was proper that Soweto should hold a memorial service in honor of the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement, even if it meant the violation of the government's ban on all meetings critical of its racial policies.

In 1976 Biko had singled out Soweto as the "direct result of Black Consciousness ideas among the young generation in Soweto and elsewhere."

For us in the United States, Soweto opened a new window on the ceaseless movement for freedom ongoing in South Africa since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, revealing how a whole new generation of Black youth had reorganized a freedom movement in a police state and made Black Consciousness a household word for us.

### FROM SHARPEVILLE TO SOWETO

It was almost eight years after Sharpeville that Steve Biko and his colleagues began to question the assumption that the fight for Black liberation in South Africa had to be multi-racial or nonracial in content. It was at that time that he became acutely aware that all the distinctive voices of Black liberation had been silenced by the apartheid regime and that the main opposition to what the government was doing to Blacks was coming from white liberal organizations. In Biko's words there existed a "kind of anomaly in this situation, where whites were in fact the main participants in our oppression and at the same time the main participants in the opposition to that oppression."

Biko knew from his disappointing experience in the NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) that the ideology of liberal "nonracialism" suffered a dichotomy between principle and practice and had its own peculiar brand of racism. Liberal whites thought

### Notes from a journal

## Working women's untold story

by Clara Jones

I am feeling very tired. But I am lucky just to be working only eight hours at the factory. The place is more and more a concentration camp. It is worse now than in the whole time I have worked there. A production quota is not in our contract and the workers are forced to make more and more production. We do all that we can and we are harassed to make more production.

I have been following what the Polish workers have been doing. In Poland the workers have the burning desire for freedom. I also see it in the workers of my plant. That is why I think about both the Polish workers and those in my shop here. One worker said that he would like to see a wildcat strike. After he said this, six other workers in the shop said it too.

When I was in high school I worked in a day care center after school. Time for fun was short. I would like to find time to learn my language, Polish. I am embarrassed that I can't speak my original language.

I have been reading several things. One is a book by Alice Walker on American Black women writers. She tells about her mother running away from home to marry her father and about all the things her mother did in the home, battling the white landlord, making all the clothes she and her brothers and sisters wore, laboring in the field beside her father. She tells of her mother never having time free to unravel her own private thoughts and how Alice Walker came to realize that her mother's stories about her life must be recorded. Alice Walker recorded her labor as mother and worker which never stopped, it was her life.

I have also been reading about Aleksandra Rembienska who came to Chicago from Poland in 1911 and found a job as a domestic. She had a job paying \$16 a month where she had to wash and iron 300 pieces of linen each week in addition to cleaning 18 rooms and cooking. She wrote back to Poland, "I am in America, and I do not even know whether it is America. It seems to me as if there was only a single house in the whole world and nothing more, only walls and a very few people. This I think is a very sad life I have to live."

Or there is the anarchist Emma Goldman, who came to America at the end of the 19th century. She found a job when she was sixteen years old in an overcoat factory in Rochester, New York. She described conditions in the factory where a worker could not even go to the toilet without permission.

One incident she described was about a fellow worker, a frail girl named Tanya who fainted from overwork. This caused a commotion in the shop. The foreman without even asking the reason for the commotion shouted "Back to your machines! What do you mean stopping work now. Do you want to be fired? Get back at once." When he spied the crumpled body of Tanya he yelled, "What is the matter with her?" "She has fainted," Emma Goldman replied. The foreman sneered, "She is only shamming."

The whole incident seemed so much like my shop. The foreman's reaction to a worker being injured was the same. Workers stopped because they cared about the injured worker, but we were told to go back to work.

## Biko's thought lives in today's revolt

that they had a monopoly on intelligence and did all the talking while Blacks were supposed to do all the listening. In this context of liberal white/Black relationships, whites were the perpetual teachers and Blacks the perpetual students.

What became politically crucial in this relationship was that South African liberals were opposed to any independent Black movement that projected Black power as the opposite of white racism; they denounced it as the other side of the coin of "white supremacy."

It was this "twisted logic" of white liberalism that caused Steve Biko and his colleagues to leave NUSAS and to form SASO (South African Student Organization) a Black student organization. Biko wrote at that time: "It was felt that the time had come when blacks had to formulate their own thinking, unpolluted by ideas emanating from a group with lots at stake in the sta-



tus quo." This first conscious move, after Sharpeville 1960, to declare the self-determination of Black thought and, at the same time, the predominance of Blacks in the process of their own liberation, was in itself a genuine revolution that eventually revitalized the Black mass character of the Azanian revolution.

In this attempt at a short tribute to Steve Biko it is not possible to touch upon many of the important ramifications of the Black Consciousness Movement or upon the theoretical essays that Biko has written. But in any case, one should stress that the Black Consciousness Movement was not just the "cleansing" of Black thought of "negative white" ideas or just something that's peculiar to South Africa. This would be only one side of the dynamics of the idea of freedom that emanated from the Black Consciousness Movement leaving out its universal dimension.

It is well known that Biko was opposed to narrow nationalism that would "close the door to communication." But Biko didn't stop there, he expressed "the determination of Blacks to rise and attain the envisaged self" as "the quest for a true humanity." This, too, is an important part of the legacy that Biko has given us, that it challenges us to discover, what in the Black Consciousness Movement caused Steve Biko to see it as a movement for absolute human liberation, the total emancipation of humanity.

## EDITORIAL

## Black education: S. Africa, Chicago

Both the present crisis and revolt in Black education impels a historical view of the new concept of Black education which arose in the U.S. out of the Civil Rights Movement on this 20th anniversary of the Mississippi Summer Project Freedom Schools. Robert Moses, head of the Project, expressed it this way in 1964: "We got freedom schools...Because when you come right down to it, why integrate their schools? What is it that you learn in their schools? Many Negroes can learn it, but what can they do with it? What they really need to learn is how to be organized to work on the society to change it. They can't learn that in schools."

What we see on the question of Black education is that so adamant is the single dialectic of thought and revolt which continuously upsurges globally from within the Black condition that even when imprisoned or thrust into exile people find new ways of bringing it on the world historic scene. Thus, in a recent *New York Times* article, Randall Robinson of the TransAfrica Foreign policy lobby described two internationally known human rights figures whose persecution glaringly exposes the totalitarian nature of a regime abhorrent to American principles of "democracy."

### MANDELA AND SAKHAROV

Robinson's point was, however, that except in America, the two who come to the mind of the rest of the world are not Andrei Sakharov and his wife Yelena Bonner, but the South African freedom fighters, Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Here they are ignored.

What cannot be ignored is the apartheid conditions of Black education and life that the Black masses in South Africa and Chicago are determined to uproot.

From the vantage point of Black Chicago, the September upheavals in South Africa have revealed

## Police lawlessness

by Eugene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—Young residents of Watts are responding to the deployment of a permanent staff of 29 police officers in the Nickerson Gardens and Imperial Courts housing projects by denouncing this as an "occupying army" who would instigate more violence against Black youth rather than deter crime.

The Los Angeles Police Commission unanimously voted in favor of creating this special "task force" to permanently station a battalion of cops in the housing projects. Some residents in the area have spoken in favor of the idea, but the real push for it is coming from Black leaders who are opportunistically trying to ride the coattails of reaction rather than the thoughts and feelings of Black youth abused by police.

Recently, Nickerson Gardens got national attention when Mayor Tom Bradley and the LAPD showed support for "good citizen" grocer James Hawkins and his family who were involved in a shoot-out with a street gang, the Bounty Hunters. The Police arrested several from this gang for alleged attacks on the Hawkins family, and Hawkins was presented as a hero for standing up to gang violence. Not long afterward, it was discovered that Hawkins had murdered one of the gang members in cold blood, which had precipitated the violence in the first place.

While "Black on Black crime" is a favorite target of the Black politicians, the real Black on Black crime is the way Black politicians like Bradley say nothing about unarmed Black citizens being killed at the hands of a vicious police force. Just recently, two LAPD officers shot and killed an unarmed driver of a stolen car, shooting him six times in the back. The Police Commission could find nothing wrong in this.

Meanwhile, members of a community group called South Central Organizing Committee have been promoting the idea of greater police presence, as a way to stem the "lawlessness" in the community. But Black youth want to know when they will hear such groups talk against the lawlessness of Reagan's military build-up which has been financed off the daily needs and bread of Black people.

through the glaring light of Black mass revolt once again that apartheid is in 1984 as much a reality in these United States as in South Africa.

One of the unmistakable warnings that Black revolt is lodged in the Black condition within the U. S. is seen in the present crisis in Black education. Thus, Chicago's school system remains grossly segregated eight years after the federal government ordered it to implement a desegregation plan. Gerrymandered school boundaries by district officials and segregated housing patterns have produced a situation of overcrowded Black schools reaching crisis proportions. Indeed, the sheer racism of the crisis is evident in the fact that underutilized white schools border on overcrowded and redistricted Black schools. In the meantime, federal funds continue to pour into school districts that the federal government has determined are illegally segregated.

As we go to press, the Republican-dominated U.S. Senate has voted to kill the 1984 Civil Rights Act which would have cut off some Federal funding to segregated and discriminatory educational institutions.

### CONCENTRATION CAMP

The impact of segregation doesn't stop at the district boundary lines, but extends to the Black mind. Black students within white school districts are being tested as "educable mentally handicapped" and separated from white students. Moreover, this "fine edifice", Lenin termed the enforced illiteracy of Blacks in the sharecropping South at the turn of the century, founded on a structural poverty in which the city of Chicago has 84% of the entire Cook County population though it has only 50% of its total population; 50% Black Chicago children are growing up in poverty; 142,000 people are packed into the city's public housing "warehouses"—30,000 in Robert Taylor Homes and 12,000 in the 20-story "gun towers" of the Cabrini-Green projects alone; 84% of Chicago's 1.2 million Black folk live in segregated neighborhoods; and more than half the poor families in Black Chicago are headed by young, single women.

As one Black woman resident of Cabrini-Green testified before the Illinois Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in 1980: "Anytime thousands of people are confined in small areas of land stacked and herded on top of each other like animals, that place ceases to be home but instead becomes and is a concentration camp. The guards and keepers that patrol such camps come in the guise of social workers, politicians, police, medical practitioners and even sons of us."

In truth, she could just as well have been talking about South Africa as Chicago. In September, the white apartheid government imposed a 25% rent increase on the shanty townships of tin-roofed dwellings in the industrial area south of Johannesburg known as the "Vaal triangle," bringing forth mass revolt. Along with the townships of Bophelong, Sebokeng and Evaton, the Black townships of Sharpeville, where world attention was riveted in 1960 when South African security police massacred Blacks who burned their hated passbooks also erupted in revolt.

What, however, has remained continuous both in its creative form of expression and in the fronts in which it is active whether protesting the new Constitution or fighting the apartheid "Bantu education" system has been the magnificent student demonstrations. With more than 30,000 students boycotting classes, the schools, nevertheless remain forums for Black youth revolt and thought. As a Black Catholic priest working the Botshabelo reserve warned prior to the September revolt in South Africa, "Botshabelo is time bomb...It is a lot of people that will eventually see that they are confined and are losing their rights in South Africa. The kids at school already have a different, more militant attitude."

The time bomb is not only in South Africa, it is right here in Black Chicago.

# British miners, women strike supporter/activists speak for themselves

*Editor's Note—British coal miners have been on strike for 7 months against the threatened closure of 20 pits, which would entail the loss of 20,000 jobs. The strike, involving 75% of British miners, has been a bitter one. Two striking miners have been killed, hundreds injured, and 6,500 have been arrested. In Nottinghamshire (Notts), where Marxist-Humanists had the opportunity to speak to striking miners and women active in strike support committees, only 20% of miners are out on strike, and there are 8,000 anti-strike police on permanent duty, police whose activities are overseen by the ex-chief of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, Sir Kenneth Neuham, who presided over torture in Northern Ireland. The activity by women in this strike is seen by everyone to be crucial. Women have created new forms of organization. More than 50 support groups have sprung up in mining communities all over Britain. Below are excerpts from interviews and informal discussions we had with men and women from Notts, as well as excerpts from a speech made by a woman from Kent and from a Notts' miners' newsletter.*

## Member of Aylesham women's support group, speaking at a rally

This is not just a miners' strike, it's not just Scargill's fight, it's a rank-and-file struggle, a working-class struggle. We're all fighting the same fight, all being attacked by Thatcher. And it's not just as wives, daughters, sisters of miners that we are fighting back, striking back. We women, as working class people and as human beings, know what's at stake. We've been on the picket lines with the men; we've seen the brutal, para-military police tactics, police dragging people out of their homes. We see that the viciousness and repression that people struggling in Northern Ireland face is what we're up against.

WE'RE FIGHTING not only to save jobs, but for decent lives. We know that nuclear power threatens lives as well as jobs. It's up to us to safeguard the safety and health of ordinary people, because if the government has its way it will crush our will, bring our communities to ruin and destroy our lives. And so we wholeheartedly support the efforts of women at Greenham Common, as well as the striking women at South London Women's Hospital, who are fighting the cuts in the National Health Service.

After the news broke about Sellafield nuclear power plant, (high incidence of leukemia among children in Cumbria), they changed the name from Windscale to

## U.S. miners: 'a step back'

Morgantown, West Virginia—"This was the first time in all my years in the mine that I ever saw a contract ratification vote taken at the mine instead of the local union hall," declared a Consolidation Coal Company rank-and-file miner about the recently ratified UMWA (United Mine Workers of America) contract negotiated between UMW President Rich Trumka and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association.

The contract, the first to be settled in the past 20 years without a strike, did not have too many miners singing the praises of Trumka. "Maybe Trumka didn't take a step back in this contract," the miner said, "but he sure didn't take any step forward either. This is just the 1981 contract warmed over and that contract was a giant step backward."

Referring to the heated local union discussions the rank-and-file had over the contract, the miner pointed out that the \$1.40 increase over the 40-month contract was about a three percent increase a year, and with inflation running about five percent a year, miners and their families won't even keep up with the cost of living.

A hotly debated point was the fact that nothing was done about the overtime the companies can schedule. Many mines are working six days a week and running coal seven days, while there are over 50,000 miners unemployed. "If we could cut out all overtime," the miner stated, "we'd be able to get most, if not all, of our laid-off people back to work."

More criticism was levelled at the paltry increase in the widows' and pensioners' benefits. Widows will get a \$5 a month increase now up to \$100 a month, and another \$5 in 1987, while the retirees will get only \$10 a month increase.

The companies agreed to pay 20 cents more into the 1950 retirement fund because it is in such bad shape, but they are deducting this 20 cents from what they'll pay into the 1974 retirement fund. "It's a simple trade-off," the miner noted, "but they're trying to make it into a big deal."

On safety, the companies agreed to a mine inspection every two months instead of every three—a small price to pay for the increasingly unsafe working conditions and the climbing number of miner deaths and injuries. As for the "improved seniority and job security provisions", all this amounts to is that if a coal company sells or subleases a mine, the new mine owner is supposed to rehire any qualified laid-off miners at that mine before hiring new miners.

"Trumka and the companies were real smart in playing their cards to get this contract ratified," the miner summed up. "I know for sure that if we had been out on strike, and Trumka gave us this same contract, it would have been turned down flat. As it is, we'll have to live or die with it, but a lot of guys who voted for his contract are going to have second thoughts about it long before 40 months are over."

Sellafield, as part of their clean-up campaign. They thought that would make us forget. They think they can take our thoughts away. But our thoughts belong to us, and we will never forget. Our lives will never be the same after this strike.

## Four young Notts miners

Lots of young miners are realizing what's going on in this country. Thatcher called miners the enemy within after she called Galtieri the enemy without during the Falklands war. Lots of miners fought in that war; one bloke died in that war. She's disgusting. You come back from war, and you're called the enemy by Maggie. To us, SHE'S the enemy within, our enemy at the top.

WE OWN THESE PITS; we don't want them privatized. Thatcher wants to break the union and bring in private industry so we can work more hours for less pay under very unsafe conditions. As taxpayers we pay for the pits, but we don't control things, don't make decisions. See, the miners get the coal out, but the government can't sell it, so they take it out on us.

Meanwhile, there's enough fuel in this country to have it run out of your tap. Old people freeze to death in winter here, when there's enough coal to give it to them as part of their pension, to give it to the unemployed, too. If they dropped prices when they can't sell beef, instead of exporting it, we wouldn't have people starving in this country, or in the Third World, where people can't walk because they're too thin. Everyone



Women in Britain march against pit closures.

could eat steak. They say everything has to run on profits, but not everything should, not food, not coal.

We're going to stick it out to the end. We've not given in yet, even though 80% are scabbing. Nothing's going to stop us; time is on our side now with winter coming on. And there will be no compromises. Our determination, our strength, comes a lot from what the women have done. They don't stop for nought once they get started. They're the ones keeping us out, keeping the strike going, especially here in Notts.

## Women from Sherwood and Ollerton women's group

I'd rather starve than give in now. There's too much at stake, we've come too far. We can't let the scabs, the disgusting police, the newspapers, the attacks by the Tories AND the Labour Party get the best of us. If it weren't for us, a lot of the men would be back in the mines by now. Their pickets are too quiet for me. They stand there with their hands in their pockets hanging their heads. We have our own all-women pickets every few weeks. We shout scab and Judas, and worse; lots of us have been arrested. But you can be arrested for anything anyway. They change the law every hour if they want. We have no civil rights here in Notts.

WE ALL SAT in our houses the first two weeks of the strike, scared about the future. Then a few of us decided to get together and we set up this soup kitchen. There are five of us here steadily from 4:00 in the morning until the last pickets come in and have their meal. Now we have our own meetings once or twice a week. Women who never even went into pubs without their husbands are travelling all over, speaking in front of hundreds of people, doing fund-raising, telling people the truth about the strike. There are so many lies in the papers, all about the violence of the picket lines. That's why we're glad you're going to tell the truth about it in America. I read about copper miners in Arizona in your newspaper, so I know that people in America are facing the same thing as us. I wrote to the women's group that was mentioned because I wanted to tell them what we're doing and hear more about them. I hope we can write back and forth. We've been talking about things we want to do once the strike ends; we'll keep our group going. We've thought of having some famous woman, part of the feminist movement, come to give us suggestions, as some of us still feel funny coming right out and saying what we think. But we don't want leaders to be separated from the rest of us, so we have to talk about it some more.

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## Paul Whetton, of Notts rank and file strike committee

The threat to miners' jobs is not just pit closures, it's also technology. Ten thousand jobs will be taken by the new technology. We don't have a Luddite attitude about technology. We welcome it, as long as the benefits from it are shared, as long as we get something in exchange—shorter working day, shorter working week. But when they invest in this expensive machinery, they want a return on their money. They pour millions into machinery for production, but put nowhere near as much into safety.

WHAT MANAGEMENT WANTS to do is invest in rich pits, like the pits in Notts, put nothing into pits that are less viable because of geological conditions, and create one huge complex, a super pit. In order to do that, they have to smash the union, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), first. Then they'll have a super pit with high profitability, high productivity and weak organization, ripe for privatization.

So the argument is about whether this country has a trade union movement. If they smash the miners, who are considered to be in the vanguard of the British trade union movement, that's it for all the unions, all the workers. That's why it's so important that miners win and are seen to win. And that's why the strike is so important in Notts, where mine fields are the richest, make the most profit. They've molly-coddled Notts by giving them high bonuses, by investing so much in that pit. That's why there are so many scabs; many of them feel safe.

In '72 and '74, a ballot was held on the question of wages. It was logical that if you call an industrial action on wages, you'd have a ballot, because that affects everyone the same. And, see, the strike was solid in '72 and '74. But this strike isn't over wages. No man has the right to ballot on another man's job. It can't be that miners in Notts get to sign a piece of paper that means that coal fields in Wales or Durham will be shut down.

## The Notts Striker, vol. 1, issue 1

I have just returned from the Notting Hill carnival, working on stalls and a float with a group of miners, funded by the black delegation - a highly dedicated band of people, without whose help it would not have been possible...On the two days of the Carnival we sold 53,000 stickers and 33,000 badges saying "Black People Support The Miners." On one stall alone over the two days we collected one thousand pounds selling NUM-related products. As usual the police had to stick their noses in; at one stage trying to take the money we had collected on the grounds of illegal collecting. As the police moved in so did the black delegation and many supporters forced the police to make a quick retreat. Many people told us of the riots in Brixton and Notting Hill, frustrations of high unemployment and constant daily harassment and intimidation and watching their civil liberties slowly disappearing. It sounded all too familiar...

### Notts Miners' Forum

We represent the miners on strike in Nottinghamshire and through the Notts Miners' Forum we appeal for your support to help alleviate the hardship and suffering which is being experienced by those miners and their families who have chosen to support the call from the National Union of Mineworkers for solidarity...We will not weaken in our resolve to stand and fight for our jobs and for the jobs of those miners who cannot show the altruism that is needed from all Trade Unionists. We are winning and we know it. With your help we shall not find the struggle so hard. Send contributions to Notts Miners' Forum, c/o M. McGinty, 1 Pine Ave., New Ollerton, Newark, Notts, Great Britain.

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# What would four more years of Reagan, world outlaw, mean?

(continued from page 1)

chain over 12 miles long which surrounded the military bases in the strategic Fulda Gap region near the East German border — and the news that Russia has for the first time just deployed 100 new SS-22 medium range nuclear missiles in East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

In Japan — the only country in the world which has already suffered actual nuclear horror — thousands of Japanese leftists marched through downtown Tokyo to protest South Korea's President Chun Doo Hwan's September visit, opposing any attempt to bind Japan to a military alliance with South Korea and the U.S. At the same time, Prime Minister Nakasone was busy denouncing an "unrelenting military buildup" in Asia by Russia, while praising the U.S. deployment of new bombers and Tomahawk nuclear cruise missiles in the Pacific as signs of an effort to "strengthen the credibility of deterrence," and Japanese and American advisers were urging their governments as the world's "technological leaders" to start developing high-technology weapons together.

## RONALD REAGAN, WORLD OUTLAW

At the same time, the war that is not "in preparation" but already here is the war that the Reagan Administration has been escalating from the day he took office against the peoples of Central America. Nowhere has the out and out lawlessness of Reaganism been more flagrant than in his all-out effort to crush the Nicaraguan Revolution that finally rid that people of the barbaric U.S. stooge, Somoza, in 1979. It can hardly be a surprise that an Administration which thumbs its nose at the World Court's condemnation of the CIA's terrorist mining of Nicaraguan harbors and blowing up of Nicaraguan oil tanks, had no problem in undermining its own Federal laws against private help to the counter-revolutionaries in Nicaragua. This was after Congress limited official CIA aid for Reagan's war against that country to "only" \$24 million.

The deaths of the two American "paramilitary volunteers," shot down in their helicopter during an attack on a Sandinista military training school in Nicaragua on Sept. 1, merely proved what everyone knew: that Reagan had not stopped for one moment his arming and financing of the counter-revolutionary army of mercenaries in Honduras, on Nicaragua's border. All that has been revealed is how totally the CIA has continued to supply the Nicaraguan "contras" with intelligence information and rocket-firing aircraft, and even picked the target for the recent attack. What has been revealed also is that five Federal agencies — the State Dept., the Defense Dept., the Treasury Dept., the CIA and the FBI all knew from the beginning that illegal support was being funneled to the counter-revolutionaries from both private American citizens and corporations (no less than \$10 million in the last six months alone) and that U.S.-supplied military equipment was being shipped by the Alabama-based "commie-hunters" calling themselves "Civilian Military Assistance."

## ESCALATING THE WARS AT HOME

Nor can any of Reagan's wars abroad be separated from his wars against the American people right at home. The slashing of every social program on the books — from vitally needed food stamps to school lunches, from CETA to Medicaid, from student aid to urban development, and from the arts to rural electrification — began within weeks of his inauguration — and have never ceased being slashed ever deeper. His only answer to critics of his unrelenting drive for greater and greater militarization, which has pushed the Federal deficit to an unprecedented \$174.3 billion for fiscal year 1984 was to say that "the deficit today would be \$40 to \$50 billion less" if only Congress had "granted what I asked" in additional social benefit slashes — which he immediately promised to try for again if he is re-elected.

The cold-blooded willingness to sacrifice human life, on the altar of the power struggle with Russia for world domination, is nowhere more chillingly exposed than in the recent re-investigations of the horrifying shooting down by Russia of Korean Air Line Flight 007 over Sakhalin Island one year ago, with the loss of all 269 people aboard. The August 18-25 issue of *The Nation* has devoted almost its entire issue to a detailed study by David Pearson, a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at Yale University, which does not pretend to answer whether KAL 007 was or was not a spy plane, as the Russians have charged, but does prove beyond any reasonable doubt that the full array of U.S. military and intelligence agencies, including the Air Force, the National Security Agency, the CIA, the North American Aerospace Defense Command, and the National Military Command Center at the Penta-

## THEORY / PRACTICE

(continued from page 4)

this review, Marx saw workers' activity not only as action, not only as practice, but as Reason. Dupré grapples with it, and does tend to conclude that: "Marx rescued productive labor from its cultural isolation. In his concept of praxis he attempted to reintegrate all facets of culture, the theoretical and aesthetic as well as the practical" (p. 280).

But since revolution is not exactly a preoccupation of Prof. Dupré, his view of Marx's Economics is presented quite ambiguously—for, without revolution, "Marxism" is not Marx's Marxism. Nevertheless, Marxists as well as non-Marxists will find it a serious study to grapple with as a challenging interpretation by an independent scholar.

gon — all knew that the flight was off course long before the attack over Sakhalin — and that not one of them attempted to correct its course.

The clear implication is that either the elaborate and highly sophisticated system of U.S. intelligence suffered an incredible total breakdown or that the Administration was quite willing to gamble those 269 lives in hopes of gathering information about Russian defense systems put into operation by an intruding aircraft.

## NOT ONLY REAGAN, BUT REAGANISM

By now so horrendous a combination of a perverted Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* and a genuine George Orwell's 1984 is being played out for us on the world stage that a frightening number of Americans appear ready to accept that "war is peace," that lawless-



WILLIS DALLAS

ness is "law and order," and that 8 million unemployed is "recovery."

The truth is that whatever "boom" is being experienced in places like Connecticut — where there is the highest concentration of major defense contractors in the land, and where the Pentagon spent no less than \$5.13 billion last year. But it is not the same kind of war-time "boom" that up to now has always been the only "answer" to the previous depressions of capitalism. For what Connecticut's "growth" also reveals are the deep structural changes that the growth of high-tech has brought about in capitalism ever since the mid-1970's. In the Black ghettos of Bridgeport and Stamford deep unemployment and slum housing are the human measure of the supposed "boom" in Connecticut.

What high-tech has created is a whole new middle-class of "Yuppies" at the same time that it has produced a veritable and permanent army of the unemployed from the smokestack industries throughout the entire land, who will never find jobs again in our new high-tech economy. It has brought Marx's analysis — of a capitalism that is destined to collapse from within — to life.

The living worker is the only element in capitalist production that can create any new value. The greater the preponderance of constant capital (machines) over variable capital (living labor) — which we see spelled

out in today's fantastic automated high-tech factories — the lower and lower falls the rate of profit, and the greater and greater becomes the stagnation of the economy. It is the fundamental crisis for which the world rulers have only one answer: preparation for the final nuclear holocaust.

That is why it is important to be clear that it is not only Reagan but Reaganism that we are out to get rid of. While Reagan is surely an extreme product of senile capitalism, he is not an aberration. The 19 Nobel Prize scientists and 178 leaders of environmental and arms-reduction groups that met in Washington at the end of September were not precise enough when they said our choice is "extinction or change." For the "change" can be nothing short of the total uprooting of our present world order hurtling to the actual destruction of civilization altogether and the creation of a new, human world at last.

## Protest Reagan in Utah

Salt Lake City, Ut.—Ronald Reagan spoke before the American Legion here on Sept. 4th preaching military might and religion as if morality and peace came out of the barrel of a gun! This unholy alliance of religion and war against North, Central, and South Americans was met with defiance as over one hundred people gathered outside the Salt Palace to show that the "other America" accepts neither an "optimism" based on covert/overt displays of military force nor a "recovery" when so many are still poor and unemployed.

People came from many miles away to participate as did one Navajo woman I spoke to. She told me how Reagan's policies hurt the tribe, especially the elderly on the reservation who needed firewood and fuel. One Hispanic man talked about discrimination here in Salt Lake City and related this to the recent outbreak of the Spanish-speaking community in Lawrence, Mass. One young man who has a temporary job at the Parks Dept. told me that "Reagan hasn't given us a recovery but a takeaway. I can't find work for more than three days a week which only pays me half what I would make if I could find full-time work." He liked N&L and bought a subscription because we were "interested in other people's thoughts."

—Ted Hill

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## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

*News & Letters* was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard not separated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

Where *Marxism and Freedom*, whose structure was grounded in the movement from practice throughout the 200 years from 1776 to Today, discloses Marx's "new Humanism," both internationally and in its American roots, *Philosophy and Revolution*, in recreating Marx's philosophic roots both in the Hegelian dialectic and in the actual revolutionary movements of his day, articulated these forces of revolution as Reason — Labor, Black, Youth, Women — of our day. By tracing and paralleling this age's 30-year movement from practice to theory with our own theoretical development for the same three decades, Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. has met the challenge of the "new moments" in the last decade of Marx's life by disclosing in them a trail to the 1980s. It is this trail, these paths of revolution — be it in the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries, including the transformation of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come into a Movement or the emergence of a whole new Third World — that form the content of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's*

### Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

This work challenges post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when the nuclear world is threatened with the extinction of civilization itself it becomes imperative not only to reject what is, but to reveal the revolutionary Humanist future inherent in the present.

*News & Letters* was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. Vol. 1, No. 1, came off the press on the second anniversary of the June 17, 1953 East German revolt against Russian state-capitalism masquerading as Communism, in order to express our solidarity with freedom fighters abroad as well as at home. Because 1953 was also the year when we worked out the revolutionary dialectics of Marxism in its original form of "a new Humanism," as well as individuality "purified of all that interferes with its universalism, i.e., with freedom itself," we organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead". The development of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., 1941 to Today is recorded in the documents and on microfilm available to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Labor History Archives of Wayne State University.

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

## YOUTH

## Free speech for freedom ideas

by Ida Fuller

*Freedom is so much the essence of man that even its opponents realize it...No man fights freedom; he fights at most the freedom of others—Marx, 1843*

I was born in the year of the Free Speech Movement (FSM), and now as a 20-year-old woman college student, I feel very much related to what the movement fought for. In 1984, there has been a tremendous effort by the Right to degrade Free Speech to a meaningless slogan and a bastion for the most reactionary thought. Thus, last month Congress ratified a law which will allow religious groups to form branches in high schools and could even allow the Ku Klux Klan to organize on campus. This all in the name of "Free Speech".

It is absolutely crucial for youth to battle this reactionary claim to free speech, through a return to the source of the Free Speech Movement and the ideas which they raised. Thus I would like to take a look at the American Free Speech Movement and the Hungarian Revolution, both of which opened a new chapter in freedom.

October marks the twentieth anniversary of the FSM. White students who had been participating in the Civil Rights Movement and had gone South the previous summer for the Mississippi freedom schools, were now coming back with a totally new idea and practice of education. In the Mississippi freedom schools, Black youth did not separate thought and action and, recognized the purpose of education to be the fundamental transformation of this society. White students were no longer just teachers because the division between educator and educated had been broken and topics of study were live discussions of the history of Black and international struggles.

Upon returning to schools in the North, these white youth were now faced with a new "theory" from Clark Kerr, the President of U.C. Berkeley, who had designated universities as "producer, wholesaler, and retailer of knowledge" and students as commodities to run the capitalist system. The UC Berkeley administration declared the university free speech area to be private property, closed to student literature tables precisely at the time the students were having tables to provide information about and to collect money for the Black movement in the South. The students responded with a sit-in and the Free Speech Movement was born.

Thus it was a Free Speech Movement in support of freedom ideas and freedom activities, not freedom for the reactionary powers-that-be, who already had a near monopoly on the means of communication. It was for extending the Freedom Schools and its new kind of education to the North.

Six months later, a new form of resistance, the "teach-in" against the Vietnam War was created at the

## No to U.S. military action

Detroit, Mich.—The Emergency National Conference Against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America/The Caribbean, held in Cleveland Sept. 14-16, drew about 400 participants from around the country. Solidarity activists, lower level trade union leaders, and members of the organized Left came to "educate and to plan specific national actions against U.S. military intervention." What I found new was the overriding theme of encouraging workers into the solidarity movement.

In the workshop entitled, "The Impact of U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean on Union-Busting at Home and Trade Union Solidarity," Bud Schulte from United Food & Commercial Workers Local 4P in St. Paul, Minn. described the 7-month strike of Iowa pork workers over the two-tier wage system, which ended last month when the company shut down. He spoke of how Reagan had internationalized this two-tier wage system by encouraging runaway shops. But Schulte concluded only with his desire to "educate workers about these conditions."

In the workshop on Grenada and Nicaragua, Paul Garver of the Service Employees International Union spoke first about Nicaraguan trade union support for the revolution, and then about organizing the rank-and-file here. However, he confided that were he speaking to workers instead of this conference he would soften his support for the Sandinistas in order to win their vote. Yet, he then described a resolution opposing U.S. intervention that was passed overwhelmingly by the rank-and-file.

That some conference participants felt dissatisfaction with seeing workers, Blacks, women and youth solely in terms of "how to organize" came out in a workshop on "movements of Women, Senior Citizens, Ethnic Minorities." The point one woman raised that received heartfelt response from the 100 or so people packing the room was, "Why is it that at conferences like these they always lump all the so-called minorities into one workshop together?"

This conference clearly put labor on the anti-intervention movement agenda. Several dates were set for national demonstrations. But next time I hope the bureaucratic attitude that was revealed so clearly in this marriage between the labor and anti-intervention organizers will be thwarted by putting the actual ideas of workers, Blacks, women and youth at the top of the agenda.

—Laurie Cashdan

## Study and Struggle

University of Michigan. By rooting itself in the Black struggle for freedom, the Free Speech Movement opened a new page in the mass movement for freedom.

But the youth of the 1980's live in an age when it is not only U.S. capitalism which abusively claims the name of Free Speech, but Russian and Chinese state-capitalism masquerading as Communism.

One of the most massive struggles for free speech was the October, 1956 Hungarian Revolution. In five short days, people took over all means of communication and created their own revolutionary councils for running society. They overthrew the one-party system overnight and created hundreds of newspapers, parties, worker, student, local, district councils. It was in these councils where slogans such as "Bread and Freedom", "Down with this phoney Communism" brought a discussion of Marx's Humanist Essays on the historic stage.

The ideas of freedom raised by these two movements have been so strong that the rulers are constantly trying to bury them. Their usurpation of free speech and abstract slogans of "academic freedom" for reactionary purposes are further means for distorting history. It is our responsibility not to let that happen by making sure that ideas about concrete human freedom are heard and yes, acted upon. The greatness of the Free Speech Movement and the Hungarian Revolution was that they refused to separate free speech from action for human freedom. This is why searching out the historic-philosophic roots of free speech is indispensable to our activities.

## El Salvador's university

In September, 20,000 students returned to class at the National University, only to find awaiting them a near-total, savage destruction of intellectual life and culture at the hands of the military, which has occupied the school for the past four years. Speaking at the risk of their lives -- two more student leaders "disappeared" in August -- university people recounted the destruction of the past four years.

The library now has only 30,000 books, 50,000 having vanished, including all dictionaries and 75% of the medical books. Three days into the military occupation in 1980, the humanities building was burned to the ground. During the occupation, National Guardsmen stood on street corners outside the school selling books, typewriters, and medical equipment. Electrical wiring was ripped off walls. Library card catalogues and a rare book collection including Mayan texts disappeared. All maps of Nicaragua were burned, as was the Book Publishing Record: the military mistook the letter BPR for the initials of a Left group at the time, ever since driven underground.

The students of 1980 had dared to become politically active, and the campus had become a center of legal Left opposition. Thirty professors and hundreds of students have been killed since then. Head Librarian Antonio Mendez stated as school reopened: "No public official, including President Duarte, who was president of the junta at the time of occupation, has ever condemned what happened or proposed some type of retribution." Alluding to how students in Canada have collected and sent English texts and magazines to the needy library, he added: "Canada sends us culture. The U.S. sends us bullets."

—Kevin A. Barry

## Youth in Revolt

Officials of Brown County High School in Illinois were ordered Sept. 4 to reinstate 19-year-old Loretta Wort to the National Honor Society. She had sued the school after they dismissed her from the society two years ago for becoming pregnant. Just as in the Miss America pageant, the hypocritical indignation of the officials reveals not "honor" for "talent" but conformity to the "moral" standards of the genteel degeneracy of misogynist capitalism.

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Two hundred students who gathered at the University of Liberia August 22 to protest the arrest of two faculty members and several other leading opponents of the Doe regime were attacked by troops, who killed, wounded, and raped scores of students. Pupils later struck high schools to commemorate the deaths. The student movement has been highly critical of Doe's actions belying the promises of democracy and non-alignment he made after his 1980 coup against the U.S.-supported Liberian government.

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While the ROTC has been trumpeting its increased enrollment, only 15% of its enrollees actually stay long enough to be required to serve in the military. It has nothing to do with academic difficulty, according to one student who dropped out of ROTC. "The problem is that you've got to kiss everybody's ass," he said. "The blind adherence to military doctrine...makes me sick"

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The youth of Poland continue to find ways to express their sharp critique of that state-capitalist society. A recent four-day rock festival in Jarocin featured songs such as "War Is Coming", "Load the Cannon," and "Everything Is Getting Rotten" and lyrics like: "Propaganda slanders me. Propaganda horrifies me. Truth is left behind. I prefer the enemy's words."

## BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

prior to the women-led Redfern rebellion. On the contrary. Taken together, the revolutionary dimension of Aboriginal women and this unique study illuminate such new progressive features of Aboriginal society on the question of women that we experience a "shock of recognition" in discovering in the words of the Aboriginal women themselves some of the new moments that Karl Marx had singled out in the *Ethnological Notebooks* he compiled at the end of his life.

## WOMEN, RURAL AND INTELLECTUAL

The unique originality of *We Are Bosses Ourselves* is not only evident in its combining of academic studies with oral presentations by Aboriginal women, and the way it is beautifully illustrated with photographs of the women's meetings. What needs to be singled out as very original, because it presents us with a totally new sense of objectivity, is the relationship of Aboriginal



Members of a women's council meet.

women intellectuals to the Aboriginal women who came from all over rural and urban Australia to meet and tell their story.

It is true that all the women anthropologists—European and Aboriginal—were critical of the "quality of the ethnography of male colleagues who dismiss women as 'feeders, breeders and follow-the leaders.'" However, it is the quite dialectical attitude of the Aboriginal women toward the subjectivity of the rural woman as reason which is distinctive and most compelling.

Listen to how an Aboriginal woman anthropologist simply describes the "intimate knowledge" Aboriginal people have of the seemingly barren desert landscape of Western Australia: "The rainfall is erratic and the Aborigines in that area have had to rely on their intimate knowledge of the topography to survive. To the visitor the country appears empty...The Martukuja, the people of this area, consider the land to be bountiful and have an attachment to it that could not be replaced. Much has been written about an Aboriginal man's identification with 'his country' but it soon becomes obvious to the casual observer that women too have a special relationship to the land".

## WOMEN, MYTH AND MARX

Thus, when women from Borroloola described their independent roles as hunters, we are not only given a view of the Aboriginal woman's "special relationship to the land," but sense in the mythic dimension of her thought the remembrance of a heroic age of woman's autonomy: "We are Aboriginal women. We talk for our hunting business, ceremony business. We used to go hunting and feed the men too... Men never used to boss over women. We are bosses ourselves, women ourselves. Sometime man used to work for woman too when we come back from hunting, tired and everything and husband got to work for us, get some wood, water, make tea... Woman too, sometimes when husband go hunting and same way we work for men too, you know, help them."

Not only does her knowledge disclose the advanced elements of Aboriginal culture that are limited for women under capitalist patriarchy, but the Aboriginal woman's knowledge is decisive in the "modern" education of Aboriginal society. The women reported on how some Aboriginal schools have developed an "ethnoscience" curriculum which studies the material environment of Aboriginal society within its own world view.

Another Aboriginal woman, Helen Boyle, who was active with the Sydney Commission to Defend Black Rights when the Redfern revolt broke out, gives a compelling critique of the role played by Christian missionaries in the colonization of Aboriginal Australia: "...early missionaries did not realize that the Aborigines had a fully developed religion of their own. Indeed, the missionaries saw this as their chance to save a few souls. The education they provided for Aborigines reflected the European view of what male and female roles should be."

It is precisely this relationship of modern to "primitive" society which does not merely signal the advent of private over communal property, Christianity over native belief systems, but discloses what Marx called future "epochs of social revolution" that makes *We Are Bosses Ourselves* as serious a philosophic work as it is a living voyage of discovery into the profound Dreamtime of Aboriginal society.

Thus, we cannot consider it accidental that Marx concludes his greatest work, *Capital*, with a critique of the colonization theory that Wakefield applied to Australia. And in compiling his *Ethnological Notebooks* at the end of his life, Marx's study of Aboriginal society revealed not the "savage mind" a priori posited by Western Anthropology, but instead the "intelligent black" of Australia.

# OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

In August and September new grass-roots movements unfolded in Azania (South Africa) in the biggest and most multi-dimensional outpouring against racism since the 1976 Soweto uprising had shown the birth of a new generation of Black revolutionaries. At the center of the protests was a new apartheid constitution offering "participation" alongside the white minority (16% of the population) to Indian and mixed-race communities (11%), but leaving the overwhelming Black majority totally disenfranchised. The new constitution had been repudiated after four weeks of activity by an 80%-plus abstention rate among Indian and mixed-race Azanians. Thousands of students had gone on strike, barricade fighting had broken out in Black ghettos, Black puppets of apartheid had been killed, and new strikes had arisen among the country's Black miners.

◀ The most serious resistance broke out in the Black mining towns of Sebokeng, Evaton and Sharpeville, beginning in September. Shops and municipal offices were looted and burned, and barricades were set up in the street. At the same time as the racist election results were being implemented, sharp rent increases went into effect for impoverished and disenfranchised Blacks. Three Black puppets of apartheid, including "Deputy Mayor" Sam Dlamini of Sharpeville, were killed. But over 50 protesters were also killed by police, who used everything from tanks to helicopters.

This working-class area south of Johannesburg near the mining complex of Vereeniging has a rich revolutionary tradition. In 1955-56 Evaton residents organized a bus boycott inspired by the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the U.S. In 1960, the area was a center of the anti-

passbook campaign. Sixty-nine Blacks were killed in the infamous Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

On Sept. 6 so-called Law and Order Minister Louis LeGrange and other officials toured the area, whizzing through Sharpeville in armored vehicles, until they reached Sebokeng when: "As they crested a low rise, with escort helicopters above, their convoy came to an abrupt halt because hundreds of people, about 500 yards down the rock-littered highway in front of them, seemed to have formed a human barricade across their route, a presence of vague menace, lighted by a low sun. Without investigating further, the ministers withdrew." (NY Times, 9/7/84)

A few days later, as Blacks buried their dead amid chants of "Amandla...Ngawetu!" (Power...It shall be ours), new resistance broke out and barricades went up once again in Sebokeng. The government hastily banned all indoor political meetings as the anniversary of the death of Steve Biko, Black Consciousness Movement leader murdered in 1977, approached, yet street protests continued, spreading to Soweto as well. Mass arrests were made.

Next to move were the Black miners. Over 40,000 went on strike against a wage offer of 2.3%, even though the new Black National Miners' Union (NUM) had not yet called for a strike. The NUM has organized 70,000 of the country's 600,000 black miners in its first year of existence. Eight thousand strikers were attacked by police and retaliated by burning company buildings. At least seven miners were killed, and thousands were fired. White miners, mainly supervisors, make \$17,000 per year, while Blacks make only \$3000 per year. Blacks are today 82% of the national work force.

Youth have also been on the move. More high

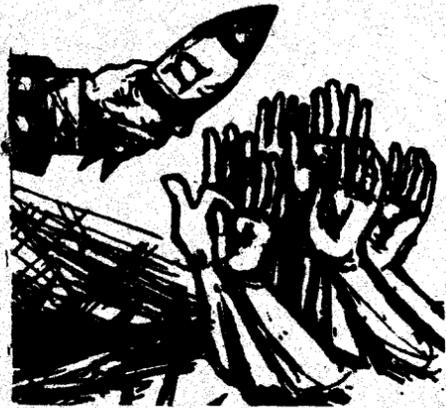
school and college youth have boycotted schools this year at one time or another than in 1976. Students want to stop blatant oppression: corporal punishment, sexual harassment, expulsions, and a racist budget which spends \$900 per year on white children's education and \$125 on African children's.

By the Aug. 23 mixed-race "election" offered by apartheid, 600,000 students were boycotting classes. The turncoat mixed-race Labor Party had to hold its "election" rallies under heavy white police guard. Turn-out averaged only 17%.

Then came the election for Indians, with only 17% turn-out as well. Five hundred Indian demonstrators in Lerasia were set upon by police, and 100 were injured when they rallied to protest the exclusion of the African majority from the voting. One protest leader was Ella Ramgobin, granddaughter of Gandhi, who had organized Indians against South African racism in the 1890s.

By mid-September over 60 Africans lay dead, but it was the apartheid system, rather than the African masses, which was reeling in fear from the explosion it had unleashed. In 1976 the uprising came at a time when Mozambique and Angola had just wrested themselves free of Portuguese rule and pledged support to the South African revolutionaries. In 1980 new mass unrest followed the Black victory in Zimbabwe. In 1984 it was in a different international context with apartheid's military aggression having forced Mozambique and Angola into "non-aggression" pacts aimed at the exiled South African revolutionaries. Yet the masses seem to be saying to the world: we will show you that it is our own, internal, class resistance which is the key to toppling the racist regime, no matter how many pacts it forces on our neighbors.

## 'Call for Peace in Europe'



A "Call for Peace in Europe" appeared on August 7, Hiroshima Day, from the "Initiative for an East-West Dialogue, Berlin". It began: "We are living in the most dangerous period in human history. A third world war is not only possible, it becomes more likely." Unlike most such peace appeals, this one went on to discuss Third World economic problems and argued, at great length, that: "For us, peace is more than the absence of war."

To the signers of the appeal peace also means, "the free expression of opinion, unconditional freedom to organize and to travel, and complete protection of human democratic rights at both the political and trade union levels. Every violation of human rights, wherever it appears, endangers peace as much as the actual outbreak of war."

Published in the independent Left paper *Tagezeitung*, the "Initiative" was signed by a wide array of activists, many of them East European: Wolf Biermann, the Left folk singer expelled from East Germany; Petra Kelly and Gert Bastian of the Greens; German Marxist economist Elmar Altwater; Rosana Rossanda, Left Italian writer; just-released Marxist dissident Petr Uhl and four others from Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia; Hungarian dissidents Gyorgy Konrad and Mihaly Vajda; Roland Jahn, peace activist expelled from East Germany; Wlodek Goldkorn and Zbigniew Kowalewski, former Solidarnosc activists now in exile; and Russian exile writers Lev Kopelev and Raissa Orlova-Kopeleva.

## Iran's economic crisis

While many Western military analysts have attributed the long delay in Iran's anticipated offensive against Iraq to Iran's lack of military equipment, the truth is that there has been much resistance among the young draftees who refuse to walk on mines and clear the front for tanks with their dead bodies. As one young draftee said, "No one wants the continuation of this war. We have realized that it is much more valuable to have a father or brother in this world than to have a house in heaven."

Meanwhile, the reactionary Islamic regime of Khomeini is facing one of its greatest internal crises ever, not only from the continuing Iraq/Iran war, but from the internal war economy that has resulted. Officially unemployment is 20%, but the true figure is almost double that. There are shortages of kerosene and other basic necessities, and the government has continued to issue ration coupons for meat, eggs, milk, rice and sugar, items which are available in the open market for three to five times their government prices. Many in the slums of southern Tehran are forced to sell their food coupons for other necessities, such as rent payment and medicine.

The regime has tried to combat unemployment through massive inflation of the state bureaucracy. It now employs two million people, up from 1.1 million during the Shah's regime. The mosques can also be added to this growing bureaucracy, as they contain 180,000 mullahs. Nearly half the budget of the government, after allocation for the military, has been earmarked for industrial plans.

Clearly the mullahs' regime, which until recently paid little regard to the economy, has realized that one can hardly ignore production. The process of production of more means of production and of less means of consumption continues in Iran. Western powers have reacted to the "smell" of capitalist production in Iran, and the volume of trade between Iran and the West, including Germany, has been increasing.

What is demanded from the Iranian masses, as usual, has been greater austerity and a total acceptance of the militarization of the economy. Resistance, however, continues.

## Bulletin

### New Trials in Yugoslavia

*Marxist-Humanists the world over are outraged at yet another Stalinist type of measure in Yugoslavia. Six young opposition intellectuals are facing five to fifteen years in prison for "counter-revolutionary activities", which consisted of simply attending political discussion meetings in private apartments. Three are on hunger strike. A trial is planned for October in Belgrade. Many are associated with the Marxist Humanist Praxis group, organized since the 1960s by philosophers such as Mihailo Markovic and Ljubomir Tadic. Those facing prison include a leader of the 1968 student revolt, Vladimir Milanovic. We are organizing support networks for our Yugoslav comrades.*

## Theology of Liberation under attack by Pope

Pope John Paul II's campaign to terminate the dialogue between Catholics and Marxists took a new turn in September when Leonardo Boff, a Brazilian author and activist of liberation theology, was summoned to the Vatican to appear before the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith. This body is the late 20th century edition of the Holy Office (Inquisition). Its mission has remained: to root out heresies and re-establish orthodoxy. Boff's summons coincided with a strong denunciation of Marxist ideas within liberation theology by the Pope.

It is no accident that a Latin American was singled out for condemnation of the Catholic-Marxist dialogue. Liberation theologians' inclusion of Marxism as a theory of human liberation has found its most fertile soil in those lands of oppression and revolution.

The Pope attacked liberation theologians for using Marxism as an analytic "science" of class struggle. But as the American Left philosopher Thomas Sheehan wrote, the Vatican "speaks of 'Marxism' much the way President Reagan and Reader's Digest do...a crude oversimplification." The Pope's deepest fear is the Humanism of Marx, which he tries to usurp by speaking its language. Travelling through Canada he pontificated against the dehumanization of technology and automation, and raised the spectre of a "judgement day" for the capitalist, industrialized North if it did not feed the impoverished—and revolutionary—South.

When this Pope was first elected, N&L reported (Nov. 1978): "...the Vatican has again plunged deeply into its professional anti-Communism, this time aimed not just at Russia but more specifically and directly against the Latin American liberation movement...What

more 'brilliant' move on the part of the Vatican than the choice of Cardinal Wojtyla as Pope, a man as adept as the totalitarian Communists in the country in which he lives at using libertarian, sometimes even 'Marxist' language, to cover up capitalist exploitation."

This is far from an abstract question in Nicaragua, where the Vatican is abetting Reagan's efforts to sanctify his open aid to the hated Somocista contras—counterrevolutionaries. The Nicaraguan government expelled 10 foreign priests in July for agitating on behalf of another priest charged with collaboration with the contras. Archbishop Ovando y Bravo, head of the established Church there, openly admits his opposition to the Sandinista government and has made an issue of the return of the priests. He actively supported a Holy Week procession where marchers called for a "dialogue" with the contras. Reagan hailed that event as a "demonstration of defiance."

The Pope's attack on the Latin American liberation movement attempts to blur what Marx made explicit long ago in his philosophy of absolute humanism—the dualities that arise out of the religion espoused by the oppressor, and the religious expression of the desires of the oppressed struggling to be free. In that there is no reconciliation.

## Dominican Republic

Before President Jorge Blanco could announce a new round of price increases for gasoline and fuel on Aug. 30, he had to turn the Dominican Republic into an armed camp. The government deployed hundreds of army troops and police throughout the cities, especially in the poor neighborhoods, where rebellion swept the country last April.

Despite conditions resembling an armed occupation, youth from the Santo Domingo slums built barricades of burning tires against the police and smashed the windows of public transport buses. Police arrested scores and carried them off to jails in San Francisco de Macoris, Santiago, Puerto Plata and other cities.

Earlier in the month hundreds of students from the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo had tried to march from their campus to the commercial district to protest a rise in bus fares. Many students were arrested as police armed with rifles and tear gas ringed the campus to prevent the march, while hundreds of special operations police invaded the poor neighborhoods to prevent any actions there.

Several union chiefs and Left party leaders were rounded up by authorities as a "preventative" step before Blanco's speech. But it is the poor who have borne the brunt of the economic crisis as well as daily police repression since the April rebellion. The protesting students had said: "All these days will be days of struggle, of anti-government protests, but it will be a struggle of all the people."

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