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Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives

I. Mikhail Gorbachev, the New Russian Ruler, Shifts to a New Global Outlook, Gloats at NATO's Contradictions

Mikhail Gorbachev, the new player in nuclear global leadership, is about to attempt so new a chapter in relations between the two nuclear Behemoths as to ally shift Russia's world relations from West to East—and to the Middle East and the whole Third World. It isn't that the U.S., as the mightiest of all nuclear giants, is disregarded, but that Gorbachev feels that he has no intention of changing Reagan's tune. In one respect, he has already done this by arranging to meet Mitterrand in Paris before Gorbachev meets Reagan. It is this that must be further developed and Gorbachev does not want to limit it only at what he can do in exacerbating the contradictions that exist in the West.

Contrary to what the State Department is feeding the media about Gorbachev, and the news that the media, in turn, is supplying to the State Department about Gorbachev's youth and robustness, Gorbachev is not interested in engaging in a competition with Reagan on a level of who is the best "communicator." The announcement of a November meeting, which was made simultaneously in Russia and the U.S. as early as late August, gives both of these global players in human history time to change the "why" and the "what" they will talk about at the summit, from a mere "get acquainted" session to a total stalemate in the Geneva "negotiations." None of the scenarios that the State Department and the media are writing for Gorbachev is determining his agenda.

What is setting his agenda is the post-World War II world, from Stalin's attitude to Mao's victory, to

Khrushchev's entry into the Middle East and establishment of the Camp David peace period with Eisenhower. This is on the one hand. On the other hand, the latest events since Reagan's ascendancy and Gromyko's total focus on the West demanded, Gorbachev decided, a shake-up and jolting of all global relations. Contrary to the Western focus on the internal "crises" of the Russian economy as meaning that they required a total concentration by Gorbachev on the domestic scene, it is Gromyko who is being assigned that task by being moved to the ceremonial Presidency, while Gorbachev takes full responsibility for shifts on the international scene.

Here Gorbachev is attempting to initiate a truly new chapter in global politics as he tries to shift his global relationships from "the West" to "the East." What is truly new since World War II is the existence of a whole new Third World. Thereby he is attempting to reverse what was started by Stalin, who acted as if Mao, who had just won power

in China, was just a sub-lieutenant, like the Russian commissars who capitulated to Stalin.

Khrushchev, after his "de-Stalinization" speech (the famous secret "Stalin's Crimes" speech at the 1956 20th Russian Communist Party Congress), did promise China there would be a reversal of Russia's "Father Knows Best" attitude. But he reneged on his promise to share nuclear knowledge with China. He made things worse by proceeding to establish the Camp David "peace spirit" with Eisenhower before ever giving an account to Mao about the new global relationship.

AT THE SAME TIME, Gorbachev does not by any means feel he has "lost" West Europe, not even though they voted to accept U.S. deployment of nuclear weapons. Gorbachev feels that he has been given his greatest weapon for anti-Reaganism with Reagan's mindless visit to Bitburg. This demonstrated not only to the Russian masses but to the Germans, as well—indeed, to the whole world, U.S. included—that there is a good deal of affinity between Reagan and the Nazi SS officers buried at Bitburg.

For the time being, Gorbachev can gloat about the erosion of NATO from within its own contradictions. We are not only referring to the obvious, such as the divergent attitudes between West Europe and the U.S. on both Central America and Afghanistan. Instead, we wish to single out what they supposedly agree on—"100%"—deployment of nuclear arms. The original request came, after all, from the former Chancellor of West Germany, Helmut Schmidt, not from the U.S.

What Reagan fails to sense is the "why" of this Helmut Schmidt proposal. It took an official not presently in the Reagan Administration to probe into that "why." We refer to the analysis of Earl C. Ravenal, former official in the office of the Secretary of Defense, on what the deployment of the long-range nuclear weapons signifies: "The additional protection they afford is illusory; they are not even subject to European control...They are a symbol of Europe's abiding distrust of America's extended deterrence."¹ As if that didn't state openly enough that Europe has not lost DeGaulle's distrust of America, Ravenal adds: "...under the surface, America's nuclear commitment to Europe is not so sure." Because he thinks he has not yet driven the point home, he continues: "America, the alliance guarantor, hoping to escape the destruction of nuclear war, will seek to put time between the outbreak of war in Europe and the decision to escalate to nuclear weapons, and will take whatever advantage it can of its distance from Europe."

No doubt, the Reaganites in power now will deny that statement and the general cynicism that pervades both Europe's acceptance of deployment and America's cynicism, as well, from an "opposite" angle. They must face the stark reality of the way rulers decide upon so-called strategy. As Ravenal articulates it: "American are faced with an increasingly demarcated choice: the salvation of Europe, or their own solvency and safety."

All this makes it easier for Gorbachev to show his macho spirit in international affairs by removing Gromyko from that post. To the U.S. and the West generally, Gromyko meant the "evil spirit from the East." To China and the Third World, and most of all to the new leaders in the Kremlin, Gromyko stood for "the West"—that is to say, he was a specialist on the maneuvers of the Western powers. So it isn't only a question of being young among the elders. Gorbachev is starting a new chapter as the leader from Georgia, who is the Great Russian as well.

Moreover, he is replacing Gromyko with a nearly unknown non-specialist in any international affairs. Eduard Shevardnadze's specialty is as top cop and as Party chief in Georgia. Whereas all the pundits are correctly stressing that this new spokesman of foreign affairs will express Gorbachev's views, they are quite ambivalent about what was totally new in Andropov's ascendancy and what the "Andropov man," Gorbachev, is de-

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Hiroshima Day

Anti-nuclear solidarity among U.S. and Japanese people

Editor's Note: The following statement has been sent by News & Letters to the 23rd International Anti-War Assembly being held in Japan on Aug. 4.

Forty years ago this August the U.S. dropped atomic bombs on Japan. History will never absolve U.S. class society for this wanton, inhuman nuclear holocaust upon the peoples of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Where Ronald Reagan travels to Europe for the 40th anniversary of the surrender of Germany (and ends up paying homage to Nazis at Bitburg!), it is not the rulers but the people, of Japan and the U.S., who remember that atomic horror. This year protests are being organized during the anniversary week of those bombings, not alone as a remembrance of the past, but as a protest against the nuclear militarization of the entire world.

It is a time to renew the solidarity of the anti-war movements of Japan and the U.S. It is after all the tremendous Japanese anti-war movement, especially of the youth who, in the 1960s, reminded the world of the horror of those events and the real possibility of their recurrence on a global level. In 1960 mass demonstrations in Japan against the U.S.-Japan security treaty led to the cancellation of Eisenhower's trip to Japan.

The Japanese youth were not only against the U.S. bombing but against their own government's war actions. Thus, the Japanese anti-nuclear movement has sought to make Pearl Harbor Day a day of protest against war in Japan, a day of solidarity with America. It was in that spirit that when the Marxist-Humanist Raya Dunayevskaya was on a speaking tour of Japan in the mid-sixties, the movement invited her to speak in Hiroshima on the anniversary of Pearl Harbor. She began her talk by saying that "the day of Infamy that will never be erased from history is not December 7, but August 6." This kind of solidarity between a "second Japan"

See "Political-Philosophic Notes on Reagan's Visit to Bitburg" by Raya Dunayevskaya, N&L, June, 1985.



Nuclear Mother, painting by Canadian artist Helen Anderson of Vancouver, B.C.

and a "second America," against the rulers of both countries and with the masses of each, is what is so needed today. The depth of that solidarity needs to extend not only to our opposition to nuclear war and to the rulers of these two countries, but a solidarity toward working out revolutionary ideas for freedom, for working out a pathway toward a truly human society. It is in that spirit that we say: "All out to protest the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki!"

1. See "Europe Without America: the Erosion of NATO," by Earl C. Ravenal, in *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1965.

News and Letters Committees

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veloping even further. It is the integrality of the Secret Police/Party ideology. No less than three of the 13 members of the Political Bureau have NKVD (Secret Police) work as their specialty.

It is not the Russian economy and its "inefficiency" that signalled the newness in Andropov, who had combined both the functions of an NKVD man and ideology as his prerogatives. As we wrote in 1982: "Suslov was Russia's preeminent ideologist... (but) Andropov, the NKVD man, nevertheless moved rapidly to take over that portfolio after Suslov's death."² In a word, the Leader has now monopolized both ideology and politicalization of the Army that had formerly been the prerogative of the NKVD.

CENTRAL AMERICA MAY BE geopolitically too far removed from Russia and too close to the U.S. for Gorbachev to wish to challenge the U.S. there, though he

2. See Raya Dunayevskaya's analysis, "Andropov's Ascendancy Reflects Final Stage of State-Capitalism's Degeneracy," in *News & Letters*, December 1982.

II. The U.S. Economy and Its Imperialist Tentacles vs. the Mass Struggles, Here and Abroad

To us as American revolutionaries, it is Reagan's retrogressionism at home that is the immediate enemy. That has priority over all else. What has the "four more years" Reagan won in the last election meant to the American masses? Even if we take the question of the American economy "in general"—as if people are not involved (as is characteristic of economists)—Martin Feldstein, the former head of the Council of Economic Advisers under Reagan, is forced to conclude that nothing short of the economy itself is in danger.³ We must remember that Feldstein had approved Reagan's union-busting. He tries to hide his own anti-unionism under the accusation that the American workers are bound by what he calls "rigidities." That is to say, they are union men and women who have fought hard to win decent wages and conditions of labor.

"Pragmatism" cannot hide the fact that the American economy is going down. Furthermore, it isn't true that this characterizes only agriculture and the timber industry, which have reached the lowest levels since the Depression. Feldstein admits that basic industries like steel, chemicals and even high-tech have become second-rate. The truth is that our so-called "prosperity" is totally misleading. There has been an increase of ten million in the number of poor since 1978. And, since Reagan has assumed power, the poor, writes Joseph Lelyveld (*New York Times*, June 16, 1985), "are generally further below the poverty line—now calculated by the Census Bureau to be \$10,610 for a family of four—than they were then."

"There is a real danger...that the capital inflow and the rising dollar are giving Americans a false sense of well-being," Feldstein bemoans, as he points to the "new inflow of nearly \$100 billion from abroad." The mighty U.S., he concludes, has become a "debtor nation."

Finally, though he was for the rise of military spending in the first years of Reaganism, he is by now so worried about "America's fiscal imbalance" that he stresses the fact that the deficit has risen from \$28 billion to "more than \$107 billion last year. This year it is likely to rise to about \$140 billion, or over three and a half percent of the Gross National Product." In a word, the imbalance has quadrupled in just three years!

What Feldstein fails to see—precisely because politically he thinks like Reagan when it comes to opposing workers' unionism, which he call "rigidities"—is that Reagan has deliberately created deficits in order to get the Democrats, too, to agree to dismantle what has been achieved since the New Deal, over a whole half century—whether that be welfare programs, or labor rights legislation, or creating institutions like the National Labor Relations Board.

In 1984, Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina told the Association for a Better New York that Reagan had "intentionally created a deficit so large that we Democrats will never have enough money to build the sort of government programs we want."⁴ And in the *New York Times* of July 21, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan develops in full "Reagan's Inflate-the-Deficit Game," revealing a discussion with David Stockman, the Budget Director (who was his former student), on the question of using the budget process to eliminate programs: "The driving motive has been to dismantle fifty years of social legislation."

THERE IS NOT A SINGLE element of the Black population, in particular, that has not felt the retrogression—whether that be in the increase in unemployment, the abridgment of civil rights, child care, housing, and on and on. Although, in general, the media have given

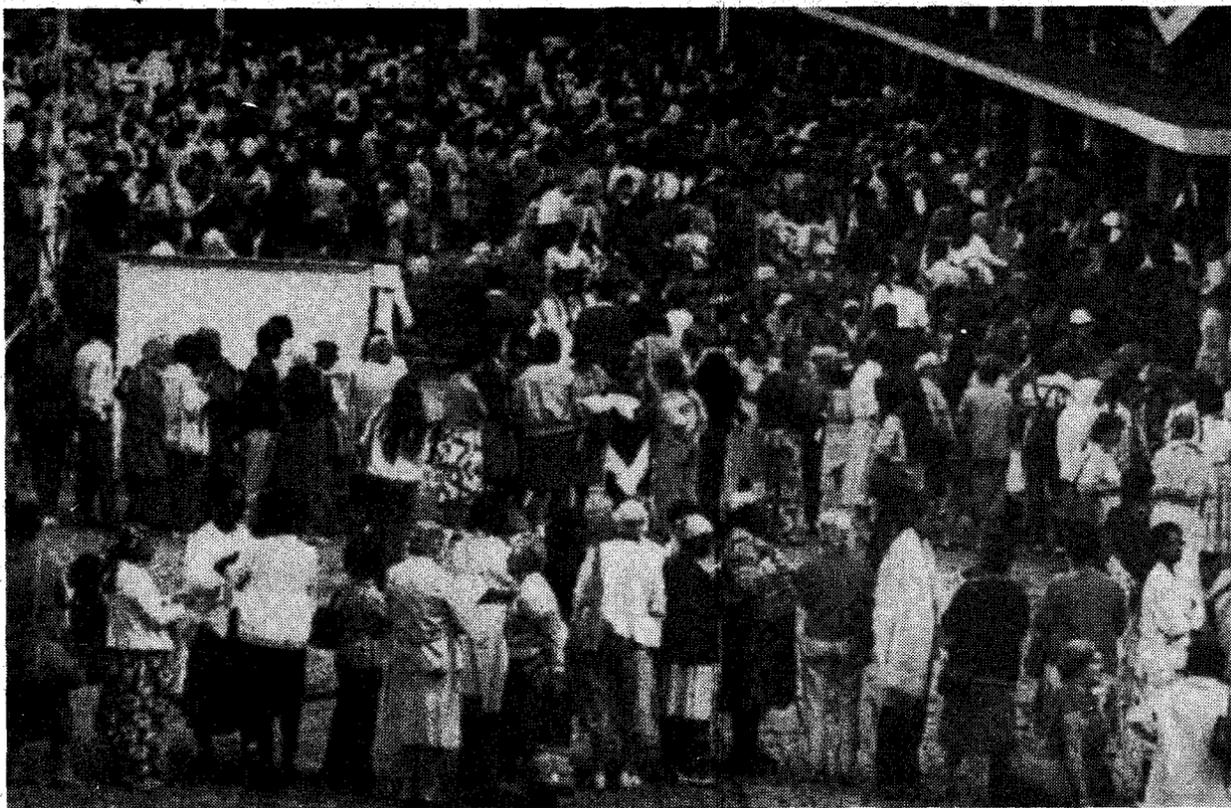
will certainly aid Nicaragua. But what about the Middle East, where Khrushchev did achieve totally new relations ever since 1955 by selling them arms? In the Middle East, while Russia "lost" Egypt as an ally, Syria is not only its ally but is the key element for Lebanon, and has such influence in all of the Middle East that, for the moment, the U.S. cannot embark on any move there without paying serious attention to what Syria's role would be. There are many, many other points of contact for Russia, from Lebanon to Iran, from Afghanistan (which means also harassing Pakistan) to India.

Because Khomeini never underplayed what military strength meant, especially on a global scale, he was never confused by the propaganda that the U.S. "follows Israel." Israel remains Khomeini's enemy and he will continue to fight it. It is the U.S., however, that he has designated as the "Great Satan," always insisting that it is Israel who follows the U.S., not the other way around. Clearly, the initiation of a new chapter in Russia's relations with the "East," the Mid-

dle East and the Third World is, to Gorbachev, worth trying.

We need go no further into the games rulers Shocks of the order of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which initiated World War II, will abound. Instead, we have to look at the two worlds in each country.

Russia, of course, has plenty of contradictions only when it comes to relationships with the other clear Titan and the "West" as a whole, but in antagonistic class relations in Russia itself. Let's not forget that even in the forced labor camps of Volga there was a great revolt, which followed the great freedom chapter begun in East Germany on June 1953, when workers there issued the slogan: "Break Freedom," and tore down the statues of Stalin. No, we forget that each time a rebellion is put down in the empire in East Europe, it is only driven underground, and not destroyed. Poland, which continues to revolt to this day in the struggles of Solidarnosc, no means the only one.



Women in Kenya registering for Forum '85.

this some attention, specifically they have not let the masses speak for themselves—not even as reflected in the leaders. Thus, we saw nowhere an account of Benjamin Hooks' report to the annual NAACP meeting; the media limited their coverage of that report to saying that Hooks' spirit was "combative." (The question of the Black Dimension will be developed separately in a supplementary report to the News and Letters Committees Plenum by Lou Turner, "Black World" columnist.)

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCES IN KENYA

The same retrogression is true of the hard-won rights of women's liberationists. All these rights are now being threatened, from the right to abortion to the right to a job—any job at all, let alone comparable pay for comparable work.

Nothing makes Reagan's retrogressionism more obvious than the appointment of Maureen Reagan by her "dad" to head the U.S. delegation to the United Nations Decade for Women Conference in Nairobi, Kenya, and to push the line that whatever she raises is the proper business of a women's conference, while what all others raise is "propaganda." Anything contrary to Reagan's agenda is evidently to be considered "politics"—whether that be the matter of Palestinian women asking to be put on the agenda, or the matter of the Equal Rights Amendment, for which the entire UN delegation voted, the very first year of the "decade for women."

While the non-governmental "Forum '85" was good in exposing the retrogressionism of Reagan, it was non-critical of many of the conditions of women in the Third World countries. There is no doubt, however, that "Forum '85" was more representative of women both in the U.S. and around the world than the official conference. Not only were 10,000 present there as against 3,000 at the official meetings, but the spirit and discussion, whether on politics or other issues, were concerned with the actual problems of women. The greatest events, however, took place neither at the government-sponsored meetings nor at the Forum, but on the lawn where masses of women assembled, some just on hearing that there was such a women's conference taking place.

The most exciting and most seriously thought-out activity of all was what Elaine Sciolino reported in the *New York Times* of July 18: the way in which one

Kenyan woman, Elizabeth Wanjara, heard about the Decade for Women Conference on a transistor radio in her hometown of Bungoma, about 450 miles from Nairobi. It inspired eight other women to get together, sell honey and knit sweaters to raise enough money to buy her a bus ticket. The fact that she is ill only proves that intelligence is not related to reading and writing, but to experience and your own thinking. It was this woman who said (and she was the one who said it) that she knew exactly why she came to have to go back to all the women in my place at them the stories on all the happenings here. I'll tell them how we can be ourselves—no longer just babies and have babies dying." As will be seen when we detail the Marxist-Humanist analysis, not to say that this woman has worked out the sophic conclusions to be drawn from this conference from the decade as a whole on what to do now.

WHAT IS IMPORTANT ABOUT this Conference is that thousands of women, spontaneously and without any previous experiences at such meetings, such a passion for freedom and gained strength knowing that there were others who felt the way they did and that they did not have to solve their problems individually. But this spontaneity found no voice (continued on page 11)

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3. See "American Economic Policy and the World Economy," by Martin Feldstein, *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1985.

4. Quoted by Tom Wicker in his *New York Times* article of June 19, "A Deliberate Deficit." He here expands on this whole question and contrasts it to Reagan's public statements that cutting taxes "would expand the economic base and increase revenues. In his 1980 campaign he even contended that the increase in revenues resulting from the tax cut would pay for the military buildup he also planned."

Job control can't be left up to courts



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

July 5 was the 50th anniversary of the Wagner Act, which gave the working class of this country the legal "right" to organize into unions. But the Supreme Court marked that anniversary just a few days before by in effect taking that right away. What government giveth, government taketh away.

I'm referring to the Court's 5-4 ruling that unions may not fine or discipline members who cross the picket line during a strike, upholding a pro-management ruling against the Pattern Makers Union. What the Court has done is take one more step to sanction "individual liberty" for scabs while attacking the right of workers for a decent wage and life style.

LAWS AGAINST LABOR

Workers will remember this ruling as being just as reactionary and anti-labor as the Taft-Hartley and Landrum-Griffin Acts. This isn't to say that limiting the power of workers to conduct a strike is anything "new" in this country. These anti-workers laws dealt a blow to labor in limiting the number of workers on a picket line during a strike, thus making it harder to keep scabs out. But with this ruling, the door is open even wider to break unions and divide labor.

This ruling has been such a shock that I have been thinking back over my experience in the labor movement to see how it could come to pass. When the government gave the workers legal "right" to organize into unions 50 years ago, it surely was a victory, but I can recall the great debate that produced within the labor movement when I was a boy.

Some workers (especially the union leadership) argued that we now had a "toe in the door" and would soon win many more gains from government. But other workers (especially the miners in the hills of Kentucky where I grew up) said unless we get control of production, no laws from on top will help us.

In the course of my working life, I have walked many a picket line and organized many a strike, but I could never understand what the union leaders meant when they told us we "won" the strike. We would go back to work, with a 50-cent raise, and find the same conditions of labor that caused the strike. Nothing was changed. Management and government still had control over production.

As soon as the labor movement allowed FDR and the New Deal to give us union recognition in exchange for giving up control of production, we were headed right in the direction of Taft-Hartley, Landrum-Griffin and the Supreme Court decision on the Pattern Makers Union. In struggling against the dead weight of automation, speed-up, the union leadership, and the loss over control of production for over 30 years, rank-and-file workers have been challenging this sellout. But this time around, we have to make sure we don't fall into the same trap twice.

BANKRUPTCY OF COMPROMISE

The result of giving up control of production is now plain for every worker to see: over 12 million workers have been displaced in this country since 1979 through lay-offs, plant closings, etc. The union bureaucracy has done nothing to prevent this. Workers' living standards have fallen, benefits have been cut, the power of the strike diluted, all to give the middle class a "recovery." The latest Supreme Court decision shows these conditions will continue unless working people strike out on their own.

One sign that something is brewing from below, however, is seen in the trouble Bieber and the UAW are having selling a sellout contract with GM over the new Saturn division. Many workers are complaining that if a contract is signed with GM giving up even more basic rights, like seniority and control over work assignments, the union won't be worth the paper the contract's written on.

In response, Bieber has gone on a 12-month "national tour" of auto plants to tell the workers how great he is. But all he offers to defend workers from these latest anti-union attacks from government is to sponsor more legislation! He just can't see outside of the old way of thinking, the same way of thinking that has sold us down the river these past 50 years.

The Reagan Court has certainly taken one more step to destroy organized labor, but if we all learn from this the need to work out new ideas and new forms of struggle that will take us out of this dead-end, we may see some new beginnings in labor revolt in the not-so-distant future.

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Massey strikers fight for life of union

Lobata, W. Va.—"We don't care how long it takes, we'll stay out until we get our contract," declared one of a group of striking miners picketing at the A.J. Massey Coal Company's Rocky Hollow coal processing plant here. The other pickets nodded their agreement, despite the fact that the strike is now over nine months long and negotiations have broken off between the coal company and the United Mine Workers (UMW) union.

Most of the pickets were young men, but one middle-aged miner appeared to speak for all of them when he said, "My daddy was here before me, and I've been around a pretty long time myself, and I look to be here for a long time to come. Now, I don't know about Massey, but I know that I'm gonna be here."

Another picket noted that, "This strike would have been over a long time ago if the governors of West Virginia and Kentucky wouldn't allow the state police to babysit the mines for Massey." He was referring to the fact that if the rank-and-file strikers had their way, they would have stopped every scab from working at any Massey mine, and would have cleared the roads of every Massey coal hauling truck.

The strike, marked by court injunctions and police violence against the pickets, was called by the UMW last October in a selective action against Massey Coal Co., which refused to bargain for the more than a dozen mines it controls in the southern West Virginia-Kentucky region, insisting on a separate contract for each mine.

Created by the combined action of Fluor Co. (the largest construction company in the world) and Dutch Shell Oil Co., Massey has become the third largest coal company in West Virginia within a few short years and has the largest single mine in the state. This unprecedented growth resulted from the massive infusion of capital from the two giant conglomerates who bought out the huge coal reserves in the region.

This struggle pits the most militant union in the U.S., the UMW, against the combined power and might of two giants of capital, along with the power of the courts and the Administration which are clearly supporting the Massey union-busting effort.

Massey's demands include: a) the right to name two out of the three men on the mine safety committee; b) eliminating seniority on job bidding; c) revoking job panel rights from one Massey mine to another; d) contributing \$1.50 an hour into an Individual Retirement Account instead of contributing to the UMW retirement fund; e) ceasing payments into the 1950 miners' retirement fund; f) setting up individual health care plans, and g) 22% wage cut.

As a striking miner from a Massey mine in Pineville said, "They're out to throw out everything the union stands for, thinking they can break the UMW that way. Anything that is uniform or standard for miners makes us know we're all getting the same thing. They want to divide the miners by putting through programs and contracts

Women's rights in Egypt

Egyptian feminists are heading to a confrontation with the Islamic fundamentalists' drive for power. The court revoked in May the 1979 Personal Status Law on "procedural grounds," that Anwar Sadat had promulgated the law outside parliament. The law provided for a woman's right to know if her husband intended to marry a second wife (Egyptian law does not ban polygamy). In that case, she had the direct right to divorce, child custody and housing. Pres. Mubarak got a weaker version of the law reinstated in July. The law now puts the burden of argument on the first wife. She can get a divorce within a year by showing the second marriage would cause her "moral or material harm."

There is a small but active feminist movement in Egypt. Women have won some basic civil rights, including equal pay for equal work and the vote. Upper and middle class women in particular have benefited and advanced in government careers, the professional services and intellectual life. But the vast majority of Egyptian women live in the grinding poverty of urban working class and peasant family life. Only a tiny minority of men practice polygamy, but in patriarchal, class-ridden Egyptian society, the "threat" of a second wife is always there.

Fundamentalists are pressuring Mubarak to adapt all of Egyptian law to Sharia, the Islamic code. They claim the Personal Status Law was anti-Islamic because it materially penalized men for taking more than one wife. Intellectual critics and leftists did not take a stand when the law was first revoked, saying they opposed all the laws Sadat passed illegally.

The government has banned all demonstrations in Egypt, and Mubarak pointedly warned feminists not to agitate around the law. His policy has been to walk a line somewhere between the shifting alliances of the religious right and the conservative center. But the specter over his shoulder is not only Sadat's assassination by an element in the Moslem Brotherhood. It is as well the 1977 uprising by workers over intolerable living condition.

—Mary Holmes

that are different for all of us. We can't have that and still say that we have a union."

He also reported that Massey had imported gun thugs from a firm in Ohio to battle the miners, but when the townspeople from Oceana, where the thugs were stationed, found out about it, they combined to force them out of the town.

"The people around here have really been great in their support of us. Right now, it looks pretty grim insofar as the strike is concerned. But we feel that we're in the forefront of the workers fighting to halt the give-back contracts. And I can tell you that we'll stop it if we get the help we need to stay out." —Andy Phillips

Black World

Reagan's attack on civil rights



by Lou Turner

The fact that the nation's four major civil rights organizations met in their annual conventions all within a month of each other this summer, all in Southern cities and all with a single predominating point on their agendas—the crisis in civil rights under Reaganism—has been totally lost on the national media. Preceding the national gatherings of the NAACP in Dallas, Operation PUSH in Memphis, the Urban League in Wash., D.C. and SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) in Montgomery, Black leaders at an "emergency civil rights summit conference" rather uncharacteristically labeled President Reagan a "reactionary and a racist."

However, the particular focus of each convention had the combined affect of both illuminating the depth of Reagan's retrogression on all civil rights issues and disclosing the depth of uprooting needed to overcome that reality. Thus, Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH met in Memphis in mid-July and stated that 30 miles away in Tunica, Mississippi, the nation's poorest county, America had created its own Ethiopia where the conditions of hunger, poor housing and open sewage trenches can only be measured by the poorest Third World standard.

In Wash., D.C. the National Urban League, which annually reports the dismal facts of Black life in America, heard Reagan's Health and Human Services Secretary, Margaret Heckler, who was compelled to admit that the disparity between the health of Blacks and whites had reached crisis proportions. And at the 76th annual convention of the NAACP, delegates booed the veiled threats of Republican National Committee chairman, Frank Fahrenkopf, who told them that Blacks had "isolated themselves" in the 1984 Presidential election when they overwhelmingly voted against Reagan. Fahrenkopf then arrogantly added: "The absence of Black support...has more serious implications for you than it does for the long-term health of the G.O.P."

STRUGGLE IN THE BLACK BELT

To see what those "serious implications" already mean for Black civil rights we need to turn to the location of the 28th annual SCLC convention, held in early August in Montgomery, Alabama, the birthplace of the Civil Rights Movement. It is in Alabama where one of the fiercest battles is being waged over Reagan's attack on Black civil rights.

The struggles in Sumter, Greene and Perry counties revolve around the question of political power, around control of economic development in the Black Belt.

The politically motivated prosecution of civil rights activists on voting fraud charges by Federal authorities in the western central counties of Alabama, contiguous with the multi-billion dollar Tennessee-Tombigbee Waterway Project, discloses the historic relationship between the political emancipation envisioned by the Civil Rights Movement and the thoroughgoing human emancipation called for by the total crisis in the Black condition. Though some of the activists and political leaders have been acquitted, the Justice Department intends to pursue the indictments against other Black voting rights workers.

HISTORIC AND PHILOSOPHIC ROOTS

It is necessary to recall that the barrier to Black political emancipation in the South has ever been rooted in the economic remains of slavery. It was that relationship which was singled out by the former chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Arthur Flemming, in Congressional hearings on the impact of Reagan's budget cuts on civil rights enforcement during his first term. Flemming's remarks both summarize the Civil Rights Commission's original view on the question and its historic reason for coming into being in 1957:

...history...reveals unmistakable and alarming parallels between the 1880s and the 1980s. A century ago, the Federal (continued on page 8)

NWSA: continuing dialogue needed

by Terry Moon

1985 marks an important moment within the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM). It is 15 years since the historic August 1970 march of 50,000 women down Fifth Avenue in New York City, on the 50th anniversary of women's suffrage. As I write this column, over 10,000 women meet in Kenya to mark the end of the United Nations International Women's Decade (IWD)—ten years supposedly devoted to women. (See Draft Perspectives this issue.)

This year is as well the first year of Reagan's second term, a renewal with a vengeance of his retrogression which all of us have been unable to stop. That retrogression is sickeningly obvious in the outrageous choices of IWD delegates—headed by Presidential daughter Maureen Reagan, who in no way represents American women.

It is within the context of both our revolutionary roots and the attacks of Reaganism that over 2,000 women came together at the Seventh Annual National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) Conference in Seattle, June 19-23.

CONCERN FOR THEORY/PRACTICE

The first plenary was most significant and, in some ways, really set the tone for the Conference. "Work, Race, and Class: Making the Links in Theory and Practice," showed the realization that to solve the problems of our age, theory and practice must come together; yet at the same time, the speakers revealed some of the very things that keep that from happening. Cheryl Schaffer, Regional Coordinator of District 925 (9 to 5), Boston, gave a talk that stressed how in this age of union-busting, 9 to 5 has "succeeded, even under Reaganism."

Schaffer went into detail on their year-long fight to organize Equitable Life Insurance Company in upstate New York (see Jan.-Feb. 1985 N&L); of the 15 women who first came to them, and of how, after six months of meetings, these 15 women signed up their entire shop in three days. But after such a wonderful description of the Reason and activity of both the Equitable women and the 9 to 5 staff, it was disappointing to hear Schaffer call her part of the program "the practice segment," claiming she has "no time for reflection or theorizing." This showed that theory and practice remain very much separated for her because she not only did not see that theory could be implicit in the thought and activity of those working women she had so movingly described, but she denied it even in herself.

In contrast to that, our conversations with women at the Women's Liberation-News & Letters literature table demonstrated that the relationship of theory to practice was indeed a concern of some women at the NWSA Conference. We found that those who stopped at our table, unlike many others in academia, were very open and interested in discussing ideas. In fact, one woman told me she so much wanted a dialogue that she was angry that at the first plenary there was no open microphone for audience discussion and "questions" had to be written down.

What showed again however that for all too many in NWSA theory and practice are still far apart, was the last plenary on "Common Causes: Uncommon Coalitions." One of the speakers, Barbara Smith, a Black lesbian feminist writer from Kitchen Table Press, was disgusted with NWSA on both race and class. She blasted the Conference planners for their concept of "work exchange" for those who couldn't afford the exorbitant fee for the Conference. She read to us from a 1979 state-

NY hotel strike 'settled'

New York, N.Y.—I received the July News & Letters with our story of the strike (at Marriott's Essex House). It was beautiful. The others we showed it to were crazy about it. I hope we can find a way to get it to those who haven't seen it.

After the settlement, the first thing we found when we returned to work was that the job of bathmaid had been eliminated in the new contract. The bathmaids scrubbed the bathroom tiles, defrosted the refrigerators, and cleaned the stoves. Each one cleaned 68 rooms per day. Now this work falls on the regular roommaids. For the day shift, this is like twice as much work. A lot of people don't like it. There is supposed to be a meeting between union and management, but confusing everything is that Marriott is selling this hotel (the only one of its chain that is unionized) to a Japanese company.

Also, a schedule of lay-offs going back to seven years seniority has been made up. But when asked, management says, "There will be no lay-offs." I know that we got all the scabs out of here before we would go back to work. The same as in the other hotels. But one of the biggest, the Waldorf-Astoria, didn't take everybody back after the strike.

The latest thing is that management is posting one of its representatives on each floor to "watch" the supervisors, whose job it is to inspect rooms. It is the supervisors who got a raise, but no extra work. Now I think they feel management doesn't trust them anyway.

—Black working woman, Marriott's Essex House

ment she had written on racism in NWSA because, she said, "so little has changed."

Smith's talk was preceded by a speech by Freedom Socialist Party leader, Merle Woo. Woo got a lot of applause, I think because she was the only one who talked openly of revolution and brought in the different freedom movements. But there was no substance to her talk. It was as if all we had to do was sit back and relax, revolution would come, she would lead it. As far as the burning question of working out a new relationship between theory and practice (or any theory at all)—forget it.

Both Smith and Woo got standing ovations, but I couldn't help but be worried that after everyone gets through patting themselves on the back for being so revolutionary, and then slapping themselves on the wrist for being so racist, it is going to be business as usual back at the academy and next year NWSA would again have a tiny number of Black women present.

What can those of us who have been participants but not planners of the NWSA Conference do to keep next year's Conference from becoming a huge private enclave for those who have made it in academia in the space carved out by the Women's Liberation Movement and to insure that next year Black and other women of color would be truly represented? I think one place to begin—both where we teach/work and in the pages of News & Letters—is to continue the discussion on the needed new relationship between theory and practice.

August 9

South African Women's Day



Ever since 1956, when 20,000 women converged on Pretoria in protest against the hated passes they were trying to extend to the women, August 9 has become known as "Women's Day" in South Africa.

Hope and desperation at food processing plant

City of Commerce, Cal.—In City of Commerce every year a food processing plant opens from May to July. Men, women and youth come out to try for jobs. The first few weeks only experienced workers are hired. Nonetheless, 50 to 60 people show up every day. Some lose hope and leave—others wait for hours. Those who wait have the possibility of getting a job, depending on the number of trucks coming in loaded with strawberries, lemons, oranges and grapefruit.

If more trucks than expected come in, more workers are needed. The foreman/woman goes outside and picks out the number of people needed. One never knows when the lucky noon or evening will be, so people come every day. But when more work comes in, instead of making new openings, workers are kept over until the next day. There is no such thing as a schedule—just work until work is finished. If they don't finish, they are told to go home, sleep for a few hours and come back the same day.

In May, work started at 1:00 p.m., 2:00 p.m., 3:00 p.m. and on, with workers not getting home sometimes until 3:00 a.m. And this schedule is not the worst that they have had. My mother has been working for the past five years. At times they would not let her out until 7:00 a.m. the next day! Instead of opening more shifts to give other people an opportunity to work, they do it all in one shift at minimum wage and don't pay overtime after eight hours of work.

Most of the workers are women. A lot of children suffer during these three months. The mothers talk about this every day at work. My aunt said that her ten-year-old daughter missed days of school: "I don't have the time to take her and pick her up. We cannot give proper care to our children and we see them only for a few hours on Sundays.

"The conditions of work are not at all comfortable. We stand during all hours of work, get wet up to our knees and sweat all day long. We work because we need the money—our husband's wages are not enough."

—Maria



women-worldwide

Genshu Hanayagi, a famous dancer and writer, became the target of right-wing death threats when she handed out leaflets in Tokyo's Ginza business section which read: "Stop the birthday celebration of war criminal (Emperor) Hirohito." She is opposing the growth of terrorism by some 859 right-wing groups with 120,000 members. A similar phenomenon had arisen in Japan in the 1930s. Genshu has also fought against the family dynasties who have a stranglehold on Japan's traditional performing arts.

West Virginia State Supreme Court Justice Richard Neely fired Tess Dineen from her executive secretary job when Dineen refused to continue baby-sitting (sometimes weeks at a time) Neely's 4-year old son. She was doing this on state time, as part of her supposed job duties. NOW and AFSCME demonstrated at the capitol building in June, after her firing. They demanded Neely's resignation and called for child care services available for all state employees. Neely later stepped down from the post of Chief Justice.

Argentina's Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo are currently involved in searches for children who were kidnapped—some since the mid-1970s—by right-wing death squads, police and the military. The Grandmothers' group has compiled dossiers on at least 170 missing children—now considered "war booty" by the military—who were either abducted or born to pregnant women who had been rounded up and taken to clandestine detention camps.

As Spain ended a two-year battle with conservatives and the Catholic Church by legalizing abortion on June 28, the Reagan Administration continued its endless attacks on women's rights by asking the Supreme Court to overturn its 1973 decision legalizing abortion in the U.S.. Spain ended a 40-year ban on abortion by allowing it in cases of rape, danger to the mother's mental and physical health, and possible deformity. The Reagan government, on the other hand, called the U.S. law too broad, interfering with states' right to control abortion.

Temporary worker seeks identity, respect

Detroit, Mich.—What I want to say first about being a temporary worker is that you feel alienated. Everyday is like your first day on the job, and you feel anxious and nervous. People refer to you as "the temp," and you feel isolated. If you make one blunder, they make you feel like you're stupid, instead of looking at it like it's your first day.

After a week you start relaxing, but then you find that the people aren't social to you, because you're only there temporarily. Even though you're a temporary worker, you still want that social interaction with people. If that's missing, you're alienated from the job, from the people—not the formal interaction, but the informal, where people sit around and have coffee. You stick out like a sore thumb.

With most jobs, you're just there, and you can't wait to leave. In a year, you've done the whole city, and you find maybe two places where you didn't feel alienated. There are a lot of Kelly Girls that I talk to, and none are satisfied. Kelly doesn't even pay you on time. I still haven't gotten paid for a job I did three weeks ago. And they don't check out the places where they send you. I've been sent to two abandoned warehouses, and one warehouse with all these men sitting around, some who came up behind me and smelled my neck. I left before the day was over.

Kelly will send you out on an impromptu "A.S.A.P." assignment. For getting up and doing a job that you had no prior notice of, I think they should pay you for a full eight-hour day, but they don't. And when you get to the job the people there don't respect you for getting up and coming to the job. It's one thing to go to an A.S.A.P. if you're going to have the job all week. But once they sent me on an A.S.A.P. for half a day, and after I subtracted lunch money and bus fare, I only had \$10! Now I say if they don't know how long it will be don't call me because I can't live on \$10 a day!

Another thing is that they have a contract out on you. An employer has to pay Kelly \$600 if they want to hire you directly. They won't pay \$600 when they can hire someone else who's not from an agency. It's like Kelly owns you—they have a price on your head, and nobody is going to pay it so you're always cut out of a job.

I also don't like being called "Kelly Girl" at all. It's a label. You could lose your identity with that label. They should call you secretary, or switchboard operator, or by whatever occupation you're doing. But they just call you "Kelly Girl."

—Black woman worker

Allegory of Chile's past and future

House of the Spirits, by Isabel Allende, Alfred A. Knopf, \$17.95.

This allegorical novel by the niece of murdered Chilean President Salvador Allende is about the life of two families—the liberal del Valle family and the landlord Trueba family—who are living within the throes of Latin American history from World War II until the aftermath of the 1973 coup. It begins with the notebooks of Clara, as the narrator reads from them—notebooks that bear witness to life.

The three main characters are all women who become women/amazons towering over all of the events. Their names are Clara, Blanca and Alba, but they could just as easily be called the Past, Present and Future of Latin America. These characters are Isabel Allende's "spirits." The characters here are not only human personalities and apparitions—they are at one and the same time moments of history.

The book begins in anticipation with the arrival of Barabbas, a dog from the sea which Clara finds starving in a cage, that becomes a loving animal faithful to her. In biblical literature, Barabbas is a political prisoner whom the people wanted freed. In the novel, Barabbas arrives on Holy Thursday. His arrival symbolizes the arrival of modernity to replace the older, zealous religion within Latin America.

What we are then witness to is the arrival of the breaking from the old. In fact, Clara's first words are words that oppose the rule of the arch. She is the one who sees "Spirits" and is able to see the future. But what she predicts are apocalyptic events that represent the coming of fascism in Latin America.

We learn of "Rosa the Beautiful," Clara's sister: "the most beautiful creature born on earth." Esteban Trueba is Rosa, symbolically adoring her luminous green and gold eyes. After Rosa dies at a young age in an accident, Clara decides not to speak for nine years. When she speaks again, she announces that she is about to marry Trueba.

The following chapter is called "Three Marias." Here, the Marias is a place that goes through a transformation—not people, and yet this reader could not keep thinking of the great Portuguese book by the three Marias as including Maria Barreno and of the beginning of Portuguese revolution. The peasantry live on this land and eventually self-organize on the land.

Esteban Trueba, representing patriarchal capitalism and agriculture in Latin America, places himself on the land and builds an agricultural "estate" on the backs of the peasants. In ten years he becomes the patron and calls the land and the peasantry his own. The women on the land are controlled by Trueba and are used as cheap labor.

After Clara's marriage, she soon expects a child who will grow into a woman named Blanca. This is a time when the past gives birth to the present; a time for moving ahead with a chapter called "The Time of the Past." Pedro Tercero Garcia, a third-generation peasant, is a revolutionary singer who falls in love with Clara, who becomes pregnant with the future and

gives birth to Alba.

Clara dies, but leaves her notebooks in order to give direction to future events. Esteban Trueba, now a conservative political candidate, conducts a vicious campaign against the socialist party—a party that has become increasingly popular among the people. On the other hand, Alba becomes involved with the socialists and their ideas. All the events involving Alba's youth, her interest in philosophy and her participation in an important student occupation at her university are in the chapter called "The Awakening."

The real life events start to unfold rapidly. The socialists eventually do win the electoral campaign. It is here where "The Conspiracy" begins. All of this is obviously very specific to Chile's experience. There is no doubt that the author wants the readers to know Chile.

The "Epilogue" to this very beautiful, moving novel full of political allusions that are very deliberately never spelled out nevertheless makes what I would call a "category" that all women should keep writing notebooks "that bear witness to life," because they have a powerful untold but true history to reveal. —Diane Lee

Marx's Capital still has capitalism's number

"What experience generally shows to the capitalist is a constant excess of population, that is, an excess in relation to the momentary requirements of surplus-labor absorbing capital, although this excess is made up of generations of stunted, short-lived and rapidly-replaced human beings, plucked, so to speak, before they were ripe..."

"The cotton trade has existed for ninety years...It has existed for three generations of the English race, and I believe I may safely say that during that period it has destroyed nine generations of factory operatives..."

—Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. I, 1867

Hood, the President of Chicago Coca-Cola Bottling, opened negotiations by saying that we were under the wrong impression about our jobs; that was why we were opposing the one-man truck and the two-tier wages. He said that really he didn't want anyone over 35 driving routes for Coke. It's a young man's job. It's really only for 6 to 9 years, and that's it, he said. When those 6 to 9 years are finished, you're used up. He said they don't expect anyone to retire off this job, and we shouldn't either, because it's a young man's job.

He is saying that he wants to use our whole lifetime in 6 to 9 years—that is the contract he is offering. He wants to take 30 years of work in that time. —Striking Coca-Cola driver, 1985

Chicago Tribune on strike

Chicago, Ill.—Chicago Tribune employees—members of the Typographical, Web Pressmen and Mailers Unions—walked out July 18 after 2½ years without a contract and no progress toward getting one. As one picketing typographer said, the issue isn't raises, it is mandatory transfers.

He said, "We are promised lifetime jobs, and those jobs are supposed to be in the composing room. But the Tribune wants the right to transfer workers to any other job. That would mean bumping other workers out of their jobs, and starting over again, after 20 or 30 years, in seniority, wage rates and other benefits. They have already transferred one typographer to the mailroom against his will. The Tribune has also been bypassing qualified workers on the extra board and hiring non-union workers from off the streets at half the wage."

The Tribune always planned to keep publishing during a strike, and imported scabs from all over the country, about 150. Their real goal is to keep it up until they break the unions, so the unions are calling for a boycott of the Chicago Tribune and cancelling subscriptions.

A striking mailer said that the Tribune had brought in George Veon, an experienced union-buster, to run this campaign. He has already told the employees to "forget" the conditions and gains of the last 50 to 75 years. The newspaper has already made tremendous savings from Automation—the composing room has just 220 employees, down from 800 eight years ago, and the Tribune Company made \$145 million last year—but they want it all.

One woman came to the picket line to support the strike and to ask: "Why are the Teamsters delivering the newspapers and not honoring your strike? If it is because of a no-strike clause in their contract, why did they sign it? I am a United flight attendant, I honored the pilots' strike and the Machinists kept working, claiming that they had a no-strike clause. Now I'm still out of work because they worked. We have to support each other's strikes, and boycott the Chicago Tribune now." —Strike supporter

Workers' determination threatens union leaders

by John Marcotte

Something just happened in my shop that wouldn't have happened a year ago. After our steward was fired, 30 workers made the long trip down to the union after work, and gave their organizer and any bureaucrat who tried to talk to them hell and demanded the union get their steward back now. They used a new tactic which might even be a hint as to what form new workers' organizations might take in coming struggles: "Everyone is a leader, no one is a leader."

The workers insisted on their right to speak Spanish and let the union find someone who could translate for them, refusing to let the union force them to push one worker forward to translate and so be singled out as a "trouble-maker." Everyone spoke out, no one was silent, confident they could express themselves in their own language.

The organizer was very aware of this and real mad, because he's the one who caught what was new when he spat out in frustration, "I see everyone here is a leader!" Which led the workers to make an even more conscious tactic of this the next day, saying, "Facing the company and the union, no one is a leader, and everyone is a leader."

Over the next weeks this cynical two-faced traitor of his own people, this organizer who had talked so good when he came in to replace the old organizer because of the workers' protests, this snake very consciously tried all kinds of ways to flush out the most militant from each department, to force them to push forward a few leaders so their heads could be chopped off too. But there really are no one or two or three leaders, and we have held strong.

It doesn't seem there's anywhere left for us to go under the labor-management-union system: In our shop we protested, we got a new local, new vice-president and new organizer, all to end up back where we started.

But in the course of our struggle, we have always discussed many experiences: with unions here and back home, whether that be the Caribbean, Central America or South America; near-revolutions in the Dominican Republic; or revolution in Cuba, what it meant to a worker at first and what it became as it transformed into its opposite, and did that have to happen; what had happened in Grenada, and where was Nicaragua going to? And always the many different working and living experiences here.

And you could say that many times the discussion would end up questioning: Can my country free itself in this age of the U.S. and Russia trying to control the world? Can labor here free itself; can workers ever find a different way to work together without these bosses, abuses, company spies and sold-out unions?

These exchanges on gaining freedom, together with the new self-confidence shown when the workers went to protest at the union, are the real gains of our struggle. This is a form of theoretical preparation for revolution, which is the only thing that can assure new, human relations at work—a whole different way of working and relating to each other.

This kind of theory that comes out of struggles is what Marxist-Humanists call "the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory." To work out the questions of freedom that it raises, so we can begin to answer, "Where do we go from here?"—"Can we be free?"—needs the practice of Marx's philosophy of freedom.

Oscar Mayer's job 'wrongs'

Chicago, Ill.—At Oscar Mayer the company is using "job rights" to move us wherever they want. It is ending up with workers having eight, ten years in the plant being laid off, and then when called back finding they can't get the jobs of newly-hired workers. Meanwhile the newly-hired workers are saving the company a lot because they are being paid over a dollar an hour less and having less benefits such as vacation.

Here is what happened on the saran line for preparing bacon. First they had four scalers, two downgraders, two arrangers and two slicers. They closed the line down and reopened with only half the workers on the line. Then they just closed it down completely and all the workers found they had to take whatever job the company wanted to give them without any rights to replace even newly-hired workers in a different department.

Another trick the company uses is to change the name of the job, claiming it is a different job. Then you don't have any right to bump into that job, even if a newly-hired worker is occupying it. I know one woman who just got laidoff even though she has several years in the plant because the company claimed she had no job rights where she was working, only in her original department.

And when you go to the union, they naturally claim they can do nothing about it. "Job rights" as they are now defined have got to come out of the next contract.

—Oscar Mayer worker

Worker opposition in Iran

Lake City, Utah—I recently spoke with a friend from Iran who told me about workers' resistance within the Islamic regime as it manifested itself on May Day this year. The Islamic regime had called for a May Day celebration parade, all to be under the slogan "every day is Day." Workers were to be picked up in buses from work sites around Tehran and taken to a stadium that holds 100,000. What actually happened reveals the depth of opposition to the rulers and capitalism. At many work places like Iran National Factory, the workers were only one-third full, as many simply headed for their cars when dismissed for the parade. At National Factory no one went to the parade as they were protesting the electrocution of a fellow worker because of a machine problem.

At Miral, Pars Electric, Momtas Fabric, Universal National Fabric, workers were arrested when they tried to go to the parade and fights broke out. At a machine gun factory, workers managed to get away so that the buses didn't leave until 2:45.

When the buses arrived at the stadium for the rally, the organizers had cleverly closed the East gate, forcing workers to walk around the stadium to the West gate in order to either leave or enter the stadium. This created a situation that great numbers of workers were marching into the stadium, though many of them actually left the stadium at the first opportunity. Television cameras were set up around the stadium and then later broadcast the "parade" as a celebration of worker enthusiasm for the regime. The National radio broadcast that evening said "responsible" workers went to the parade. But the fact is, in the factory there are representatives of the government who watch the workers like political "commissars" and they record who went to the May Day event and didn't. The few that actually entered the stadium treated it as a social event, talking with each other, and talking to the President or Prime Minister. The crowd of 30,000 quickly diminished to 10,000.

—Ted Hill

ANTI-WAR STRUGGLE FOR HUMANITY'S LIBERATION

Forty years have passed since the American imperialists dropped the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. We are going to hold the 23rd International Anti-War Assembly on Aug. 4, 1985, in Tokyo. The power elites of the US and USSR have been competing with each other in the endless nuclear arms race and crushing the expectations of the workers and people of the world for peace...

We are now faced with a quite dangerous situation in which hot nuclear war could break out at any time. The Geneva Nuclear Arms Control Talks express nothing but the endless escalation of nuclear arms competition. The Reagan administration is rushing for SDI with deceptive words: "SDI is not a nuclear weapon; it leads to the abrogation of nuclear weapons"...The struggle for space militarization is the ultimate form of the nuclear arms competition.

In addition, in Eastern Asia and Europe, each of the powers urges itself to fortify the nuclear military setup by activating its allied powers.

We must make every effort to promote revolutionary anti-war movements, right now, under the slogan "Against both the US and USSR's armaments competition"...We appeal with all our hearts to all the comrades of the world. The anti-war struggle for the liberation of the proletariat is the only way to overcome the hot nuclear war crisis.

Kaihoh-sha
Tsurumaki Bld.
525-9, Waseda-Tsurumaki-Choh
Tokyo, Japan

Ed. Note: For our message to the International Anti-War Assembly, see p. 1.)

I was surprised when I read in the lead article by Michael Connolly last month that we are living in "the most dangerous period in our post-World War II world." More dangerous than the Cuban missile crisis and the Berlin crisis. However, since hearing of Reagan's outburst against five nations, including Nicaragua as "looney tunes and squalid criminals," there can be no doubt it is true, and very frightening. I for one will be involved in the protests of Aug. 6-9 commemorating Hiroshima. As you say, it will be not as commemoration, but as an urgent time to discuss freedom ideas for a new society.

Anti-war activist
New York City

I liked what you said about the Democrats' pathetic "opposition" to Reagan's militarism—they make it an issue of the cost of a wrench rather than the survival of humanity.

Factory worker
New Jersey

The article on "40 years after Hiroshima" uncompromisingly described the stark and chilling plans that Reaganism has for humanity. One thing the article couldn't say, however, is that there is a mass movement opposing Reaganism now. But it defies that, and breaks through the anesthesia that keeps me, sometimes, from seeing how determined the government is to make the unthinkable not only conceivable, but commonplace, and even thrilling, as with "Star Wars," or cute—as with the acronym for the Extra-Low Frequency signal center, "ELF."

Office worker
Manhattan, NY

Although I am Japanese, I have never seen the Hiroshima Peace Dome. Whenever I had a chance to see it, I was sick. After a trip in junior high school, I still remember that my friends sent me cards, saying that they were having a good time in Hiroshima.

Japanese say they have a "nuclear allergy." In 1945 they experienced two bombings. In 1954, fallout from an American atomic test at Bikini showered down on a Japanese fishing boat, the "Fukuryu maru." Some called it the

third atomic bombing of humanity. People started massive protest demonstrations against nuclear-powered vessels of the US Navy.

On Aug. 6, the meditation in Hiroshima is broadcast. I watch this program each year, and I get a feeling which is difficult to explain. August has to be a special month when the people of the world think over peace so that we will not make the same mistakes in our future.

Japanese woman
Chicago



PROF. HILL'S
EDITING OF
THE MARCUS
GARVEY PAPERS

I liked the essay on the Marcus Garvey Papers (July N&L) very much, because you saw the process of Lou Turner deepening his critique of Prof. Hill, the editor of the papers. Turner admits he took for granted that Hill would correct the first two volumes, but he didn't. Both the Irish question and the Russian Revolution made a profound impression on Garvey and how he went about functioning in his movement. Some of the impact was positive, some not.

Today there is still not a unity of Red/Black in the Black community. You still have nationalists who would be Black and those who would be red, and here is Garveyism combining the two.

Black activist
New York

After reading the discussion of the Garvey Papers, Volume 3, what I want to know is why Robert Hill has to

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devote so much space in the book to the reports of government informers and agents. Why is so little space given to the documents written by Garvey movement activists, or even to the columns of Negro World? Very little of the journalism of Negro World has ever been reprinted, I understand. This is a shame.

Civil rights veteran
Chicago

LABOR'S SHARP CRITIQUE

I really like the July issue of N&L. I haven't read all of it yet, but that Marriott hotel strike story was great. The humor in it gave you a really good feeling about what they are striking for, like when that one woman says she went from a size 11 to a size 7 when she worked in a non-union hotel. I read part of it out loud to my family—the part about the college-educated management taking out the garbage. He sure was a scab, and she knew it. We have plenty of them at Coca-Cola too, and they are just as ignorant.

One other thing that I liked was the front-page cartoon. They should call it "Reagan eats missiles for breakfast."

Coca-Cola striker
Chicago

I've worked on this hospital floor for years. Originally there was a unit to make the beds for each floor. Now there is only one person to a floor. I just pick up what I can and leave the rest for the next day. It's terrible. It's not right to bring children into this world we are living in unless we do something about it. We're always faced with the threat of war; Reagan is really pushing for it.

Hospital worker
Chicago

Although the United Nations conferences marking the end of the Decade on Women—both the official conference and Forum '85—will produce only more or less watered-down pronouncements on "women's issues," just the fact that they had to hold them in Africa permits new development.

For instance, National Public Radio coverage went beyond the conference to include reports on women in Africa. They disclosed that the Women's Action Group in Zimbabwe, formed two years ago to combat a wholesale roundup of women on the streets of Harare as "prostitutes," is still active. Doree Nelson, a trade unionist, said: "We have come a long way and we are still fighting. There's going to be some fireworks because that's what we are called Women's Action Group."

Feminist
Michigan

I was very concerned about the National Women's Studies Association Conference after I came back from Seattle last week. Each year there a few Black women. They always talk about doing something about it but it's just lip service. I have a Black friend who was asked to be a delegate and talked to her about thinking twice about it. She turned it down—she's not interested in being a token.

Women's Studies teacher
Chicago

BALANCE SHEET ON BRITISH MINERS' STRIKE: THE DISCUSSION CONTINUES

I want to add my thoughts on Myrica Gale's discussion articles, "A balance sheet on the British miners' strike" (July N&L). If the strike marked a defeat it has to be seen as such within the context of the effect it has on British politics and class consciousness. The miners' strike marked the beginning of the end of Thatcherism. In a recent bye-election in a safe Tory seat, Thatcher's party could barely muster 20% of the vote and was pushed into third place. People in this country have had enough of Thatcher...

The main reason for the defeat of the miners, apart from state repression, was the alienation of a large section of the NUM because of Arthur Scargill's politics. Four months before the strike ended I wrote: "...Although no theoretician, Scargill is a post-Marx Marxist. Ex-CP, he now calls himself a Syndicalist. He leads the union in an at times shaky alliance with the CP, whose last industrial stronghold is the miners' union...In Summer 1983 he denounced Solidarity and later visited what he calls the 'Soviet Trade Union Movement' in Moscow..."

"International unity for Scargill means unity with anti-working class Stalinism. The Polish regime sent coal to save Thatcher. A campaign against the Polish regime's repression and scabbing would have got a lot of support from British workers whose distrust of Scargill's politics held them back from going all out for the miners."

Dave Black
London, England

It is bloody terrible here to say the least. The government and the coal board walked all over us, didn't they? This time they did, but they won't get away so light next time round; because we will be prepared for them both. I never felt so bitter and hateful to anyone as I do to all these scabby dogs

that surround us. My husband really hates going to work and having to work with them. We are as bad off now as during the strike. The NCB are taking L30 a week to pay the rent arrears, and the bank is taking L30 on our loan, so at the end of the week we are lucky to see L40.

I'm still going out speaking to raise money for the lads who were sacked and imprisoned. Funny enough, we somehow are still managing to raise money. I cannot understand these women who went back to their way of life before the strike. I think I would go insane with boredom and frustration at what this god-forsaken government is doing...

Miner's wife
Notts, England

Another consequence of the defeat of the miners' strike in Britain is that the Midlands coalfield, which on the whole carried on working during the strike, has broken from the NUM and formed a new scab union. This is the first time since the end of WW II that a specifically scab union has been created, and it is the direct result of Thatcher's policy to create the conditions for mass scabbing—mass unemployment, attacks on unions, encouragement to those who cross picket lines, mass police presence...

Nigel Quinten
New York

There are several places where I think Myrica Gale could have gone into more detail on the miners' strike. She did not bring out the degree to which miners' wives stressed that they were inspired by Greenham. Nor did she show how for Britain the wives' support committees and the wives on the picket lines in mining area was a totally new phenomenon. At first it was resisted by the miners themselves.

The role of the SWP was far worse than what you say. It put all its strength into picketing, wanting to pull socialists and radicals of all sorts out of all other struggles. It not merely repeatedly dismissed as Utopian any use of the slogan "general strike"...but it viciously attacked anyone who posed this slogan. Indeed it opposed the formation of united front groups until almost the end of the strike, being only interested in recruiting for its own organization. Theoretical journals constantly predicted defeat; but this was not matched by their agitational journals. This meant that they were urging the miners into self-sacrificial struggle that they believed was doomed to failure...

Laurens Olliver
Salop, England

Some thoughts on the miners' strike. I wrote a leaflet on why you should support the miners; it was to be given out at unemployment offices. The miners support group (run by the SWP) rejected it as too idealist. In the rather heated discussion of the leaflet, I was accused of being a scab. I had been bold as to say I didn't think much of Scargill. I've heard from a number of people who suffered similar trouble.

Why was the struggle of the miners turned into mere activity? Why everything pinned down to mass picketing? Something I read in Marcuse's *Reason and Revolution* strikes me as relevant. It's the stuff about the universal in the here and now; about how world comes to be seen as being subjects of transformation. It's Marxism the unemployed bringing down capitalism... It's not that workers thrown of work bring down the system by sheer weight. No, let's say Marxism something in the unemployed that tend to miss...

Bob
Newcastle, England

THE CONCRETE-UNIVERSAL: THIRTY YEARS OF N&L

The concept of "concrete-Universal," as Raya used it in her "Retrospective look at 30 years of N&L" (July N&L), interested me greatly. Did you know that her 1973 book, *Philosophy and Revolution* (Ch. 1), contains a magnificent description of that category? I am not saying that it is identical to her 1985 expression, but it is very helpful nonetheless. Here is what she writes: "The concrete Universal manifests itself as absolute activity, activity without restriction, either external or internal; for the method is the form of the Absolute Idea, self-movement as method. It allows no opposites merely to coexist peacefully or, to use Hegel's words, to come 'before consciousness without being in contact,' 'but engages in battle'".

Professor
Loyola Univ., Chicago

What I liked best about the retrospective on N&L was the discussion of the 1959 conference in Italy. It showed that the state-capitalist tendencies had gotten stuck on that economic analysis. It was Dunayevskaya who pushed the idea beyond its old limits.

Old politico
Oakland, Calif.

Your history of your paper was fascinating. I got a better sense of the events and ideas of the 1950s and 1960s from that one essay than I ever did from my history courses in school. I don't quite understand why the youth of the 1960s had such a hard time accepting the need for philosophy. It seems to me that unless you know what you are marching for, you're only just marching against. And that won't really help us.

1980s youth
Michigan

This may sound overly personal, but Raya's recalling of the "MD column" in the first years of N&L brought to mind how I typed some of those columns for my father as a teenager. I didn't catch all that was in his articles then, but in re-reading some of them over the years, I believe N&L was able to express a

unity of medical science and the Humanism of Marxism that is so missing in the way we are treated by doctors and hospitals today. I wish we could find another writer to express that kind of a dimension within News & Letters today.

Eugene Walker
Chicago

Dunayevskaya's discussion of the first issue of News & Letters in 1955, was tremendously enlightening. I know that today N&L always has all the forces of revolutionary change within, national and international, theory as well as activity, but it was striking how many of those dimensions were within the paper from the beginning in 1955 even if not in as full form as we see them now.

Equally striking was her description of the retrogressive objective situation of McCarthyism and racism in 1955. It gives you an appreciation of how a seemingly subjective event—the starting of a Marxist-Humanist organization and newspaper in those difficult times—can itself be a central objective event when viewed as the birth of an original Marxist tendency, the only one in our day which is fully bent on recreating Marx's Marxism for our day, the only one that is combating our state-capitalist age on the basis of genuine Marxism.

Long-time reader
Chicago

INDIAN FISHING RIGHTS

A number of Bay Mills Indians I know have been trying to appeal an out-of-court settlement limiting their fishing rights. The settlement, reached in March between the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and the Northern Michigan tribes, makes a farce of the unlimited fishing rights Indian fishermen won in Federal court in 1977. The court upheld treaty rights granted to the tribes when the U.S. government took their land some 150 years ago.

The settlement imposed a number of different restrictions on what kind of fish Indians can catch, what kind of equipment they can use, and what

waters they can fish in. One man from the Bay Mills reservation told me that the Bay Mills tribal representative agreed to the settlement, but that people weren't really happy with it from the beginning. The limitations really hurt their chances to make a living. In April some of them picketed the DNR and were arrested.

The struggle isn't over yet.
Shainape Shecapwe
Michigan



ON DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION

I was familiar with Dunayevskaya's general view on the relationship between Hegel and Lenin because of her essay which appeared in the Telos reader, *Towards a New Marxism*. Her three books are excellent. She stated very clearly many issues about capital, dialectics and politics which I have sensed but have not formulated for myself. I was nurtured on a "Hegelian" view of Marx, so I was sympathetic at the outset, but her books and the whole N&L project have forced me to rethink the relationship between Hegel and Marx and Lenin, as well as social theory and political practice...In short, I consider her work to be the most important Marxist writings in recent decades...

New subscriber
Kansas

Thanks for the June N&L. It looks like a unique and informative publication. I especially like how it recognizes the Soviet Union as state capitalism and "big labor" as more capitalist bureaucracy. It gives me the impression that it is a publication put out by thinking people as opposed to the many publications apparently bound by party or ideology. You should be able to reach a large and diverse audience.

I especially liked seeing how large your "letters" section is. It implies this is a paper not only for thinking people, but for people of action. I will look forward to seeing how many people reply

to Terry Moon's article on Nicaragua and the women's movement there. After spending three months in Nicaragua last summer I came to the conclusion that our two cultures are so different that American solutions to Nicaraguan sexism aren't likely to be successful...

Todd Putnam
National Boycott Newsletter
6506 - 28th Ave. N.E.
Seattle, WA 98115

FRANCE UNDER MITTERRAND

The atmosphere of France is getting worse every day. Total breakup of the "Left Union" of the Socialist and Communist parties. Mutual hatred and recriminations. I can certainly agree with the Communist party when they say that Mitterrand is a "traitor" to the working class. The Right will be hard pressed to follow any policy (economic) that Mitterrand has not already taken up under his "austerity" plan. All this points to a significant legislative victory by the Right in 1986.

For myself, I'm working now where capitalism is at its essence—the stock market in Paris. Not even "paper" capital changes hands anymore. Just a subtraction from one computer file and an addition to another. There is "nothing" there and yet so much time and effort to control and analyze this imaginary process.

Subscriber
Paris, France

AN APOLOGY

To all those who have ordered Raya Dunayevskaya's newest book, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*—we apologize for the delay in the publication of the book, a delay caused by circumstances in the publisher's production process. We are told that it will definitely be off the press in September. Since we know that you are waiting for it as anxiously as we are, we promise that all pre-publication orders will be mailed out as soon as we receive the books.

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**
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by Terry Moon 15¢ per copy
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- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions**
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought**
by Lou Turner and John Alan \$1 per copy
- Marx's "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies**
by Raya Dunayevskaya 50¢ per copy
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BLACK-RED VIEW**Journal of Negro History**

by John Alan

The Journal of Negro History, in its plain gray cover, can no longer be seen among the other magazines and journals at your local library. The Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History, its publisher, has failed to bring out a new quarterly edition of the Journal since 1984. This would be the first break in the publication of the Journal of Negro History since it was founded by Carter G. Woodson 69 years ago.

On January 1, 1916, when Woodson brought out the first issue of the Journal of Negro History with his own personal funds, tremendous changes were taking place, both subjectively and objectively, in Black America. An old epoch was dying and a new period of Black history was being born. Nothing symbolized that more than the death of Booker T. Washington in 1915 and the arrival of Marcus Garvey in the U. S. in 1916.

WOODSON AND BLACK HISTORY

The humus for this change was that hundreds of thousands of Blacks had taken advantage of the opportunity that WW I had provided to leave the South and the tyranny of cotton production for a freer life in the North and West. In this process a new militant self-certainty was born, a new Black culture that wanted to be aware of its past history, an intellectual renaissance that Alain Locke called the "New Negro." The Journal of Negro History and Dr. Woodson were created by this new epoch.

But Woodson was never able to make a leap in thought that would have taken him out of the ranks of "traditional" historians by making a connection between the new passion that Black masses had for freedom* and the emergence of his own intellectual passion to "prove" that Blacks are a people with a history. He had a philosophy of history that never strayed from the concept that intellectuals were the makers of history.

This news of the Journal's ceasing publication when

*See American Civilization On Trial, available from News & Letters.

S. African youth in revolt

Editor's note: As we go to press, the civil war in South Africa has intensified with new Black outbursts in the townships around Johannesburg and in the Eastern Cape, with the imposition of a draconian state of siege not seen since the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre, and with the mass arrest of scores of activists and township residents. The following report traces some of the revolutionary activities of South African youth leading up to this latest stage.

Azanian youth were in the forefront of the mass boycott of schools and businesses which swept South Africa in July. The focus became Soweto, where thousands of teenage youth attempted a meeting at Regina Mundi church until police broke up the assembly. Police and soldiers also attacked youth demonstrating at a courthouse where fellow student activists were being held. The home of the mayor of Soweto was burned.

The call for a general boycott coalesced in part around the recent wave of abductions and assassinations of Black leaders and activists, perpetrated by death squads operating with the apparent sanction of the apartheid regime. The murder in June of Matthew Goniwe and three fellow freedom fighters transformed outrage into new actions by the youth, for Goniwe was identified throughout South Africa with the longest running school boycott against the apartheid system.

Goniwe's life rather than his death mirrors the passions of youth at the present moment. Goniwe, a teacher in Lingelihle township outside Cradock, had joined with the students there in organizing a youth association. These activities grew after the round of rent increases into a general boycott of the apartheid-appointed township council. Residents formed their own committee, Cradock, to represent them. For his activities and for his ideas, Goniwe was told to transfer out to a teaching job 100 miles away. He refused and was fired.

Thousands of Lingelihle students began the boycott now running 18 months, for Goniwe's reinstatement. In confrontations throughout this period, the jailings of Goniwe and most of Cradock, police repression against the students had proved futile. Cradock voted earlier in the year to continue the boycott throughout 1985. On June 27, Goniwe was murdered.

The youth of Azania have crossed a threshold in their minds and lives, and have taken an initiative which some of the elders, who come from a different field of struggle, do not yet comprehend. At the July mass funeral in Duduza for eight Black activists, allegedly killed by prematurely exploding grenades they carried, the youth expressed their sentiments on T-shirts proclaiming: "Submit or Fight," "Organize Don't Mourn" and "No Easy Road to Freedom." When Bishop Desmond Tutu, addressing the mass gathering at the funeral, began to chide the youth for "reckless disregard for their own lives," he was answered back by those assembled: "Amandla Awetu!"

taken in the context of today's virtual flood of books published each year dealing with every facet of Black life and history is hardly, on the surface, world shaking news. Yet, when taken in the context of the whole history of Black American historiography, a rupture in the publication of this venerable journal is bound to raise the question whether dominant new intellectual changes have been made in the concept and method of writing Black history, changes that some younger Black historians have been seeking since the 1970s.

BLACK HISTORIANS AT CROSSROADS

Essentially, what this new generation of historians wants—notably Vincent Harding and more recently Robert Harris, Jr. in an essay in one of the last issues of the Journal—is that Black history be recognized as a distinct history separated from American history; that the focus of Black history be Black culture. In contrast to Dr. Woodson the new Black historian is a severe critic of the American society.

Though the latter is a valid criticism of the conservatism of Woodson and the generation of historians that he influenced, it is hardly a revolutionary departure from the philosophy of history held by that generation. In no way has there been a move to work out a fundamentally new relationship to Black masses. Too, the failure of the new Black historians to do just this has caused them to ignore freedom as the purpose of human history. This type of thinking literally brings the historical process to an end.

Robert Harris, Jr. has done this in his essay "Coming of Age: The transformation of Afro-American Historiography" by conceptualizing Black history as a history that is separate from the main "American saga" and sustained by a viable culture created by Afro-Americans. This, he claims, was the result of the American Black consciousness movement of the 1960s. Such a conceptualization runs counter to the most obvious characteristic of that movement that gave a new identity to Blacks by combating racism within the very heart of the American society. Thus it was not separated from U.S. society, but rather a contradiction within it, moving to transform it.

While the new Black historians wish to make a case for a separate Black history based on specific aspects of Black culture, Woodson wanted these same cultural aspects as a legitimate part of American history and included in school curriculums in order to avoid the danger of possible racial extermination. All these ideas are accepted practices today, but few seem to realize them as the tangible results of ideas that had their origins in the Black Movement of the 1920s.

Letter from prison...

Dear News & Letters:

I have been receiving your newspaper for several years now, and I must say you report the news quite well. However, what you have failed to report is the hostages being held here in the Illinois Penal system.

The hostages I am referring to are called C-Numbers (men whose sentences are indeterminate, i.e., release date not being fixed by the new law of 1978); they are men who are no longer being held for alleged crimes that they are supposed to have committed, but are now being held for being C-Numbers per se.

What is a C-Number? A C-Number is a number affixed to any person who was convicted prior to 1978 and still remains in the prison system. The next question one might ask is, why do I call C-Numbers hostages.

C-Numbers are hostages because the Parole Board's existence depends on the continued incarceration of C-Numbers. Gov. Thompson has the power to order the Parole Board to release all C-Numbers by making the Parole Board render decision concerning the granting or denial of parole in accord with Illinois law rather than according to individual predilections as they have been doing so capriciously over the last five years. If the Parole Board were to release all C-Numbers it would cease to exist. As it stands now, the members of the Parole Board have a nice cushy job making \$35,000 per year plus expenses for seeing 1,000 people in a prison system so greatly expanded that it holds 20,000 prisoners with ease.

There is no way that I can with a clear conscience ignore the Class X (determinate sentence) law that was brought into being by Gov. Thompson; neither can I ignore its reason for existing. The Class X law was not designed to protect John Q. Public, it was designed exclusively to lock up Black faces....The majority of those faces that are behind bars are 15, 16, 17 and 18 years old with Natural Life. The precious few Blacks who do not have Natural Life usually have no less than 30 years, and they too are 15, 16, 17 or 18 years old.

The Class X law does not merely reflect Gov. James Thompson's racist bigotry, but his racist bigotry reflects the sickness of a very powerful segment of society. If we trace the Class X law back to its origin, we will find that it is only the same old Jim Crow law given a face lift and applied to a new generation of Black people...The Class X law is not law, but a sickness made manifest.

—Prisoner, Pontiac, Ill.

Automation crisis

Forces of Production, by David Noble, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1984. \$22.95

As one who worked in auto in the late 1960s and experienced the soul-destroying effects of Automation, I was interested in Noble's new book, which traces out the development of modern technology from the vantage point of what he calls the "guts" of our modern economy—the machine tool industry. He says that this is his main focus, because in that industry the tools and parts needed for automated production are made.

Noble traces out how the machine tool industry supplied the needs of the military-industrial-scientific complex from World War II to today's "permanent war economy." Noble's main point is that the impact of computer-based machine tools upon modern production technology shows that technology does not have a life of its own that proceeds along a singular path.

The bulk of his book is actually an attack on the system of programming called numerical control, which puts total control in the hands of management. All of this leads up to Noble's contention that the goal of capitalist production is not profit but has instead always been domination and the preservation of domination.

Noble's book is an attempt to "demystify" the development of technology; he says his aim is not to "merely put technology in perspective, but to put it aside, in order to make way for reflection and revolution." Yet the fact that Noble does not connect the development of technology to the class relations at the point of production, prevents him from making way for either.

Noble makes no connection between Automation and the birth of a new world stage of capitalism from out of the Great Depression—state-capitalism. He wants to deny that Automation has "a life of its own" and yet he never shows its impact upon the workers, or the workers' resistance to it. He instead presents a picture of Automation being foisted upon us by the "military-industrial-scientific complex" because all the system cares about is "domination."

Noble pays no attention to the real guts of automation, the alienating production relations. By focusing so much attention on the results of alienated production relations—the machine tool industry—and not those relations themselves, Noble never brings together the two terms he poses in his preface—reflection and revolution.

This is seen not alone in his belittling the role of labor revolt, as if the laws of capitalism flow from "science," but in his spiriting away of women altogether.

When Noble denies that the "profit motive" is behind the drive to Automation, to me he falls into the same trap as those who elevate the profit motive to a universal, without seeing that all the laws of capitalism flow from the alienation of labor. (See "A Re-Statement of some Fundamentals of Marxism against Carter's Vulgarization", 1943, by Raya Dunayevskaya, in the Marxist-Humanist Archives.) By failing to describe the development of technology in terms of capitalism's drive to produce for the sake of production, Noble just ends up falling victim to the fetishism of commodities.

The crux of his problem, as I see it is his failure to grasp the theory of state-capitalism, which as formulated from the 1940s to today in Marxist-Humanism, never separated analysis of the new stage of technology from what happens to labor, both as domination and revolt. By not connecting them, Noble does not show, but really covers over, the actual dialectic of technology.

—Dale Parsons

BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 3)

Government abandoned its commitment to enforce rights to the practical freedom and equality promised by the 13th, 14th and 15th amendments. The cessation of Federal enforcement activities marked the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of the national pretense that the vestiges of slavery and white supremacist policies had essentially been eliminated within a single generation. In the 1980s, arguments for abandoning Federal responsibilities are occurring amidst increasing assertions that civil rights programs have substantially accomplished their objectives. We cannot but wonder whether the Nation has started down a path of civil rights retrenchment similar to that of the post-Reconstruction period.

No doubt, the Civil Rights movement has a long history of practical struggle to draw from in the fight against Reaganism. Nevertheless, neither history nor practice alone is at this critical turning point, sufficient to forge the perspectives needed to overcome "the prevailing scheme of things."

For as Marx showed: "Political emancipation...may not be the last form of general human emancipation, but it is the last form of human emancipation within the prevailing scheme of things. Needless to say, we are here speaking of real, practical emancipation."

Thus, the limits of political emancipation are at no time more clearly shown than when the general conditions in society call for full human emancipation by "declaring the revolution to be permanent."

YOUTH

Black youth speak out on freedom

by Eugene Ford

In Los Angeles I have been working with two groups of high school youth who are self-organized and determined to develop a new future world. These Black youth are frustrated at being used by some of the old civil rights organizations, attempting to control the creative energy of the youth for their own organizational ends. One civil rights group allowed the youth to use their office as a meeting place, but then proceeded to pass out membership cards demanding that the youth show their appreciation by becoming members. At this meeting there were some 30 Black youth.

Perhaps it is part of the reason why two months later there were only five youth present. Nevertheless these five youth, two young men and three young women, all around the age of 16, wanted very much to discuss concrete goals that could connect to a development of their own minds. This unity of action and mind is the truth of any serious movement for freedom.

FREEDOM IN AFRICA AND AMERICA

One of the Black youth at the meeting, who said he had read a lot more than most of the youth, wanted to discuss the youth column "Has a new generation of revolutionaries been born?" by Ida Fuller in the June issue of N&L. He felt it attacked the problem directly, and wanted to know, "How do you get this totality against apartheid to get also freedom at home within America, where racism can be seen even within the so-called progressive Left of the divestment movement?" These youth know from their own concrete experience what it means to work with insensitive organizations. They see this as the type of attitude that can destroy a movement from within.

One of the youth called the "activity, activity, activity" concept of change just another slave: "Too much action is not good. We need more thought for follow-up. Remember when we did the festival in the park and it was very successful in numbers and participation by the Black community? We should have set up a new school for education, or attempted to create jobs."

It means that not even the so-called progressive elements of the movement can exploit our time as if they own it. The youth are quick to identify these games: It's like punching a clock at work or an all around summer camp where you go out and do things without people understanding what they are doing or what they're doing it for," said one youth. He continued, "I was working 60 hours a week at the time. I was given banquet tickets to sell for a movement group, a fund raiser, and I didn't even know what the money was used for or where it went."

This kind of capitalist relationship is not just limited to economic questions, but has a direct relationship between people. How much energy can be extracted from that wealth of human labor? That is what this system is attempting to bring us down to, mindless objects of production, and even revolutionaries get caught up in this people race of mindless activity or anti-philosophy attitude of direct action and a void of thought.

The cry for freedom within the objective world demands a humanist dimension. That is what has attracted these youth in Los Angeles to insist that Marxist-humanism be put on the top of their agenda in their next meeting. It was in that spirit that we discussed all the youth activities from anti-apartheid divestment to anti-militarism that were reported on in N&L.

These youth we met with are looking to continue that dialogue found in N&L. Their message is: "We are not clay to be molded or bodies to be used, and we don't like to be talked at, but we want to be respected."

KTTV fires 19 workers

Los Angeles, Cal.—Nineteen maintenance workers at television station KTTV lost their jobs in February when, rather than their contract being renewed, it was given to a non-union maintenance company. Members of Local 278 of the Service Employees (SEIU) have been picketing ever since, but only in mid-June did the press report on it—and just the Black press at that.

One SEIU officer said: "This non-union company hires mainly Hispanic immigrants, and says they are only giving them jobs that we don't want, but we in this union have never done anything but this work. Janitorial work is our area of jurisdiction."

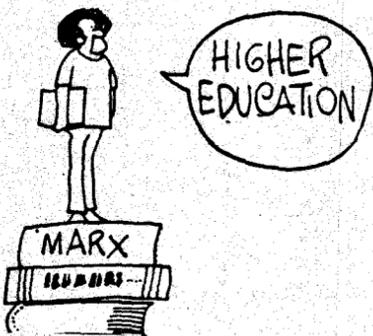
A Black woman who has worked at KTTV for 20 years said: "I'm sorry I'm out of work, but I also feel sorry for those poor people who will take our place. They won't be able to live on \$4.00 an hour with no benefits. We barely made it on \$7.90."

A picket supporter mentioned how workers in Poland had made union activity into a great political movement, and the SEIU officer agreed, "Yes, we do need something like that here," and continued: "I think it's going to take a riot or a revolution to turn this country around, to belong to the people, the way it was supposed to be. People now are only concerned about whether they can keep up payments on a car or swimming pool. What good are these things when your manhood or womanhood has been stripped?" —Strike supporter

and talked to. We can march all day but how do we get change? We need concrete goals without wasting energy. We were doing this social work jive with no direction. Education, that's where change is going to come from. You have to love self to be able to express that as true beginning, as being Black self, a new beginning. We really hope we are not back to a 9 to 5."

These youth want to know where to begin anew. We decided to keep meeting and to begin to study the young Marx within the 1844 Humanist Essays, including in relation to Hegel. One Black youth wants to study Hegel's philosophy for himself. This after criticizing Hegel for not knowing the history of Africa.

I hope to be able to write again on this type of discussion, to help develop a network of high school youth that will exchange freedom ideas.



Youth have no rights

Almost everything I have learned in life I have learned the painful way. The longest week in my life was when I was at the County Youth Home. This is no home. It is hell for youth. This is when I learned youth have no rights.

When youth come to the Home everything is taken from them. We are not able to keep any jewelry. I had to take a shower and afterwards a doctor looked up my vagina for drugs and tested for V.D. I had to give up my clothes and wear a uniform. It was ugly; I hated it. I wanted my clothes back.

I missed windows that could open. I hated bars on the windows. I missed being able to go outside for a little fun with friends. I was happy we were going out to play baseball—until I saw the brick wall. I could not get out for school. The Home had school right inside the hell. And no getting out for church. The Youth Home hell had a church inside.

I felt I had no one in the world who cared about me. I wished I could see my mother and see if she was all right. I missed my friends in school. I felt like I was being punished for being myself.

Youth have no rights at all. When I began to pay taxes I could not vote because I was not old enough. But I was the right age to have my money taken by the capitalists. This is not fair.

—Clara Jones

Native Canadians blockade uranium mine

Pinehouse, Sask.—About 250 people stopped all traffic in and out of the Eldorado Nuclear Limited Rabbit Lake and Collins Bay Mine sites from June 9-13. The four-day road blockade was initiated by residents of Wollaston Post as another attempt to stop the development of the Collins Bay "B-Zone" Mine on the west side of Wollaston Lake.

Hector Kkailther, Chief of the Wollaston Lac La Hache Indian Band, addressed the group the first day of the blockade: "I've tried my best to have meetings with governments and mining companies, but they just went ahead on their own without letting the people know. It seems like these people are only interested in making money out of our land. They damage the lake, land and everything and we are left with nothing."

Wollaston residents feel this mine is especially dangerous because the uranium is actually under the water of Wollaston Lake. A dike has been constructed out of thin sheet steel culverts to keep the lake water out of the mine areas. A large open pit has already been dug and miners will begin digging the uranium by mid-July or sooner.

Residents who have seen the dike say it is only four feet above the water and believe it is not high or strong enough to withstand the strong waves of Wollaston Lake. They fear water will contact the open pit and return to the lake and spread radioactivity from the uranium. They also fear that radioactivity will seep into the lake through the ground and even more will enter the lake when the dike is removed after the mining stops.

Eldorado Nuclear left millions of tons of radioactive wastes, mine shafts and mill buildings when they closed their mine operations near Uranium City in 1982. Some lakes were so full of wastes that they have overflowed into huge Lake Athabasca. A 1978 study stated: "...due to the commercial fishing in this vicinity and the high

Youth in Revolt

Anti-apartheid demonstrations continue almost daily at Cornell University, where students had maintained a shantytown for two months to symbolize living conditions for Blacks in South Africa. Originally given a permit to keep it "until Cornell divests," students had blockaded several attempts to demolish the shantytown before the administration forcefully evicted them and bulldozed it on June 25. Meanwhile, 3,000 students held vigils during the Univ. of California Regents meeting and protested when they rejected a divestment plan.

A proposal by Japan's government on education reform has come under heavy criticism for emphasizing nationalistic education while making a show of hand-wringing about the monstrous pressure of the present educational system, which leads to hundreds of suicides each year. Just last year, an outcry from people in Korea and China forced Japan to replace textbooks that tried to rewrite the history of Japan's imperialist conquests of the 1930s.

Hundreds of students aged eight to 15 barricaded themselves into Palma School in Santiago, Chile, on July 10, demanding free elections to student unions and free bus passes. While inside, they painted political slogans on the walls and bombarded riot police.

S. Korean student protests

Chicago, Ill.—I am a South Korean woman activist and feel very strongly about the youth movement in South Korea. The recent sit-in by students at the U.S. Embassy Cultural Center was only the tip of the iceberg. There is a whole movement of workers and students in South Korea which made this sit-in possible. After the Kwangju uprising in May of 1980, the revolutionary movement has been growing. What made Kwangju so important to us was that it was the whole people taking over the city and running it for seven days. It took the brutal murders of 2,600 people by the South Korean army to suppress that revolt.

Students who sat in at the U.S. Embassy were demanding that the U.S. apologize for its direct involvement in the Kwangju murders, when the operational commander of the Korean Army was a U.S. officer. To this day the U.S. does not admit that, and claims along with the South Korean government that "only 200" were killed in Kwangju. What the American media also do not report is that a "Monument Movement" is growing in South Korea, demanding the erection of a monument to honor the Kwangju uprising.

The South Korean Left is very active in the movement to oust U.S. imperialism, but what I miss in our activities are discussions that would give us a clearer understanding of our goals. As one who is active in the U.S. anti-nuclear movement, I want to say that I miss any discussion of the anti-nuclear movement in Southeast Asia which is alive and fighting. The anti-nuclear movement is not just limited to the West and we need to show its world dimensions.

For reports of the Kwangju uprising see News & Letters, November 1980.

consumption of fish by the Native populations, there would appear to be reasonable grounds for public health concerns."

Four days of meetings in Wollaston Post preceded the road blockade at the mine entrance. Almost every adult and teenager from Wollaston attended these meetings which often continued until 1:00 a.m. Supporters from other northern and southern communities joined these residents to hear and express concerns and discuss the blockade.

The majority of the adult population of Wollaston and their supporters began the road blockade the morning of June 14. Richard McKenzie, Mayor of the Cree-Metis community of Southend, 150 miles south of Wollaston, reflected the feelings of the outside supporters: "The water from Wollaston flows in all directions. We came to help the Wollaston people stop the Collins Bay Mine because the water from Wollaston Lake will be coming to Reindeer Lake in a few years. There's never any mine without contamination."

Chief Kkailther arranged for Eldorado Mine manager Mike Babcock to hold a meeting with them at the blockade on Monday, June 17. That day Mr. Babcock informed Chief Kkailther he would not come to a meeting as long as the blockade was on. It was decided late that afternoon to temporarily call off the blockade. Another meeting was arranged for Thursday, which failed to reach an agreement to close the Collins Bay mine.

Wollaston residents still hope to stop the Collins Bay mine before ore digging begins. They are asking people to immediately send letters, resolutions, petitions requesting that the Collins Bay B-Zone mine be stopped to: Pat Carney, Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources, Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, Ontario. Send copies of letters, and requests for more information, to Lac La Hache Band, Wollaston Lake, Saskatchewan, SOJ 3C0.

—Supporter

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Striking workers, Mothers of Plaza de Mayo

Argentine masses demand new beginning

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Four thousand auto workers occupied Ford Motor Argentina (the only remaining U.S.-owned auto company there) on June 26. They demanded the reinstatement of 33 workers dismissed for purported "negligent attention" on the job and "unjustified absences." Ford has laid off some 4,000 workers, out of an original workforce of 12,000, over the past three years. The occupying workers said the firing of the 33 was really the beginning of a new round of lay-offs and broke Ford's agreement to no more lay-offs this year, at least until August. Wives of some 20 occupying workers camped out in front of the presidential palace in Buenos Aires and began a hunger strike. Nineteen days later, the Justice Department got a court order to clear out the plant. Thousands of police, fire trucks and ambulances ringed the plant and the workers were forced to leave.

On July 21, 400 workers, including the entire union plant committee, were fired by Ford for "having harmed the company's interests." The occupation was a wildcat action, and was attacked by the Peronist union bureaucrats of the autoworkers' union (SMATA). The Peronist labor bureaucracy (CGT) has preferred to collaborate with Ford and the government alike.

The workers' action took place in a climate of tremendous unemployment in a stagnating economy. The government had to start an emergency food program last year for the nearly one-third of all families who no longer can afford the basics of life. Pres. Raul Alfonsín unveiled his draconian solution in mid-June: a wage-price freeze, higher taxes, cuts in government spending and a new currency to "consolidate" the 1,000% inflation. An immediate result was a 30% cut in real wages. The resistance is deepening on all fronts.

This includes the campaign to demand that the government identify, try, and punish all those guilty of crimes during the military reign of terror. Fifty members of the "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo" camped out overnight June 26 at government headquarters. They asked for a meeting with Alfonsín in order to get information on several newly-promoted military officers. The Mothers have evidence these men are guilty of crimes during the juntas.

In contrast, Alfonsín has adopted a conciliatory posture towards the military. He has said he wants to close the "wounds of the past." It is true that Alfonsín called for a demonstration April 26 against a reported military coup conspiracy. Tens of thousands turned out in support, and it is that deep anti-military sentiment which

has prevented any move by the armed forces, and the constitutional democracy. It has not stopped right-wing death squads.

Most recently, the government okayed a military rade for Argentina's July 9 Independence Day. At ceremonies in the Plaza de Mayo, Alfonsín proclaimed to be a "joint march of the Armed Forces, the citizen in arms and their fellow countrymen." Police blocked 200 members of the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo from reaching the parade site with their banner: "Justice and punishment to those guilty of 30,000 disappearances." Fights broke out between youth who wanted to demonstrate and supporters of the military parade.

Reports have circulated that the Alfonsín government will propose an amnesty law covering lower military echelons and minor officials who followed the "principle of obedience to duty." Only the nine military chiefs of the three juntas are presently on trial. A coalition of eight human rights organizations and left parties issued a "call to the people" to march on Aug. 2 and repudiate the government's sanctioning of any such law. Rebeca Epelbaum of the Mothers said, "We are all together. The crimes can't go unpunished. The stories you hear at trial of the military heads are even moving the stones

Spanish workers strike

Spanish workers shut down most industry and transportation on June 20 in the first nationwide general strike since the end of Franco and fascism. The central strike issue was the plan by the Socialist government under Felipe Gonzalez to raise workers' pension eligibility criteria (from 10 to 15 years of employment, and from two to eight years of social security payments). But dissatisfaction runs much deeper. Workers have voiced the sentiment that if a leftist government does not stand for workers' benefits and job protection, none will.

Union officials said three million workers struck, setting up pickets and in many cases fighting with police. In the northern shipbuilding city of Gijón, national police came out in riot gear and fought with striking workers. It was in Gijón last fall that a shipyard worker was killed by police during a protest against Gonzalez's plan to phase out "uncompetitive" state enterprises, including the shipyards. When workers lose their jobs now, there is nowhere to go. Unemployment has risen from 18% last fall to 22% now, three million jobless.

The two large union federations along with independent and regional unions, have recently united in several joint actions against government austerity measures. But they represent only a fifth of Spanish workers. Many others are women and youth who have gone into the growing service and hi tech-type industries, and who have no union or government protection. Their voice, too, need to be heard.

Nepal bombings

When five bombs exploded in government buildings in Katmandu in June, killing seven people, and 100 other bombs were discovered, the media suddenly noticed that this Himalayan mountain land was not the Shangri-la of Hollywood portrayals. It was found to be composed of real people suffering under wrenching poverty and the absolute monarchy of King Birendra, despite his "show" parliament.

All political parties are banned and their leaders in jail, exile or underground. "Elections" are a farce. This country of 15 million is among the world's poorest nations. "Aid" from the West of course props up the reactionary regime.

In May, the banned Nepali Congress Party began a new campaign for democracy: 300,000 signed petitions to the King, 40,000 students and 60,000 teachers struck. He responded by arresting 1,300 people and blaming Marxist-Leninist groups from India for the unrest. A month later the bombs went off.

The "United Liberation Torchbearers" took responsibility. Their statement read: "This is the first step toward revolution. The monarchy has outlived itself. Nepal will become a democratic republic." While it is unclear who is behind the bombings, even bourgeois reporters had to note that "the man in the street in Katmandu is not unhappy" to see the bombs going off.

France: SOS-Racisme



At least 300,000 turned out in Paris on June 15 to attend a concert against racism. The size of the crowd stunned even the organizers from SOS-Racisme, who had put on the event. The 300,000 were Arab and Jew, worker and youth, African and Asian—in short, the part of France ready to take a stand in 1985 for the ideal of a multi-racial, multi-cultural society. As one French friend wrote to N&L: "It was as if all the (immigrant and working class) suburbs of Paris had taken over the Place de la Concorde. There were both pro-PLO Arab groups and Jewish youth associations, and yet not one incident took place."

Brazilian peasants

The move in 1985 to re-establish bourgeois democracy has already run up against a major obstacle: the resistance of the landowner class, which includes most high military officers, to the mild land reform proposals of President Sarney. Already greeted by mass strikes in auto, Sarney must now deal with the pent-up aspirations of millions of landless peasants, burning for change after 20 years of rule by the fascist military.

Peasants are not waiting for the government. In June, 45 families assisted by radical Catholic Church activists took over land in Serra da Ilbiapaba, carrying rifles and hunting knives. "No one will ever again throw people off here," said their 72-year-old leader.

There were hundreds of other actions.

It is not that the peasants underestimate the murderous fury of the landlords and their machine-gunning "pistoleros," or that they trust the promises of Sarney. They have decided that their time has come.

Their leaders include Elizabeth Teixeira, who saw her husband murdered in 1962 for peasant organizing in the Northeast. Imprisoned, tortured and forced to give up 9 of her 10 children, Teixeira has recently emerged from hiding to resume her role as a spokeswoman for the movement.

Jamaica general strike

A general strike called by six unions shut down the country, including the tourist resort Montego Bay. Called to protest mass lay-offs when unemployment is already 26%, it was prolonged to three days when increasingly unpopular Prime Minister Seaga, a Reagan ally, arrogantly refused to meet union leaders while the strike was in progress.

Pakistan's dark ages

U.S.-backed General Zia is taking this land back to the dark ages of "Islamic Law." Recently an "illegitimate" baby abandoned at a mosque in Karachi was stoned to death under incitement by a mullah. A raped blind girl was charged with adultery (punishable by death) because she could not "prove" she had been raped by identifying her attackers.

Greenpeace bombing exposes militarization of Pacific

A bomb planted on Rainbow Warrior, a boat belonging to the environmentalist group Greenpeace, blew up and killed one of the crew members. The boat was berthed in Auckland, New Zealand, prior to sailing in a renewed campaign against nuclear testing by France in its Pacific colonies. Many New Zealanders offered to help the crew so the protest voyage to the test range could continue as planned. The strong anti-nuclear movement in New Zealand pressured Prime Minister David Lange for the government to offer one of its ships to take Rainbow Warrior's place.

Successive French governments, including the present Socialist one, have been intransigent on nuclear arms testing. Over the years they have conducted 40 open air and 70 underground tests. Throughout, they have refused to allow any independent study of the effects on the people of Muraroa. Meanwhile, the effects of U.S. open air atom bomb tests on Bikini in the 1950s are an "open study." Women there fear pregnancy because of the horrible birth defects and infant deaths; the land and sea are poisoned by radiation. Large

The Women's Action Forum continue to battle the reactionary sexist regime. It organized demonstrations once again in May against the flogging of a Christian couple for "adultery."

Chinese workers

Over 2,000 rural workers staged demonstration beginning June 14 in the city of Tianjin to demand, in effect, cost-of-living allowance. The demonstration continued for three days and halted only when police brutally broke it up and arrested 1,000 workers.

Most of the workers had come from Tianjin from factories in the town of Tanggu to demand the monthly wage increase of 7.5 yuan which had been issued in May to other workers in North China, but only in the largest cities. This followed sharp price rises in basic products that month as part of a government "price reform."

Peasants in Shaanxi province took their protest to their provincial capital also, and staged what were called "peasant riots" in Xian. Not a month has gone by since April without major demonstrations.

Railroad workers have been demonstrating their opinions through sabotage. More luxury goods have been produced or imported for consumption by a handful, but they remain unattainable by most workers. Railroad workers in Beijing threw 400 refrigerators out windows, and another group of railroad workers did similar damage to almost 100 more.

cracks have developed in the underground test silos at Muraroa, and radiation leaks from nuclear waste dump sites on the island. Though nearly half the colony's income depends on the French testing program, the Polynesians demand a halt now.

At the time of the Rainbow Warrior bombing, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz was in the midst of a sabre-rattling tour of the region. In Thailand, the largest U.S. joint troop exercise since the end of the Vietnam War was staged. In Australia, the U.S. military alliance was reaffirmed for what remains of the ANZUS treaty, since New Zealand has banned nuclear missile-capable ships from its waters.

The movement for a nuclear-free Pacific has not only protested nuclear tests and arms in the region, and the plans of Japan and the U.S. to dump nuclear wastes at sea. It has also focused on the conversion of former U.S. nuclear test sites in the region into staging areas for rapid deployment type troops. The immediate concern of Shultz's trip in July is the deepening revolt in the Philippines. That struggle is a crucial dimension of the movement to end all militarization in the Pacific.

News and Letters Committees

Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1985-86

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soever at the official Conference, and even at the Forum found nothing comparable to the freedom they experienced, as Sciolino put it, "away from overcrowded workshop classrooms and the political overtones of the official United Nations Decade for Women Conference..." (our emphasis).

This is not a criticism of "political overtones"—which were certainly present also on the lawn in many crucial ways, such as the petition for others to "Support the South African liberation movements," handed out by Esther Levitan, a South African who has been fighting apartheid for 40 years; or material on the legacy of Hiroshima circulated by Japanese women peace activists.

The truth is that, though both conferences have formally declared this the end of a decade, not only did the Indian women propose another conference in five years and offer their country to host it, but all the women considered this not the end but the beginning of a totally new relationship.

This is precisely what is meant in pointing out that all the ramifications of the Conference are first now to be worked out. The very category that we made of the maturity of the women in our age—Woman as Revolutionary Force and Reason—was created to show that women are now ready to be part of the dialectic of thought as well as of revolution, to be constantly on the lookout for the concrete ways women have developed something new in the struggle against the status quo. The new that has emerged in this decade of women's struggles Marxist-Humanism has not only recorded but has developed as the dialectics of revolution and of thought in Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Take the question of "The Disappeared" in the totalitarian countries—be it Argentina or El Salvador, Sri Lanka or Lebanon. It began with the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina who have marched in the center of the city for eight years—walking voicelessly but with their message loud and clear in the names of their missing children painted or sewn onto their headscarves. They were a pivotal part of the struggle that brought down the junta. Or consider the Mothers Committee of Political Prisoners and Mothers of the Disappeared in El Salvador who continued their demonstrations when all other protests in San Salvador had stopped. Whether it is these, or the women in Guatemala who formed Apoyo Mutuo (Mutual Support), or many others, there is no doubt that women are present everywhere as revolutionary fighters for a new society.

What Terry Moon reported in *News & Letters* in October 1984 on these events is only part of our tracing of the new forms of women's revolt in this decade, as was clear from "Women's Liberation in Search of a Theory" by Olga Domanski, included in our special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a Body of Ideas, *Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts*. Now coming off the press is our new book, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*—which it is necessary to sell, not as salespeople, but as founders of Marxist-Humanism. It is this task which figures most prominently in the perspectives for the coming year.

THE U.S. IMPERIALIST tentacles are by no means restricted to its outreach among women. Quite the contrary. There is not a part of the whole globe towards which it does not reach. That world outlaw, Ronald Reagan—who had refused to recognize the World Court condemnation of his violation of the international freedom of the seas, as Nicaragua had charged when it brought proof of the mining of its harbors—also did not bow to any criticism at home of that act, which Senator Goldwater called "an act of war." Nothing is stopping Reagan from continuing just such actions now that he has got Congress to approve the supplying of so-called "humanitarian aid" to the counter-revolutionaries who declare quite openly that their aim is to overthrow the duly-constituted democratic government of Nicaragua. Indeed, he has openly announced the "possibility" of military intervention, i.e. actual invasion, if the contras do not succeed in that end.

What Reagan fails to realize is that there are great mass struggles against the U.S. not only in Nicaragua—which he thinks he can dismiss because they are supposed to be just Communist—but throughout the world.

PHILIPPINE STRUGGLES

Take the Philippines, headed by his ally, Marcos. At first it looked as if the mass demonstrations against the murder of Aquino were only against Marcos, and almost as if there were democracy in that land because of the coverage the murder received. The way, however, that Marcos has used the "complexity" and "comprehensiveness" of supposedly hearing all sides to keep General Ver and 24 other officers who were charged with the murder from actually serving sentences has proved to the masses that Marcos has no intention of giving up any part of his power or that of General Ver. That he is doing so because he has the full support of the U.S. government has proved to the Philippine masses that they have to fight also against the U.S.

In a word, the Philippine mass struggle is not Com-

munist only, but involves the great majority of the people—and it is directed against U.S. imperialism because the U.S. is supporting Marcos and is interested only in the strategic bases it has there—especially Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base. This mass



Fighters in New People's Army

struggle has grown tremendously in the last few years.⁵

1) There have been outright gun battles, both with the Communists and with new guerrilla forces, in Manila itself.

2) Philippine military officials have admitted that gun battles between the military and members of the Armed City Partisans, an urban wing of the Communist New People's Army, have become nationwide.

3) These armed encounters have so intensified that the last week in June gun battles between government troops and 200 Communist rebels in Northern Mindanao continued for over eight days. They forced 1,500 families to flee to escape the crossfire between them.

4) Salvador H. Laurel, president of United Nationalist Democratic Organization, the largest grouping of opposition parties, has put it bluntly: "Even metropolitan Manila is now threatened."

5) There have been an average of ten violent "incidents" a day in the first five months of this year. There are an average of ten deaths a day.

6) Western analysts say that the New People's Army numbers between 12,000 and 15,000 armed fighters, and that there has been, roughly, a doubling of activity this year. The U.S. Defense Department not only agrees with this estimate but has admitted that the arms of the guerrillas come mostly from what they can seize, steal or buy from the military.

All Marcos can do is call the insurgents "apostles of a godless ideology" and claim that the government has control over the situation.

EVEN IF WE LIMIT OURSELVES only to intra-imperialist struggles, there are enough contradictions among the Allies themselves that the fragility of NATO becomes quite obvious. One event that happened in a small town in North Africa—Oujda—could upset the titanic struggle of the only two super-nuclear powers, Russia and the U.S., both out for world mastery. Natu-

5. See "Filipino Insurgency: Out of Rice Paddies and Into the Cities," by Steve Lohr, *New York Times*, July 3, 1985

rally, these nuclear powers think that they and they alone can make decisions that count in that struggle for single world rule. That, however, does not mean that their timing may not be jolted by "little things," such as what happened in August 1984 in that faraway small town of Oujda, from which issued the shocking news that the rulers of two totally different countries—Morocco's King Hassan II and Libya's Kadafy—seemingly out of the blue, concluded what they called an "Arab-African Union of State."

LIBYA-MOROCCO PACT, AND POLISARIO

What a shocker that was to the U.S., which has staked everything on such reliable allies (on a par with the Shah of Iran) as the King of Morocco, who was chosen to assure the interests of the "West" in North Africa. To see how the U.S. was given just such assurance, listen to the King in January 1982, telling a *Dakar* newspaper: "I would close my eyes and, intellectually, turn elsewhere, if the U.S. tried to overthrow the Kadafy government."⁶

What, then, happened between 1982 and 1984, which has presently led the editor of *Middle East Journal*, who has been Ambassador to Lebanon, Algeria and Morocco—Richard Parker—to point to the fragility of the alliance?⁷ Though he had not opposed their getting more aid from the U.S., he had held that the U.S. was overestimating Morocco as the protector of the West. But his exposé of Hassan's hypocrisy—in claiming that the meeting at Oujda happened too suddenly for him to inform his Western friends, and that this Union was not against anyone—is not what is important. What is crucial is the fragility of the whole Western Alliance.

Kadafy is by no means the scatter-brain that the U.S. government and the media are making him appear. You cannot, for example, dismiss the other critical alliance he has now negotiated with the new ruler of Sudan, General El-Dahab—to whom he promised he would be "neutral" on the question of the guerrillas in southern Sudan who are supported by Ethiopia.⁸ Kadafy yields important power in the whole Third World.

What needs analysis in the sudden union between the monarch of Morocco and the "revolutionary" Kadafy is not the hypocrisy, but the class interests in Morocco that created this unholy alliance. This "Union of State" cannot be dismissed as merely one more wild scheme of Libya, since it was Hassan II and not Libya who took the initiative in the Union. The truth is that what motivates Hassan is the unemployment situation in Morocco, which has reached catastrophic proportions. Kadafy's Libya must have promised it could provide a considerable amount of employment from its oil fields to have Hassan dream of 100,000 employed. (Could not Kadafy replace the 60,000 Tunisians now employed in Libya's oil fields with unemployed Moroccans?)

What is involved in the matter of the "Arab-African Union of State," besides the two countries of Morocco and Libya, is the difference in the positions of Morocco and Algeria on the question of the war in the Western Sahara. Kadafy has promised to be "neutral" on that question also. Hassan has not given up any of his monarchic claims to the Western Sahara ever since it gained its independence from Spain. He acts as if the great guerrilla movement, Polisario, was created by Algeria, just because Algeria supports it. What none can deny is that Algeria is quite influential in the Third World that supports Polisario, but so is Kadafy. His promise to King Hassan II about his "neutrality" on the question of Algeria-Polisario is not taken seriously by Hassan, but, for the moment, he is willing to claim that it was the *quid pro quo* for his signature on the "Arab-African Union of State."

Who will betray whom—whether in this new "union" or in the whole relationship of "West" (U.S. and France, especially) and "East"—is just one more sign of the fragility of imperialist alliances. Reagan will soon find out how little any "pacts" mean when a genuine revolution begins in any of these countries.

(continued on page 12)

6. Quoted from *Merip Reports*, May 1982, in an article by Martha Wenger, "Reagan Stakes Morocco in Sahara Struggles."

7. See *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1985. See also Parker's 1984 comprehensive work, *North Africa: Regional Tensions and Strategic Concerns*.

8. See "Sudanese-Libyan Accord as a Shift Away from the West," *New York Times*, July 10, 1985.

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News and Letters Committees Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1985-86

III. Organizational-Philosophic-Journalistic Conclusions

(continued from page 11)

In the face of all these myriad crises in this nuclear world, the question of "What to Do" becomes more urgent than ever because it demands, at one and the same time, the concretization of what we intend doing in the objective situation and our own organizational responsibilities. Put otherwise, the expression we discussed in our last Perspectives—"Not by Practice Alone, the Movement from Theory"—must be rooted in the fact that time is, indeed, running out, as the rulers have changed the very nature of the debate on nuclear war by suddenly talking about the fantastic concept that a nuclear war is "winnable."

It is this that makes it clear that the expression "not by practice alone" cannot be left as a generality. Organizational-Philosophic-Journalistic responsibility requires that, in the analysis of current events, the dialectics of thought is singled out from the expression "dialectics of thought and of revolution." It is Marxist-Humanism which has insisted on seeing Marx's "new Humanism" as a whole new continent of thought and of revolution. In singling out the dialectics of thought this year, we are showing that to practice it, it must be made inseparable from the dialectics of revolution. That, indeed, is the only proof that we will have become practicing dialecticians for the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

This motivation, and not any sort of mere 30th birthday celebration, was the red thread running through the 30-year retrospective of *News & Letters*, which could not be separated from all our books and pamphlets. That red thread is the universalization of practice, which becomes reality because there was a theory that looked for it, anticipated it and could transform it into a dialectical philosophy of thought and of revolution.

THIS CHARACTERIZED OUR HISTORIC reason-for-being as we began in 1955 with *News & Letters* and summarized the whole post-World War II world as the epoch which made it possible to see that the movement from practice was itself a form of theory. Our first philosophic-political book, *Marxism and Freedom—From 1776 Until Today, 1957-1958*, established that category by tracing the dialectics of revolution from the industrial age and the age of the French Revolution and the Hegelian dialectic, through what made Lenin return to Hegel, to our own age of State-Capitalism vs. Freedom. It led also to recording in our Constitution the four forces of revolution for our age—Labor, Blacks, Women, as well as the Youth even when they were not of the working class.

The turbulent 1960s were reflected in a whole series of pamphlets, where all these new revolutionary forces spoke for themselves. At the same time, new international relations were forged in trips to Europe—especially Britain, where not only was a Marxist-Humanist group established, headed by Harry McShane, but relations were made with new tendencies, including both the mass Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Left Group of the Cambridge University Labour Club who published our pamphlet, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, with their own Foreword. The trips also included one to West Africa, the analysis of which was recorded both in our *Weekly Political Letters* and in *Africa Report*, while *Presence Africaine* published our appeal: "Why not a new International?" The trip to Hong Kong established relations with dissident Chinese refugees, who translated the chapter on "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" from *Marxism and Freedom*, and smuggled it into Peking University. In Japan, *Zenshin*, a group which had broken with the Communist Party, translated *Marxism and Freedom* and sponsored an extensive tour of Japan where the views of Marxist-Humanism were discussed with factory workers as well as university audiences and peace activists.

In one East European country, Marxist-Humanism created a group which sent direct reports to *News & Letters*. In Yugoslavia, *Praxis* published an essay on "Lenin's Philosophic Ambivalence," which became a chapter in *Philosophy and Revolution*, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao. In Poland, in-person contacts were established with *Solidarnosc*. *News & Letters* not only published many reports from East Europe in the pages of the paper, but brought out as pamphlets *Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution and Today's Polish Fight for Freedom*. Indeed, East European dissidents could be given credit for being co-authors of the whole chapter on "State-Capitalism and the East European Revolts" in *Philosophy and Revolution*.

Finally, a new affinity was found, directly on dialectical philosophy, precisely on Humanism, with Frantz Fanon, who, in his *Wretched of the Earth*, called his philosophic vision for the African Revolutions, as for all humanity, a "new Humanism."

In 1968, when these trips were concluded, the Black Revolution, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement, and the Youth rebellions, in general, had reached a peak. We called for a Black-Red Conference, which was chaired by Charles Denby and at which Raya Dunayevskaya presented what was to become the final Part of *Philosophy and Revolution*—"Economic Reality and the

Dialectics of Liberation." *Philosophy and Revolution*, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao was published in 1973. In 1978 a new edition of Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* was published with the inclusion of a full Part II which encompassed his experiences as a Black worker-editor of *News & Letters*. It was in the 1970s that all the works of Marx were finally published, including his *Ethnological Notebooks*, which made it clear that there was so sharp a difference between Marx's multilinear view of human development and Engels' unilinear view, that Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, published on the eve of the 1983 Marx Centenary, created a whole new category of post-Marx Marxists vs. Marx's Marxism, beginning with Engels himself.

All of these works have become the humus as well as the ground with which we approach this year's Perspectives, especially the question, "What to Do?"

BECOMING PRACTICING DIALECTICIANS cannot be achieved by any sort of generality, as if "organizational responsibility" was a mere matter of "loyalty." Organizational-Philosophic-Journalistic responsibility means practicing the dialectic of thought as well as of revolution, both in activity and in the analysis of current events. The creation of the category that all of human history has been born out of a movement from practice could not be grasped fully until it was worked out philosophically, dialectically, and then became the humus for the present needed leap forward.

Now that we have—or soon will have—*Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, along with the 30-year retrospective look at *News & Letters* and the present Perspectives, the Resident Editorial Board makes the following proposals:

1) That, instead of this year's drive being just an Appeal for \$2.50 for a subscription to *News & Letters*, we transform the Appeal to all readers of N&L to help us establish a **SPECIAL FUND TO EXPAND N&L INTO A BI-WEEKLY PAPER**, with the 1986 Convention to decide, on the basis of this response, when the first bi-weekly could appear.

2) That the Theory/Practice retrospective on our 30 years, together with this 1985-86 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives Thesis, become a pamphlet in January, 1986.

3) That, in selling *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, we see ourselves, not as salespeople, but as founders of Marxist-Humanism, from the time it was founded in 1955 with N&L as its paper, to the present challenge we have just been given with the new Spanish edition of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. It is this which has led to our decision to undertake new trips to Mexico this year and Spain the next, as well as to India to expand our international relations.

4) In order to help us in all of these new undertakings, we ask Peter Wermuth to move to Chicago next Spring to help the Center expand its activities, including working with Raya Dunayevskaya on a projected new book on the dialectics of the party.

5) Clearly, these additional responsibilities will affect all of our activities—whether in other organizations such as support committees for the freedom struggles in El Salvador and Nicaragua, the anti-nuke movements, the demonstrations against apartheid, or the labor picket lines; or whether they be in our own development,

including recording the voices from below. In all of our activities, it is Marxist-Humanism that we project. This is not just a question of an organizational or philosophic development, but the imperative fight against Reaganism and all those who just tack on to one or the other of the two Behemoths, U.S. and Russia, fighting for single world rule.

It is this which will motivate the working out of our classes this year. Becoming practicing dialecticians means that the classes will be more like workshops in the analysis of current events. Instead of focusing, as usual, on a major philosophic work, they will be grounded in the Perspectives of the last five years, as well as the current Perspectives, 1985-86, and in the Theory/Practice columns, the Editorials and Leads of *News & Letters*—taking off from an ongoing activity and perhaps even trying to project a future one. The syllabus will be ready by January 1, 1986.

THE RETROGRESSIONISM OF the rulers, it must not be forgotten, cannot be fully fought if we fail to deal with the failures of the Left itself. Otherwise there is no way to eliminate the division between theory and practice and stop the never-ending, unfinished revolutions—as the events in Grenada demonstrated. Keeping the division between the leaders and the masses secret, not uniting theory and practice, ends up in seeing one faction, Coard, shooting the leader of the Left, Bishop, who was the very face of the revolution.

This year's Perspectives cannot stop with the question "What to Do?" as if all those who are against Pax Americana can unite as a single force, especially if they do consider themselves "Left." Ask any Spaniard who survived fascism and who, while fighting it before it came to power, had to survive Communists (Stalinists) killing all revolutionaries who did not follow their line, from Socialists to Trotskyists to Anarchists—all of whom were in the Popular Front. That the great demonstrations in Spain against Reagan this Spring were not restricted to anti-U.S. imperialism was demonstrated by their giving no more than 4% of the vote in the last election to the Communist Party—which doesn't mean that there is uncritical support of the Socialists.

As we summed it up in our Call for the coming Plenum: "To Reagan, all...is secondary to his Pax Americana world-ruler ambitions, embodied in the nuclear Star War fantasy of a 'winnable' nuclear war against the other nuclear Behemoth, Russia. Towards this end he imposes endless militarization upon the American people who must be subjected to pauperization, union-busting, racism and sexism.

"Our task this year is to work out how to fight Reaganism with its Pax Americana ambitions, not only as we have always done—and this year we will be joining in the crucial demonstrations on the 40th anniversary of Hiroshima Day, Aug. 6—but with all emphasis on never separating activity from a philosophy of revolution, of true liberation."

As practicing dialecticians, the need is to demonstrate that total freedom requires putting an end to the division between mental and manual labor. There is no other road to establishing new human relations. In these nuclear times, when the very question of the survival of civilization is at stake, this ultimate problem has put an end to the division between ultimate and immediate. The immediate, the practical, the revolutionary goal is the daily practice.

—The Resident Editorial Board of *News & Letters*

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