

EDITORIAL

The Summit that wasn't

by Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

The brief joint U.S.-Russia statement on the summit proved to be as total a void as the summit itself. The Reagan-Gorbachev attempt to cover over this void by referring to it as "the new reality" only further laid bare the nothingness of achievement, which in turn will allow these two nuclear Behemoths to continue their pursuits for single mastery of the world, even if that results in the destruction of civilization. In the face of this reality, can the non-stop smiles of Reagan-Gorbachev hold till that unspecified "nearest future," when the two are supposed to resume their empty dialogue, with Gorbachev landing in Washington in 1986?

Let's first take a look at those one-to-one talks when none except the translators were present at the Reagan-Gorbachev meetings. It is certainly true that the news blackout kept the world's people from knowing anything about what was occurring. But was it really true that it was an unrecorded event? A seemingly distant column "Washington Talk" N.Y. Times November 23) reports that they weren't just translators, they were interpreters. Reagan had five of them instead of the usual one. Moreover, these interpreters took notes and made comments, and were checked by security. What is the important truth, is that each of these rulers will do more than rely on their already heavily prejudiced memories to write that history.

Take what happened on the eve of the summit. On the U.S. side there was the Weinberger letter, written to Reagan by that extreme rightist hawk of a Secretary, and very deliberately "leaked" to the press. It asked the president to 1) be ready to reject the 1979 Salt II treaty, signed by Carter and Brezhnev, but unratified, and 2) to have the narrowest of interpretations of the 1972 Nixon-Brezhnev treaty, signed and duly ratified limiting anti-ballistic missiles.

So sure were the aides to Reagan that this Pentagon leak was outright "sabotage" of the summit that they got caught in Weinberger's McCarthyite witch-hunt for anyone "soft" in the Reagan entourage.

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It's like being in hell'



by John Marcotte

"Working in the factories in this country is like being in hell," a fellow worker from the Dominican Republic tells me. "The capitalists make gods of themselves. They exploit you and humiliate you, they push you till one day maybe you do something crazy, and then they fire you. And you have no idea where to go for justice. They tell you to go to court, but you can't get a lawyer without paying, and you're out of work." This hell that migrant workers like my friend live everyday is the reason, he says, there are going to be tremendous struggles throughout the Americas. "We want bread with dignity."

And this sweatshop he is describing, where the capitalists make themselves gods and the workers are in hell, is a union shop, in the UAW. The contract expired last week. No strike vote was taken. The two most corrupt stewards have met twice with the company and the union. There is no negotiating committee. But the workers all say the contract was settled three years ago anyway, between the union president and the company president.

DISRUPTION IN UNIONS TOO

Another Dominican worker feels, "The unions are for the bureaucrats to live better at the workers' expense. This country has so much corruption! I had another impression of this country before I came. Now if the union is involved in a case they'll take a couple of thousand from the company and make up a story. Because capital is more powerful than you or me."

Another friend's brother works in a shop in ILGWU, local 132. He was making \$3.50 an hour, so he worked the over-time he could get, even double shifts. Personnel started telling him what a great assistant foreman he was. (continued on page 9)

Spreading U.S. strikes resist 'two-tier society,' pose questions



In Philadelphia, 4,500 employees of the *Inquirer* and the *Daily News* walked out on Sept. 7. The issue: new technology and more Automation.

by Olga Domanski

National Organizer, News and Letters Committees

"The agreement we were just offered is worse than 1982 and 1979," a young U.S. Auto Radiator worker in Detroit told *News & Letters*. "Everyone is worried about bills and being on strike will mean hard times. But we are striking for freedom... Most of the workers here are women," she added, "many of them working to feed themselves and their husbands and children. I would like to see a picket line of whole families because this strike is about all of us."

She is one of thousands of workers in plants, large and small, who are now or have been on strike, long-term or short, across the land in the last few months. They have elicited strong and creative labor solidarity from thousands more in other industries in manifold ways—from the caravans carrying food and money to aid coal strikers in West Virginia, steel strikers in Pennsylvania and meatpacking workers in Minnesota, to the mass picket lines defying court orders limiting cannery pickets to only four per gate in California.

NEW QUESTIONS FOR LABOR

The question confronting the labor movement today, however, is not just a question of labor militancy or labor solidarity—both of which have a long and creative history in this country. The question is how to find the new direction needed when you confront the combined weight of not only one of the most openly hostile political administrations of this century, but so degenerative a stage of capitalism that the economic crisis is now permanent. There can be no more "booms" once the actual structural changes in capitalism wrought by Automation became so great by the mid-1970s* that what Marx, over 100 years ago, saw as the ultimate development of capitalism—the creation of what he called a "permanent army of the unemployed"—was no longer "theory" but a fact of life (and death) today.

So high has unemployment remained for the last four years that no less than six million were reported in October to have run out of their unemployment benefits—three out of every four officially counted as unemployed. In Michigan, where unemployment continues to run 10.3 percent, five out of every six unemployed now get no benefits!

When the crisis is that deep, it becomes clear that there is no "labor question" that is not a question of the whole of society—and that it is a global question.

MOVING TOWARD A TWO-TIER SOCIETY

A glance at the multitude of strikes now ongoing makes it clear that what has evoked solidarity today is the determination of workers everywhere to finally put a brake on the incessant concessions that became the pattern for capital's onslaught against labor ever since

* This analysis is fully developed in Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis*, available from N&L. See ad, p. 7

1979—when Chrysler was "bailed out" not so much by the government's welfare handout as by the UAW's "give-backs" to that giant corporation they had wrung out of the workers.

Above all, what dominates all the labor battles today is the attempt to stop capital's creation of a veritable "two-tier society."

The common theme of the following strikes, despite the enormous diversity of the industries involved, is startling:

- In the first major steel strike since 1959, workers struck the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corporation for three months when the courts allowed the company to declare bankruptcy, throw out its contract with the union and impose severe cuts in wages, benefits and working conditions.

- 1,000 printers, mailers and press operators have been on strike against the Chicago Tribune since mid-July in their first strike since 1947. In 1975 the printers gave permission to bring in high-tech in exchange for a "lifetime job guarantee," which is now being honored by transferring men (whose average age is 55) from jobs that are to be phased out to others that are physically more demanding as well as lower-paid. The paper is also demanding institution of a two-tier system, whereby new hires receive significantly less than those now employed.

- 1,500 packing-house workers of Local P-9 in Austin, Minnesota, have been on strike since August, when they rejected Hormel's proposal to cut their wages and impose a two-tier system. It was the first strike there in

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Black World

Farrakhan: 'morbid symptom'



by Lou Turner

The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear."

—Antonio Gramsci, Prison Notebooks

The 30th anniversary of the Montgomery Bus Boycott which sparked the Civil Rights Movement coincides this year with the 20th anniversary of the Watts Rebellion which marked a significant turning point in the Black freedom movement in this country. Two Black leaders are identified with these historical moments—Martin Luther King and Malcolm X.

The Black leadership void that their violent assassinations left has occasionally led Black activists and intellectuals to speculate about the missed opportunity to unite the two strands of American Black thought represented by King and Malcolm X. The involvement of Minister Louis Farrakhan in the electoral campaign of Jesse Jackson became an occasion for some opportunists to proclaim that unity, "at last."

CLARITY OF EXPRESSION, DARKNESS OF THOUGHT

However, no sooner had Farrakhan gained national media attention by riding the coattails of the Jackson campaign than what appeared was not Black unity but Black anti-Semitism. Strident controversy followed.

Those who "conditionally" support Farrakhan, sound like the liberal hypocrisy of those who say they oppose Reaganism, but find nothing wrong with Ronald Reagan's popularity.

While the politics of opportunism motivates Farrakhan's "progressive" supporters, many politicians who denounce Farrakhan do so from as narrow a perspective. The anti-Semitic outrages of Farrakhan are indefensible, from his calling Judaism a "gutter religion" to his appeal to the same kind of racist hysteria that unleashed pogroms against the Jewish community as that which fired up lynch mobs against Blacks. But what is taken (continued on page 10)

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WOMAN AS REASON Black women writers

by Diane Lee

I recently participated in an exciting four-day forum, "The Black Woman Writer and the Diaspora," with over 250 women at Michigan State University, Oct. 27-30. The unusual nature of the conference was due not only to the subject matter but also involved the diaspora of the participants themselves—novelists, scholars, students and teachers from Africa, the Caribbean and the United States. There was exciting discussion throughout the entire conference.

A morning workshop the first day, "Balancing the Load: Gender and Racial-Cultural Elements in Afro-Caribbean Women's Writing," began the dialogue. Abena Busia, from Rutgers University, stated that for poor Black women and for Third World women, "there is a need to recover one's own voice" through what she called "oral literature." She saw that voice as having the ability to consciously embrace the world of African history, and stated that African history was "not just of Africa and the Caribbean but of North and South (U.S.)." Busia argued that we need "to know what these geographic locations mean for the Black woman."

Another speaker, Carole Boyce Davies, saw the relation of the Caribbean and the U.S. as a challenge, stating that "today's Afro-Caribbean literature is distinctly different than earlier literature because of the influence of the Women's Liberation Movement."

The oral tradition of Black women was discussed in another panel by Dorothy Williams and Arlene Elder. Here the emphasis was on the relation of the oral tradition to the novel. Williams compared her grandmother's storytelling to the novels of Harriet Wilson, Lorraine Hansberry and Alice Walker; while Elder took up Ama Ata Aidoo and Ntozake Shange, relating their attempts to change the relation between spectator and orator. To Elder, "the novel form is used to discuss feelings and ideas too intense to discuss through narrative alone."

WOMEN AND ANTI-APARTHEID

The plenary session the first evening featured three speakers, all writers—Audre Lorde, Ellen Kuzwayo and Maryse Conde. Lorde spoke of the divestment movement in the U.S., but limited that to a student movement whose solidarity in her view needed to be centered on getting U.S. corporations out of South Africa. Ellen Kuzwayo from South Africa movingly spoke of the international dimension of the women's movement that had supported her in her travels to speak on apartheid in South Africa. When she arrived in Brixton, England in the midst of a rebellion, she said, "Did I have to leave Soweto to find Soweto in Brixton?"

Maryse Conde from Guadeloupe was the most

Chisholm chides women

San Francisco, Cal.—The marble rotunda of San Francisco's City Hall resounded with cheers and applause Nov. 8 as Supervisor Doris Ward introduced former U.S. Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm to a crowd of 300 women and a few men. The occasion was the tenth anniversary of the city's Commission on the Status of Women.

Chisholm proclaimed, "The women's movement is not over," but added: "Sisters, we are semi-paralyzed...The backlash on the current scene, primarily fueled by the fundamentalists, has managed to dominate American politics. Their strength has caused an impotence in women today to the extent that as developments on the national scene indicate a diminution of women's concerns, there is no collective outcry from us. Instead there is confusion and bewilderment..."

"It was not some deep humanitarian instinct on the part of the power structure in our country that enabled women to really move out into the social and economic milieu. It was due to the fact that women in the second string of the women's movement began to put on the pressure and began to take the chances that were necessary so that the educated women, many of whom did not participate in the movement, were able to gain from the movement, because they had the requisite attributes and education to take advantage of what went on..."

Her fiery closing lines insisted: "The hour is growing late in America. Right now in Washington, D.C. they're drawing up the final blueprint for the complete elimination of affirmative action. And if the women leaders of this country do not get themselves together and do what is necessary, you have no one to blame but yourselves. I am warning you. A word to the wise is sufficient!"

Afterward, she spoke of the formation of the National Political Congress of Black Women (NPCBW), which she chairs. It was "formed specifically as an outgrowth of the frustrations and concerns of Black women, who were perturbed that Mondale didn't consider a Black woman for vice-president." The first assembly of the NPCBW was held last June at Spellman College in Atlanta. Since then, Chisholm said, "we have established chapters in 24 states and we now have close to 7,000 members." The national headquarters of the NPCBW is at 2025 I St., N.W., Suite 918, Washington, D.C. 20006.

—Thanks to Katherine Davenport

powerful speaker in her description of the triangular trade of freedom ideas between Africa, the Caribbean and the United States. She ended her talk by inviting us to come to her own country and to have a conference on precisely this exchange of freedom ideas.

The remaining days of the conference had presentations and discussions of equal intensity, encompassing a great diversity. What made this conference so new was how this triangular dialogue between Africa, the Caribbean and the U.S. on politics, history and Black women's literature, came together.

LITERATURE AND REVOLUTION

The speakers and the audience at the conference were aware of the interrelation of politics and literature when the subject concerned Black women as writers.



But the question arises—what do we mean by politics? Can it be a politics that really moves to the full relation of literature and revolution?

This is the type of relationship we as Marxist-Humanists were trying to establish by our participation in the conference, not only in the presentation I gave on "A 1980s View of Black Women in 19th Century American Life: In Literature, Thought and Revolution," but at our literature table and in other workshops as well. During the panel on "The Nigerian Woman of Letters," I was surprised to find that the speakers had not heard of the magnificent Igbo Women's War of 1929. This mass revolutionary action, so long hidden from history, was singled out by Raya Dunayevskaya as a special category in "The Black Dimension in Women's Liberation,"* because the women acted spontaneously and across tribal lines and went on strike not only against British imperialism but against the inaction of their own chiefs. Wouldn't this knowledge have an impact on Nigerian women writers today once they have studied its history?

There is no one-to-one relation between literature and revolution. Yet it is necessary for us to explore the multi-dimensional threads between the two whether we consider ourselves "writers of literary works" or "participants in the freedom movement."

The importance of "The Black Woman Writer and the Diaspora" conference was that it began a dialogue in this area, one that we need to continue.

* This 1975 lecture is published as Chapter 7 of Dunayevskaya's latest work, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, available from N&L; see p. 12.

Shades of Karen Silkwood

Chicago, Ill.—In a case frighteningly similar to that of labor activist Karen Silkwood, Judith Penley, a worker at the Watts Bar nuclear plant near Spring City, Tenn., has been murdered. Penley, who had been meeting with a firm hired by the Tennessee Valley Authority to mediate employee complaints about safety at the Watts Bar plant, was fatally shot in the head last month while waiting in a friend's car outside a truck stop. The shooting occurred three days after Penley reported that a gunman had stepped from behind a tree and fired three blasts at her truck as she drove home from work at the plant.

Penley's charges had not dealt with nuclear safety but with faulty equipment in the warehouse and with the TVA's refusal to acknowledge safety problems. A senior nuclear engineer who has charged that cable leading to the plant's nuclear core and plant welding are faulty has received phone calls threatening his life. In addition, a woman employee of the mediation firm escaped after being run off the road and pulled from her car by a man wearing a ski mask who called her "one of those bitches" from the Employee Response Team.

Workers at other TVA nuclear facilities have complained of shoddy materials being used to offset rising costs and the TVA has been forced to close its Athens, Ala. and Sequoyah (near Chattanooga) plants due to safety problems. It was at the Sequoyah warehouse where Judith Penley witnessed an accident for which workers were blamed that led her to begin protesting against safety violations. Judith Penley's murder remains a mystery, but someone out there evidently hopes to frighten other workers into keeping their eyes and mouths closed.

—Suzanne Casey



women-worldwide

Tens of thousands of women in Iceland went on a 24-hour strike, Oct. 24, protesting "male privilege," including discrimination against women in jobs and wages. While Iceland's president, Vigdis Finnbogadottir, claimed to participate in the work stoppage, she chose that day to order already striking flight attendants at Icelandic Airlines back to work. But the 160 strikers defied her order and participated in a women's rally in Reykjavik.

In New Delhi, India, 500 widows of Sikhs killed last year in riots following the assassination of Indira Gandhi marched to the home of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi to demand housing and compensation. They were stopped by police armed with rifles and submachine guns about 200 yards from the house.

Native American women in Yellowknife, Canada are not satisfied with Bill C31, which returns "band status" to women who lost official recognition as a Native person when they married outside the band (tribe). The status of children and grandchildren is not secured. Members of the National Association of Native Women will protest to the Minister of Indian Affairs, and will also seek solutions outside the Indian Act.

Close to 3,000 feminists at a national conference in Barcelona, Spain, Nov. 2, protested inadequacies in that country's three-month-old abortion law. The new law limits abortions to cases of rape, malformed fetus and danger to the mother. The women demanded both unrestricted abortion rights and that doctors in public hospitals be forced to perform abortions. Only 20 abortions have been performed since the law took effect, as pressure from the Catholic Church and medical superiors and threats of court suits for murder have kept doctors from performing abortions.

L.A. rally: 'Together against discrimination'

Los Angeles, Cal.—Over 1,000 people crowded into Pershing Square on Nov. 1 for a noon-hour rally, "Together Against Discrimination," jointly sponsored by the NAACP, the National Organization for Women (NOW), Service Employees International Union (SEIU) and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

The theme throughout the rally was the need for women and all minority groups to join together to fight race and sex discrimination, particularly on the job, at this time when the Reagan administration is actively on the offensive against affirmative action programs and the very concept of pay equity, or comparable worth, for women.

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, belied the somewhat staid character of his organization and gave a rousing, impassioned speech, while Eleanor Smeal, recently elected as president of NOW, sounded the theme of her election campaign: "It's time for us to get back into the streets again!"

Some SEIU demonstrators had come from as far away as Oregon to the rally, and the mood of the crowd was eager and militant. The Reagan Administration may well have underestimated the opposition to its reactionary agenda.

—Women's liberationist

Free Mila Aguilar!

*My mother is she
Who waits in a hut by the hills
With a cup of her Malunggay soup
And urges me always to
Fight on, daughter, fight on...
—From "Are You My Mother?"*

On Aug. 6, 1984 Mila D. Aguilar, poet, teacher, journalist and activist, was arrested and charged with subversion. She was accused of being an official of the Communist Party of the Philippines, although the military was unable to prove its claim. Eight days after her arrest, the Quezon City Trial Court dismissed the charges. They recommended bail. But instead of being released, she was issued a PDA (Preventative Detention Act), which Pres. Marcos issues at his own discretion, with or without evidence. Now, more than a year later, she is still in jail.

There is an international movement for her release, involving such groups as Amnesty International and PEN International. The movement appeals to all to write Pres. Ferdinand Marcos, Manila, Philippines, demanding the immediate release of Mila Aguilar. For more information, write: Committee to Free Mila Aguilar, P.O. Box 1726, Cambridge, MA 02238.

Jobs at stake in L.A. grocery lockout

Los Angeles, Cal.—The 22,000 unionized workers at all major southern California supermarket chains—including meatcutters and meat wrappers (United Food and Commercial Workers), truck drivers, warehousemen and office workers (Teamsters)—are on strike against the new concessions contract proposed by the Food Employers Council. The strike began Nov. 5 with Vons supermarket chosen as the selective strike target. The other market chains responded by locking out the employees of the striking unions, broadening the impact to affect over 1,000 supermarkets throughout southern California. All the supermarket chains are enjoying healthy profit levels, but this is some of what they want in the new contract:

- the right to introduce a new, lower-paid meatcutter classification, a "meat clerk," who would perform about 70% of the tasks now done by meatcutters;
- the reduction of the meatcutter's guaranteed work week from 40 hours to 20 hours;

Split vote ends tank strike

Detroit, Mich.—Workers at General Dynamics (GD) tank operations approved a new contract Nov. 12, ending an eight-week strike by 5,000 workers in three states. The 31-month contract was okayed by 53%, the smallest margin for a major UAW contract since GM workers nearly rejected the give-back contract of 1982. It contains the same percentage wage hike as the new contract with Chrysler, the former owner, but still leaves wages \$1.50 an hour behind auto workers.

Even the highly-touted \$2,000 immediate bonus promised to each worker will ultimately be lost, as it is to be subtracted from the 2.25% lump-sum payment workers are to receive the second year. One young worker called the bonus a "\$2,000 blindfold."

Worker dissatisfaction with the contract and the union bureaucrats who negotiated it could be seen throughout the strike. On Nov. 6, about 500 workers from the Army Tank Plant in Warren—the local which overwhelmingly opposed the new contract, nearly 4-to-1—and from Sterling Heights confronted labor leaders at a solidarity rally.

When UAW vice-president Marc Stepp, who led negotiations with GD, took the podium, he was booed loudly. Even as he promised no agreement without amnesty for the 101 strikers being disciplined, workers shouted, "What about money?" "What about parity (with Chrysler)?"

Sentiment against continuing concessions from the 1982 contract was deep even before the strike began. A Sterling Heights GD worker told me at the rally that the Lima, Ohio, GD workers wildcatted even before the contract expired, to try to prevent local union leaders from accepting a bad agreement.

The new contract still carries the two-tier wage structure negotiated in 1982. "How would you feel if you were earning \$10 an hour and someone right next to you was doing the same work and earning \$6 an hour?" asked a Black woman worker at the rally. "It's not fair to that person and you'd wonder does GD want to get you out the door." —Rally participant

Human part of machine

Berkeley, Cal.—I came to Berkeley three months ago. I had \$500 in my wallet. I'd left a job as a dishwasher. My definition of that job is "the human part of the machine." That part that tears the bags of soap as a reflex to the warning beep of the machine; or that mechanically opens the washer for a quick steam bath when it's time to take the dishes out.

I wasn't going to get another job in a restaurant—no more dehumanization for me. But \$500 didn't last very long, and while I was unemployed I experienced guilt. So when someone told me about a deli with a high turnover, I applied on Tuesday and went to work on Saturday. I pretended I didn't hear that my break for 7½ hours was 15 minutes, but a voice inside me asked, "Is that legal?"

At first I retained my humanness—I made a lot of mistakes. I didn't realize that my errors were the result of not being trained right and that I was being told to do 10 hands worth of work when all I have is two. My two hands are the part of my body that fit into the mechanics of work behind the deli counter; two hands that I cut three times in that many seconds.

When the profit margin diminishes, the deli has a solution—cut back on help. They take one shift off the "assembly line" and the one counter person left gets no more for his/her extra sweat. How does one retain a sense of self worth when one is roboticized for six or 7 hours a day? Eat a piece of "forbiddin'" cake or drink a beer at the end of the shift?

They promised me an extra \$6 a week, but I don't want that, I want to free myself from the bondage of the place. My co-workers feel as I do, but I think I may quit before we have a chance to make a statement. In the end we may disrupt things for awhile, but we are all replaceable parts of the machine. Waiters and waitresses in New York are now being dubbed "waitrons"—which shows that in the end we are all dehumanized. —Frustrated deli worker

- the reduction in the number of hours a store is required to have a journeyman meatcutter on duty;
- a wage freeze and elimination of cost of living allowance for the Teamsters, and the introduction of a lower wage scale for new Teamsters employees;
- the right to subcontract warehouse work to non-union warehouses.

Management has been sparing no expense in waging a public relations campaign, with several full-page ads in the Los Angeles daily papers. They dare to headline these, "Sometimes even a union can go too far"—as if the current strike was over union demands for higher wages and benefits, rather than management takeaways!

The workers on the picket lines are militant and angry. Management has obtained court injunctions limiting the unions to five pickets per entrance at each supermarket and warehouse, and is using the court order that picketers not "harass" customers to harass the strikers. One striker was walking picket, and his uncle came by and they were talking. The manager rushed out of the store, yelling for the worker to knock off the conversation—"I don't care if it's your uncle or who it is. Stop talking or I'm calling the police."



Militant tradition in 1970 Teamsters strike

Many young workers are involved in the strike, and one remarked, "I went to college for four years. Today I've been on the picket line for four hours. I've learned more in these four hours than in those four years."

One warehouse worker said: "I make \$14 an hour. I'm not on strike for higher wages. I'm striking to save my job, my standard of living. The company wants a two-tier wage system, and to make my eight-hour job into a part-time job. If the company gets their way, they could call me to work for one hour, and call in a lower-paid new hire to do the rest of my eight-hour shift. Every person had better think about this. If we lose this strike, you will be next." —Strike supporter

Owners make gains when labor divided

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Ten thousand meat cutters and 12,000 Teamsters were forced out on strike, Nov. 5, against several major southern California supermarket chains. The United Food and Commercial Workers Union and the Teamsters had decided on a selective strike against Vons supermarket, while negotiations continued with management, but the Food Employers Council responded with a lockout of meat cutters and Teamsters at eight other member chains.

"When you strike one of us, you strike all of us," said Bob Voigt, a Food Employers Council spokesman. It seems this old slogan that was once the slogan of union members has now become the uniting force of corporations against workers.

Everything has been changed into its opposite these days. Look at the way the UAW has been boasting about its great "victory" it won for the workers in the Chrysler strike in October. To help "save" Chrysler in 1979 workers had given up \$1 billion in concessions. That meant that every individual Chrysler worker gave up about \$10,000 over three years. And now Chrysler's profits are setting records.

Yet in this great "victory" that all the union leaders are crowing about, the workers gained back only \$184 million of the \$1 billion they had given up. Each worker is only getting back \$2,000 of his or her \$10,000. I would sure love to borrow \$10,000 from someone, and then repay them only \$2,000, and have them shout to the skies about what a victory they won over me!

And that's not everything. The Canadian Chrysler workers won a two-year agreement, but the American Chrysler workers settled with a three-year agreement. That means that if either the Canadian or American workers go on strike at their next contract, they will be pitted against the Chrysler workers across the border who will still be working.

The union had raised the issue of "outsourcing," but won nothing. This means that Chrysler is free to buy parts from outside non-union suppliers, both here in the U.S. and other countries. The issue that wasn't even raised was Automation, and how that is costing Chrysler workers their jobs.

Since 1979 and the concessions the workers gave to Chrysler, the company has shut down more than a dozen parts plants around the country, and automated and reduced employment at its others. Chrysler says it plans to have about 700 robots in its plants by the end of this year (an increase of 130 in one year), and a total of 1,500 in-place within the next four years.

Automation has reduced the work force in America. Now Reagan can say we have an economic "recovery" when the official unemployment rate is 7%. That means that there just are no jobs at all for that 7% of Ameri-

Strike for basic rights at U.S. Auto Radiator

Detroit, Mich. — We have been on strike at U.S. Auto Radiator since Nov. 2, when we turned down the company's final offer, 187 to 7. They offered us a contract that goes to 1989, with a \$1.05 raise over 3½ years, less than we got in the old contract.

We are demanding a nurse in the plant, but to the company that's too expensive — they offered to train two people in CPR! And they offered severance pay of \$60 per completed year of service. That has us worried, talking about if the plant closes and operations are totally dropped. We have people who have been here for 12 years — what will they get from that? There's no pension plan to cover them.

People are saying that the disorganization of the UAW bureaucrats in the strike is on purpose. The first two days of the strike we had mass picketing, not because there was a large number of scabs coming into the plant, but because there was no picket schedule and Local 351 president Calvin told us we have to wait for the man from Solidarity House (UAW headquarters).

A lot of people called Solidarity House cursing those bureaucrats, including Region 1A Director Perry Johnson, for ignoring us. One woman said, "We're at the bottom of the barrel of the UAW."

They finally figured out the picket assignments Nov. 5. The strike insurance man came and told us why people should get behind CAP (Community Action Program) and support their political candidates. We're on strike and he's telling us we should give money!

Our greatest support has come from the truckers. They refuse to make any deliveries or pickups. That's what hurts the company the most.

The workers have formed our own security without Calvin. People who aren't even scheduled for strike duty are circling around the plant in cars. So if the guards or police try to harass us like in the 1982 strike, the people circling can call everyone over to protect us.

What we're asking for is so basic — like fans at work. Before we were asking for basic rights from the company. Now we're on strike and we're asking for basic rights from the union — like fixing the women's toilet in the union hall. We've got to stick together, and not just for the days while we're out. —USAR workers

can workers. This is what I mean by everything becoming its opposite, when this is what "recovery" means.

And even the people the government counts as "employed" are often only working part-time jobs. That's all they can find. I talk to working people wherever I go, and even people who are working full-time jobs often have to work two jobs to make ends meet.

Wages are becoming so low these days. So many people work for minimum wage or \$4 or \$5 an hour. That is why if there is a strike, workers will scab to earn \$9 an hour. Working people have become so divided that they don't realize that when you scab against a fellow worker, you're scabbing against your own self, and what your own life will be like in the years to come. It's the big corporations that are united today, not the working class.

Racism enters in, too, as a dividing factor. I was involved in a discussion at the unemployment office, with a white worker, a Japanese worker, and a Mexican worker. The white worker and the Japanese worker were disagreeing with the Mexican, and they called him a dumb Mexican. I said, "We won't always agree with each other, but it's not a question of race. Let's recognize our class. Labor is every race of people on earth." That little remark of mine really changed that whole discussion.

With the capitalists so united and on the offensive, and trying to fool us and turn everything into its opposite, workers need to clear our own heads and talk to each other about what we as working people all over the world share with each other and how we can work together to create a better life.

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THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

author of *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future and Marxism and Freedom*

The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx by David MacGregor (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984)

Professor MacGregor holds that Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* "parallels" the theory of Marx "and throws even greater light on our contemporary situation than the richly textured analysis of *Capital*" (p. 3) He comes to this conclusion without grappling with, or even mentioning, Marx's detailed, paragraph by paragraph, *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right*. Thus Professor MacGregor's very first paragraph of the Introduction to the whole work stresses the challenge contained in the title *The Communist Ideal in Hegel and Marx*. He maintains that the communist ideal characterizes both Hegel and Marx.

MacGregor reinforces his own view of parallelism between Hegel and Marx with his claim, this time in the *Introduction to the first chapter*, that: "Hegel's use of the dialectic is identical with that of Marx." (p. 11) Now that MacGregor has turned the parallelism into full identity, he further extends his analysis to political and social fields. It seems that nothing deters the professor from the concept of parallelism, even when he concedes that: "For Marx freedom or rationality is identical with communism and is ultimately reached through development of the consciousness of the proletariat and the overthrow of private property and social classes." (p. 27)

Quite the contrary. Not only does he there repeat the claim that "Marx's vision of communism also animates Hegel's social and political theory," but, in the last chapter of his work, MacGregor explains that Hegel developed "a profound critique of bourgeois private property, economic crises, and imperialism, which anticipates and, in some cases, goes beyond Marx." (p. 239)

PROFESSOR MACGREGOR IS so enamoured of his new discovery that Hegel "goes beyond Marx" even in the critique of private property that he devotes the whole of that final chapter 8 (pp. 236-259) to gathering all the threads of his 312-page work (whether the subject matter was Religion and Theology or Alienation and Kant, or even the modern world of Capitalism and Imperialism and what he calls "The External Capitalist State"), for the purpose of reinforcing his view that Hegel's vision and Marx's vision of a classless society are "identical."

Although, for this 23-page chapter, "Dialectic and the Rational State," Professor MacGregor has 132 footnotes, they hardly add up to a rigorous analysis of Hegel's dialectic. His concept of Hegel's dialectic method specifies that: "There are three aspects or moments of dialectic method." (p. 241) He calls the first moment "recognition," but what he quotes from Hegel is not from any first stage of consciousness or logic, but from Hegel's climactic, final chapter in *Science of Logic*, "The Absolute Idea". Here is the first sentence from Hegel which MacGregor abbreviated: "From this course the method has emerged as the

UC divestment protests make links to U.S.

Berkeley, Cal. — Hundreds of demonstrators marched in a torch light parade on Nov. 5 as part of the continuing protests against the University of California's investments in apartheid South Africa. Chanting "Apartheid kills, while UC counts its dollar bills," students and supporters continued to challenge the University policy that allows for the continued investment of \$2.4 billion in companies that do business with South Africa.

One demonstrator told me how frustrated she was that after a year of massive protests in which the whole campus community made it clear that they opposed apartheid and wanted full divestment of University funds, the administration has continued to ignore our demands.

The following morning, Nov. 6, hundreds of people held a sit-in in Sproul Hall organized by People of Color, MECHA and the African Students Association. A noon rally by Native Americans protested the government's ongoing removal of Navajos from the Big Mountain area in Arizona. They pointed out that reservation systems and forced removals have their parallel in the Bantustans and forced removals in South Africa. Some from the rally then joined the sit-in which was ended by police arresting 138 demonstrators.

After another attempt at protesting IBM recruitment on campus the demonstration took a very interesting turn. About 50 protesters remained and they decided to have an open discussion about the direction of the movement and what to do next. There was concern that the movement hadn't grown. They talked about how to relate the movement to this country, how to make the issues more real, how to relate them to the University.

Still another version of the dialectic?

self-knowing Notion that has itself, as the absolute, both subjective and objective, for its subject matter, consequently as the pure correspondence of the Notion and its reality, as a concrete existence that is the Notion itself." (p. 826, A.V. Miller translation)

Insofar as tracing and detailing what Hegel was developing of the dialectic in the Absolute, the textual dialectic simply fails to materialize. Instead, MacGregor turns to Hegel's Introduction in the *Science of Logic* where Hegel says: "the method is the consciousness of the form of the inner self-movement of the content of logic." (p. 53) MacGregor, however, left out the two words, "of logic," so that you don't see that what Hegel is doing is contrasting what dialectic method is in the *Logic* and in *Phenomenology*.

For what MacGregor calls the "second aspect of dialectic method," naming it "method proper," he again does not follow Hegel on the dialectic in the Doctrine of the Notion, but this time turns to the Introduction of the *Encyclopedia*, footnoting a reference to paragraph 12, but not quoting it. That paragraph 12 begins with a clear specification of its subject matter: "The first beginnings of philosophy date from these cravings of thought. It takes its departure from Experience..." This is nowhere near what the dialectic is in the Absolute Idea.



From the Philippines: relevance of Marxism today

Editor's Note: The following excerpts are from a recent letter to N&L from a revolutionary thinker and student-activist in the Philippines.

In the pamphlet *The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts*, (see ad, p. 7), the concept of alienation was discussed. Alienation is something which is deeply embedded in Marx's theoretical enterprise. It cannot, I think, be separated from most of his works, especially *Capital*.

But some radical thinkers, such as the structuralists, question this view. They think a fundamental shift of conceptual categories was evident in Marx—from alienation to exploitation. Hence their division between the old and the young Marx, the philosopher and the scientific Marx. I think these are sterile issues only suited for academic pursuits.

MARX'S MATHEMATICAL MANUSCRIPTS

What we think is necessary is the relevance of Marxism today as a "scientific theory" for revolutionary praxis. As I went deeper into the pamphlet, I found out that maybe Marx's theoretical enterprise in the *Manuscripts* was no different from any of his works except that he was more analytical than before. The time of writing of the *Manuscripts* is crucial here since it could shed light on the development of Marx's thoughts.

I am currently organizing a discussion group on Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts*. An analysis of alienation will be the main entry point, extending it to the ideological underpinnings in the physical sciences or, as the pamphlet points out, the "computer consciousness" which is one of the manifestations of this phenomenon.

I deem it necessary to discuss the *Manuscripts* since most of the students here have been emasculated by a "technocratic" world-view. By this I mean an uncritical

MacGregor considers "exposition" to be the "third moment of the dialectic." He devotes the last section of his final chapter (which he entitles "Dialectical Exposition and the Rational State") to this. The one time he returns to quote Hegel on the dialectic as he develops it in the Absolute Idea as "the individual, the concrete, the subject," he not only disregards Hegel's warning against "the impatience that insists merely on getting beyond the determinate," but turns to Hegel's *Philosophy of Right* and with that turns against Marx: "But the rational society Hegel envisions has nothing to do with the abstraction of the 'withering away of the state.'" (p. 254)

IT BECOMES IMPERATIVE to establish unambiguously—i.e., concretely—that, far from the "withering away of the state" being a mere abstraction, it was the actuality of the Paris Commune that showed Marx the workers had created a non-state form of workers' rule. Just as MacGregor makes no reference to Marx's *Critique of the Philosophy of Right*, so there is no reference to the existence of the Paris Commune. What does exist for MacGregor is the non-existence of "Hegel's rational state."

Is it because MacGregor adheres more rigorously to Hegel? Far from it. As we showed, MacGregor no sooner touches the Hegelian dialectic at its highest point in the Absolute Idea than he runs away from Absolute Method.

No wonder MacGregor could not grasp Marx's lifelong adherence to the Hegelian dialectic, its Absolute Method, since, at the same time, Marx transformed the revolution Hegel wrought in philosophy into a philosophy of revolution.

understanding of the dialectical relationship between science and society...

A more outright form of ruling class domination is the recently implemented National Service Law which requires children of grade levels to participate in military training as part of the educational requirement. This is strikingly similar to the fascists of Germany—Hitler who organized the Nazi youth, turning them into "robots" who obey orders.

There are oppositionists who are concerned with this development in ruling class domination. But in combating the National Service Law and Marcos' own formula, "filipino ideology," they only engage at the level of appearance. Hegel's critique of empiricism is relevant in this regard. For Hegel, there is always an essence which is connected with a corresponding form of appearance...

CRITIQUE OF THE PARTY

There are also critical thinkers who have contributed a lot to the formation of the dominant opposition party—the CPP/NPA, or the Communist Party of the Philippines and the New People's Army as the military arm. Their dominant line now is capturing political power.

They have shied away from theoretical practice even to the point of abhorring criticism from within the party or from former party ideologues or other political opposition tendencies.

It is a sad fate among radicals here that such a dogmatic posture has already befallen "comrades" in the CPP/NPA. They have justified their position on grounds of political expediency. I would venture to say that right now we are trying to establish our foundation of a vision of society somewhat different from the party's.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

herent in the present.

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

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

Indian movement needs genuine Marxism

by Shainape Shcapwe

When I was at the Fort Totten Reservation in North Dakota recently, people were talking about getting housing repaired so they could survive through the winter. The government had repaired some of the run-down pre-fab housing, but not enough. So people were talking about how to survive by living together in large groups in buildings in town like they did last winter despite opposition from the bureaucratic system there. Ever since last winter's protest against cuts in food stamps for those living together, people are feeling they can deal with each other more, instead of looking to the leadership for answers or feeling isolated.

At the same time, I have been reading *Marxism and Native Americans*, edited by Ward Churchill. I thought about it in relation to life at Fort Totten. This book is supposed to speak to Marxism, but it doesn't. It has a narrow view of Marxism, saying that Marxism is "Eurocentered" and only speaks to labor, so Marx can't help us. And it has a narrow view of Indians, saying that all we want is to maintain our land. It says we have so little in common with other peoples and philosophies that we don't need to deal with them.

For me, the best part of *Marxism and Native Americans* was the preface by Winona Laduke. She used to say in the early 1970s that we older Indians have been brutalized so much by the system, and the younger ones of us don't want to take it anymore. They want to totally transform this society. But they can't do it alone, she said. We have to look for others who want to change things. But she also said, don't take other philosophies at face value.

INDIANS AND THE LEFT

Many people in the Indian Movement sought out Left groups to belong to in the early 1970s. People felt—and still feel—the importance of Marx's philosophy. But some of us threw ourselves at different organizations in the Left, and got used.

Chapter 1 of the book is Russell Means' speech at the 1980 Black Hills Survival Gathering, "The Same Old Song." His criticism of "Marxism" is really a criticism of the U.S. Left movement based on his personal experiences. Means did at least one tour of universities with Angela Davis, trying to fundraise for both the Communist Party and the American Indian Movement. But when the CP and others started saying, if you want to work with us you have to speak our philosophy, there was a parting of the ways.

I see why Russell Means says what he does after the experiences with those groups. But that is not a good enough reason to not explore Marx's own philosophy, and I don't think Means really did. In the last few years people have been talking about Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks*, the last known writings of Marx, written in 1881-83, which criticized the anthropological works of the time, especially with the 1982 publication of Raya Dunayevskaya's book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. You can see more clearly than ever that it was not true that Marx was Eurocentered.

In Vine Deloria's chapter, "Circling the Same Old Rock," he says that as opposed to Marxism, the Native American Movement doesn't deal with alienation because alienation is not within our culture. I want to disagree with that. Not long ago we were talking, and I asked Deloria if the way we deal with women in the Indian Movement isn't a form of alienation, then what is it? So often the whole tribe will get together to work out what we want, and the women will contribute ideas as well as the men. Then what usually happens is the men will go off for the ceremonial rituals and work the decisions out in the tribal council.

WOMEN AND ALIENATION

Lately this has been changing some. One of the reasons Alice One Bear at Fort Totten is being listened to now is because she played such an important role during the protest against food stamp cuts last year. She organized people through her emotional appeal when she said that we can't give in to a system that will kill us. Now she has more respect in the community.

I pointed out to Vine Deloria the first time I'd ever heard the phrase, "woman as force and Reason of revolution" was in *Philosophy and Revolution*, by Raya Dunayevskaya. I liked the idea of being thought of as part of a revolutionary movement in that way. So I think that sexism is one form of alienation that does exist in the Native American movement.

This relates to how Marx didn't only talk about labor. In his *Ethnological Notebooks*, Marx discussed Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society*. Morgan had looked at how men and women worked together in the Iroquois tribe. It was a form of equality, where women had a part in the decision-making process. But Morgan made it sound as if this equality was readily agreed to. I think the women actually had to make a point to say that they were the ones who knew what was going on

at home with the agriculture, and the men needed to talk to them about problems at home before they went off to war.

In Marx's notes on Morgan he pointed out that even though women worked within the tribe and had some place within the leadership, it was given to them by the tribal chiefs. It was true then and it's true now. No matter how hard women fight for their rights, it's still given by the men, and where it's given, it's only a privilege not a freedom.

Russell Means and Vine Deloria talk about how we would have to give up our own principles to ally with Marxism. The real problem is that we didn't define our principles clearly enough for ourselves. Our idea of revolution has become too narrow. People who got discouraged are saying we're just a land-based struggle, trying to keep our land, and have even rejected allying with other Third World struggles—yet who could understand us better than Africa?

Ward Churchill, as editor of *Marxism and Native Americans*, went a long way to justify not only for himself but for the rest of us why we can't work with Marx's ideas. To me almost no part of it really speaks to Marxism. At the same time, you still see people trying to figure ideas about how to survive, like at Fort Totten. Our reservation has gotten closer together, in presenting a force against the system that you can't tear apart.

I think that Marxist-Humanism speaks to working out a philosophy for what we really want, especially what we want after the revolution. In the past people have taken bits and pieces of Marx to suit the time, and wound up being misled, rather than really studying Marx. That can't be the way anymore.

Support the Tucson 11

The U.S. government is leaving no stone unturned in its effort to convict 11 sanctuary activists (the Tucson 11) of 48 felony counts for sheltering Central American political refugees. The prosecution is frantic because what is really on trial is U.S. support of counter-revolution in Central America.

Following the conviction of two other sanctuary activists in Texas last February (see "The sanctuary movement and Abolitionism," April 1985 N&L), the present trial is part of a pattern of repression charted in a State Department "white paper" that openly declared the Central America solidarity movement as a target.

This year solidarity groups have reported break-ins, surveillance and interference with mail. People returning from Central America have been interrogated, and printed matter has been seized from them. The FBI and INS have tried to break the sanctuary movement by using paid informants, infiltrating meetings and raiding activists' homes.

None of it, however, has stopped the growth of the sanctuary movement, which has already aided 3,000 refugees. The number of churches, synagogues, homes, union halls, and farms serving as sanctuaries is over 280 and still increasing.

It just so happens that Lucio Chavez, one of the refugees aided by the Tucson 11, was a union organizer at the Conelco plant in El Salvador, which is partially owned by Phelps-Dodge (PD). And Judge Earl Carroll, who is presiding over the Tucson 11 trial, used to be PD's corporation counsel and still owns stock in it. But there's nothing to worry about: Judge Richard Bilby, who also owns stock in PD, ruled there was no conflict of interest.

In fact, Judge Carroll barred all testimony about international law, U.S. refugee law (which he termed "wetback legislation"), any government policy, conditions in Central America or the defendants' motivations, among other things. He even barred the word "refugee," requiring that the term "illegal alien" be used. In short, he barred the truth from the courtroom.

In the face of this concerted attack, rallies in support of the Tucson 11 have been held from Philadelphia to Los Angeles. Contributions for their legal defense may be sent to *Arizona Sanctuary Defense Fund, 317 W. 23 St., Tucson, AZ 85713.*

—Franklin Dmitryev

Reality in Guatemala

The only "true believers" that say the Nov. 3 Guatemala elections represent a return to "democracy" and an end to military rule are the politicians who ran, and the propagandists in the Reagan Administration who want to resume full military support of a supposedly civilian government sanitized of military "excesses." Marco Cerezo of the Christian Democratic Party won around 40% of the vote, and in December will face Jorge Carpio of the National Union of the Center in a runoff election.

This facade of "electoral democracy" is at the opposite pole of Guatemalan reality. On Oct. 31, 150 members—women, men and children—of the Mutual Support Group for the Appearance Alive of Our Relatives (GAM) locked themselves inside the Metropolitan Cathedral in Guatemala City. Not waiting for "civilian" rule, they demanded that the military give an accounting now for some 775 disappeared relatives.

The working class and Indian women who organized the sit-in on the eve of the elections received much popular support. The military, which in 1980 burned down the Spanish Embassy during a similar protest, kept hands off. The GAM members left the Cathedral



More than 150 relatives of the missing occupied Metropolitan Cathedral in Guatemala City for six days, demanding that the military account for the thousands who disappeared during the reign of terror of the last three years.

six days later. Nineth de Garcia, a GAM founder, said, "We're leaving with a profound moral conviction that history will judge those who committed crimes against the Guatemalan people."

In the altiplano where Indians are in the majority, despite a mandatory voting law and a system for checking participation, well over half the voters stayed away. Indians have resisted and fought the military's open repression in the countryside, which resembles nothing less than a genocidal army of occupation. There was no pretense among the politicians that under civilian rule the military would relinquish control over virtually all aspects of rural life.

A woman of El Milagro, a poor working class district on Guatemala City's outskirts, said of life on the eve of the elections: "Everything is messed up. Beans cost 50 cents a pound now. A year ago they were 25 cents...Before we had meat at least once a week. Now we don't eat meat...We'll vote because they say it's obligatory...How much they promise and how little they come through!"

The Reagan administration is promoting the lie, which many in Congress are ready to swallow, that Guatemala is returning to democracy and therefore economic aid can be restored to the pre-1977 cut-off levels. At any rate, the former repugnance of Congress to openly fund Guatemala's military butchers never stopped Reagan. Since he came to power in the U.S., he has sent \$10 million in 1980, \$31 million in 1984 and \$100 million this past year to the military regime.

—Mary Holmes

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NEW YORK: Grace & St. Paul Church
123 W. 71st St., Manhattan
SALT LAKE CITY: Mondays, 6:30 P.M.
U. of Utah Olpin Union
Room 311

WORKERS EXPOSE 'TWO WORLDS IN EACH COUNTRY'; DEMAND NEW DIRECTION IN THIS ONE NOW

The front-page article, "Reagan-Gorbachev summit can't hide two worlds in each country" became a topic of hot debate on the picket line at U.S. Auto Radiator. To me, the "two worlds" you talked about came alive on that picket line. Among the workers on strike were East European workers talking about their totalitarian countries, where going on strike is tantamount to suicide. You had workers from the Middle East discussing how bad working conditions are in the U.S. They were saying that some of the machines at USAR are so old and unsafe that conditions seem more backward in this "advanced" capitalist country than they were at home.

A Black American worker spoke about how both Gorbachev and Reagan are trying to lead the world to nuclear war. Many workers wanted to talk about why this article opposed the leaders in both the U.S. and Russia—they liked it.

Strike supporter
Detroit

I am stuck here in Minneapolis at least for the winter. My first priority is to find work because the state is going to throw 20,000 of us off of General Assistance. We would all be on the streets by now, but a federal judge ordered them to administer an eighth grade literacy test to each of us. It's to make sure we can read and write before they throw us to the wolves.

They have promised jobs to all who will volunteer for their new "Jobs program," which is nothing more than a scam to get us all to compete for a job by passing the literacy test. When they get through with those people, I'm sure they'll kick out the rest by claiming that since we can fill out the application for welfare, we possess "marketable job skills." Last year I only got six months work, on and off, and got no unemployment benefits. I really appreciated getting the last issue of N&L. Keep them coming.

Unemployed
Minneapolis, Minn.

The CIO's birth in the 1930s was labor's response to a severe crisis in capitalism. Academics and organizers alike look for labor's response to the crisis in capitalism in the 1980s—Reaganism. At the North American Labor History Conference's opening session (last month in Detroit), "The CIO and the contemporary crisis," two academics and two organizers said what they thought labor's response should be.

Michael Piore said the labor movement has lost its vision and he thought "communal structures" of labor could determine how capital and labor would cooperate. Frances Fox Piven said her organization would press for mass voter registration to return power to the workers. Douglas Fraser acknowledged many in his UAW membership voted for Reagan against their own interests but thought the UAW's programs and worsening conditions would return them to the Democratic Party fold. And Jane Slaughter thought a return to the traditional role of unions—teaching labor movement values on the shop floor and at the bargaining table—would show workers how to fight Reaganism.

It was sad to see such a lack of vision from those who would like to be labor's "brain trust". They could have come up with better ideas had they simply asked workers on any auto shop floor for advice.

Laid-off Chrysler worker
Detroit

I was recently fired from my job in the data processing department of a small record company. The reason management gave was that I was tampering with the time clock, one day when I was late for work. I could not afford to lose a minute of pay, especially since they had cut me from being a salaried employee to an hourly wage worker.

Management was harassing me because I am a Black woman who spoke

menial jobs in the company's warehouse are held by minorities, and there are no Blacks or women in management positions. I know that I was fired because I let management know my mind about their racism and sexism, and I plan to sue them for mental stress.

Unemployed Black woman
California

On the picket line at a small parts plant strike, an Iraqi worker was talking about N&L and revolutionary journalism, which has come under attack most recently by the president of his local union. He cited history too, quoting Maxim Gorki who said the capitalists and their press are free to tell lies in this country. On the other hand, he said he has many books in his library by political writers dealing with truths.

And at a rally for striking General Dynamics workers, a committeeman from GM bought a copy of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* and the pamphlet on the miners' general strike and the birth of Marxist-Humanism. He explained that he was trying to fill a need of the rank-and-file to learn about their own history. So he was going to put these two works into a library he has started in the committee-room at his factory.

Jim Mills
Detroit

BLACK BRITAIN IN REVOLT

I was disappointed in the Nov. "Black World" column. The youth who revolt-

Readers' Views

ed against 500 police in northern London were both Black and white. Even the New York Times reported that! This joining together of Black and white youth in Britain against their oppressor class is as crucial as the new two-way road of revolution between Britain and the U.S. in the Black world.

If we don't report it when something like this manifests itself in day-to-day struggles—if we don't catch the dialectic as it emerges from reality—then how are we aiding the coming together of the forces of revolution and revolutionary philosophy?

Labor activist
Los Angeles

Thanks for the reports on the Black revolt in Britain ("Black World," November 1985 N&L). The relationship between events in the inner cities of England and the Catholic slums of Northern Ireland is not often discussed. It should be. The fact that youth—even grade school age children—are involved is a sign of the depth of the freedom movement in both places.

Reader
Brooklyn, NY

While Thatcher was watering down the Commonwealth's sanctions against South Africa, a demonstration by students outside the South African embassy in London was being attacked by British police. Although the demon-

stration was peaceful, some 300 arrests were made. Fueled by TV pictures of the police massacre in Cape Town and the execution of the poet Benjamin Moloise, the demonstration swelled to 3,000 people, spilling out in the road and stopping traffic.

Friend of N&L
London, England

INSIDE IRAN

Until the war with Iraq the Iranian economy had always been based solely on oil. However, war damage to the oil industry has forced the Iranian government to try and develop a new economic identity for Iran. In 1981-83 there were discussions in parliament about land reform in an effort to convince the peasants that they should cooperate more on production. It didn't work.

By 1983-84 the Islamic Republican Party (IRP) plan to reduce the number of steel workers in order to make more profit, and the workers' opposition to the war and their aim to control production, led to the massive strike that lasted from the fall of 1983 to winter 1984 and gained the support of the coal miners. The IRP was defeated and had to rehire some 15,000 workers. Both the steel workers of Isfahan and the coal and copper miners in Kirman have roots in the peasantry.

Ex-Iranian soldier
in the U.S.

READERS REVIEW 'WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION'

I bought *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* after getting a copy of N&L at a divestment rally. The more I read of this book, the more I think it has a perfectly logical order, with one chapter flowing from the one before it. I found it very exciting to discover that the revolts of the 1960s didn't arise out of a vacuum but had their roots in the 1950s—the period that I had always been told were years of quiescence. Raya shows them as the birth of a new epoch.

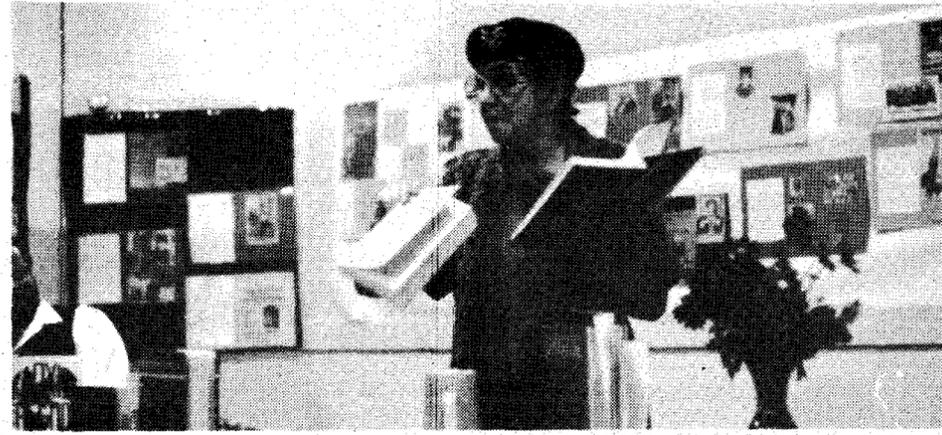
When Raya critiques the 1968 revolutionaries for thinking that they could pick up theory "en route," I think she is saying that you have to start out with philosophy; you can never pick it up on the way. Otherwise, you just get caught in mindless activism.

Young activist
Chicago

I enjoyed seeing Raya Dunayevskaya at New York University last week. It is always stimulating to hear about the unity of theory and practice. What I liked very much was Dunayevskaya's critique of Simone DeBeauvoir's *Second Sex*, especially DeBeauvoir's conclusion that women must wait for men to free them. Dunayevskaya spoke about how she had shown this part of the book to a Black woman factory worker, who said that it sounded to her just like the idea of "white man's burden." Most people wouldn't have considered a factory worker's thoughts as relevant to this question, but contrary to DeBeauvoir, who makes a category of "woman as Other," Dunayevskaya saw this illiterate woman's thoughts as a source of theory.

Subscriber
New York City

Thank you for the review copy of *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*. I have only read those passages that deal with general theory, leaving out those contexts referring to specific national conditions. I am interested in the book for work I am doing at the university on women and India. I



—News & Letters photo

Dunayevskaya discusses newest work at Chicago book party.

was fascinated by some of the historical events Dunayevskaya relates, and I think that to outline the specific mobilization and actions of women is of tremendous importance.

The fascination I experienced when reading the book was weakened by quite a number of negative remarks, hardly ever substantiated by examples, on the insufficiencies of women's endeavors of liberation... However, these negative aspects should not deter anyone from reading the very rich historical dialectics which, for once, integrate women's roles in an overall analysis of societies.

ISIS staff member
Geneva, Switzerland

When I read the title of Part I of Raya's new book, I unconsciously reversed the order of it from "Women, Labor and the Black Dimension" to "Women, the Black Dimension and Labor," because that is how I would prioritize it. I get absolutely nothing from my union. Unfortunately, we are often forced to prioritize. Single-issue organizations seem so much easier. But when you try to have an organization that encompasses more, it's much better.

Lately I've been reading a book about Margaret Mead, and I'm interested in Raya's essay in Part IV on the "Dialectics of Women's Liberation in 'Primi-

tive' and 'Modern' Societies." European culture is by no means the only way to go!

Women's liberationist
Michigan

I was so excited when I saw the leaflet for Dunayevskaya's lecture (in New York), because I'd just heard about her last summer. I'm in a women's liberation group that has been around since the '60s and one of the women in it suggested I read her. I wanted to understand the relationship between the present and the past, since I'm the only one in the group who wasn't active in the '60s, being younger.

Raya's lecture really made me see that history isn't something gone, but is present in individuals and movements. It always makes me angry when people give histories of the Women's Liberation Movement, and don't make clear that it came out of the Civil Rights Movement—the experiences women had in Freedom Schools... My interest in theory is a reflection of all that my generation witnessed, all the ideas taking a back seat to pragmatism, all the hostility to Marxism. So it was really interesting to me that your organization and your paper were founded when McCarthyism was so strong...

Women's liberationist
Barnard College, New York

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AS SUBSCRIBERS SEE MARXIST-HUMANISM

I found last month's N&L very informative; the labor articles showed the typical exploitation of people. I was surprised to read that women in Switzerland had only recently acquired equal rights in marriage. They always seemed so progressive. I also found the article on New Caledonia enlightening. I never knew that country existed. You can see the Europeans' ethnocentric attitude—they come into your country and then try to indoctrinate you.

Black woman student
Chicago

I liked the headline in your November issue, about the "two worlds in each country." I have never seen a paper like News & Letters. The L.A. Times doesn't print this kind of news. There is a lot happening with workers and strikes that I never hear about. The story of a lost whale makes bigger headlines than what working people are going through. The TV news is mostly weather and sports.

Striking meatcutter
Los Angeles

Reading your paper is a real project. I find it very difficult to read. The articles are too dense. Why do you have to make them so scriptural? I am not new to Marx but I feel I can read the other left papers with much more ease and put them away than I can with N&L. If I feel this way what do you think the workers who get the paper think?

Professor
Chicago

One of the difficulties in understanding the political situation here in Finland is that people don't talk about it... It is considered a social blunder here to ask someone how he or she voted in the last election... I hate this. Partly because I like to talk about politics. I want to know what's going on. But more importantly, because I think it's very clear from the opening chapters of Marxism and Freedom that democracy is not as much the voting but the discussion.

Visiting American
Finland

Recently I became involved in divestment activities at the university I attend. The group held a press conference a few weeks ago, after the university arrested five students for a protest. The press conference showed how deep is the support for divestment in America. Several community organizations were there too. They noted the connection between South Africa and the U.S.

But at the same time there is within the divestment coalition a blatant disregard of ideas of the masses of people, and the conscious and intentional squashing of ideas, discussions and activities not sanctioned by the leaders. How can an organization founded to support freedom, but in reality suppressing it, hope to get anywhere?

Since I am new to News and Letters Committees, I just assumed that other organizations would be based the way we are—where there is a philosophy that underlies the activity. It showed me not to take for granted our committee form of organization and our philosophy of freedom for the whole society, with the development of the individual being part of that freedom.

New Marxist-Humanist
Chicago



BLACK WOMEN WRITERS CONFERENCE

At the Black Women Writers Conference in Michigan Oct. 27, one speaker from Nigeria was contrasting her concept of "womanism" to "feminism." She said womanism was more relevant to Africa because it was more collectivist, and didn't try to break up the culture, while American feminism was individualist. But I found myself thinking, that's not American feminism that she's talking about—it's American capitalism!

On the other hand, I was very impressed with how the South African writer Ellen Kuzwayo brought together the Black experience in South Africa, Britain and the U.S. She talked about how small the world has become. On her way to the U.S. she had come

through Britain, and found that the streets of Britain were just like the streets of Soweto.

Conference participant
Ann Arbor, Mich.

One of the speakers at the first conference plenary was Maryse Conde from Guadeloupe. She began by saying that they had a demonstration at the French embassy and their banner read "Georges Faisans/Nelson Mandela Same Fight." But she complained that unlike South Africa, Guadeloupe is so small that no one knows who Faisans is.

I thought, I know who he is, and pulled out the October N&L and turned to the article, "Guadeloupe's Victory Over French Racism," which was all about Faisans. The woman sitting behind me got excited and asked for a copy of N&L and as soon as the plenary was over I rushed up to Conde to give her a copy of the paper to show her that Guadeloupe may be small, but since it is revolutionary, it is in N&L.

Terry Moon
Chicago

APARTHEID THERE AND HERE

We are used to the horrifying statistics of human death occurring daily in apartheid South Africa, but I was not prepared for what I read in the South African union newsletter that you reprinted in "South African Freedom Journal." It says that roughly every three hours, a South African worker is killed in an "accident" at work—2,800 workers a year! This gives a whole new dimension to our understanding of the depth of the movement against apartheid.

Reader
Los Angeles

Today on the news I heard about the apartheid system they voted for on election day in Dearborn, Mich. Now you won't be able to go into the parks unless you live there. What it says to me is, we don't want Black people because of the lily-white population in Dearborn. What about the people that work in Dearborn, like at Ford Rouge, but don't live there? On T.V. they in-

terviewed a person working there who lives elsewhere, and they asked her what she was doing in the park. She said she goes there to relax on her lunch break. To me it's apartheid in Dearborn.

Woman worker
Michigan

TERRORISM EXAMINED

Terror struck here for the first time in the domestic history of the Arab-Israeli conflict. On Oct. 11, Alex Odeh, director of the Southern California office of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, was killed by a bomb rigged to explode when he opened the office. The fascist Jewish Defense League's president, Irv Rubin, made his customary statement, disclaiming responsibility but praising the act. No arrests have been made. Odeh's widow and three small daughters have yet to receive condolences from Pres. Reagan. The price of free speech for Arab-Americans has now been raised, apparently, to death.

A. Fortunoff
Los Angeles

The Achille Lauro case is an example of how unforeseeable events caused by persons or governments can upset the established equilibrium of the two giant nuclear powers. This question was discussed in the "Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1985-86" (Aug.-Sept. N&L), where the Khadafy-Morocco alliance was used as an example. This latter and more dramatic event shows the validity of the thesis, and Reagan's hysterical reaction shows how much fear he has of any sort of independent action by rebels, no matter who they are.

All of this makes the discussion on organizational practice (a question thoroughly analyzed by Dunayevskaya in her book on Rosa Luxemburg) a question of vital importance... Terrorism is not a revolutionary solution in itself, but rather a "short cut to revolution." Organized terrorism contains all of the defects that one can find in Luxemburg's theory of spontaneous action, and the defects of a vanguard party...

Correspondent
Milan, Italy

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Eleanor Marx in Chicago
by Terry Moon 15¢ per copy
- Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- Working Women for Freedom
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Latin America's Revolutions
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought
by Lou Turner and John Alan \$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
- Constitution of News & Letters Committees
20¢ postage \$1 per copy
- Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts
by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitriyev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
- Dialectics of Liberation
Summaries of Hegel's works and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
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by Peter Hudis \$1 per copy
- Counter-revolution and Revolution in Iran: a series of political-philosophic letters
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
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- A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism - 1941 to Today; Its Origin and Development in the U.S.
\$1 per copy
- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95 (\$38.50 hardcover)
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Marxism and Freedom
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- Philosophy and Revolution
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- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal
Life in the South and North
by Charles Denby, Editor of News & Letters \$7.50 per copy
- Subscriptions to News & Letters
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• South African Freedom Journal •

Winds of revolt in Transkei

It was broad daylight when police gunned down the young man in the village main street, then pumped bullets into him as he lay at their feet. As a small group gathered around, someone asked who it was who had been shot. "A terrorist," one of the policemen replied. "No," came a weak voice of protest from the dying figure on the ground, "I am from the Ntsebeza family."

That eye-witness account of the death of black activist, Bathandwa Ndondo, 22, in the tribal "homeland" village of Cala, indicated the start of a new phase in the racial violence that has convulsed South Africa for the past 14 months. The Black rebellion, which began in big city ghettos such as Sharpeville, Crossroads and Soweto, then spread to small towns in South Africa, has now reached the pastoral backwaters of the tribal "homelands," in this case, Transkei.

A fuel depot on the outskirts of the little capital of Umtata was sabotaged recently. A power station and a bridge were blown up by limpet mines. There have been two shoot-outs between police and guerrillas of the African National Congress, whom the local security forces claim slip across the mountainous border with inde-

pendent Lesotho.

Young Blacks are boycotting the schools, and in the eastern Umzimkulu district, militant students killed a teacher with a reputation for molesting schoolgirls. Faced with this unaccustomed militancy, the tribal government of President Kaizer Matanzima has adopted repressive measures modeled on those of the white minority government in Pretoria which established his state.

Security police have arrested hundreds of people without charges, 880 in September alone, according to an ecumenical body of Christian ministers called the Transkei Council of Churches. A night time curfew has been imposed throughout the territory. A state of emergency declared after student unrest last year, makes it illegal for young people to be outside their schools at any time of the day or night, unless they are accompanied by an adult.

The Transkei police are being openly accused of assassinating Ndondo. A number of Ndondo's relatives and other witnesses to the shooting have been arrested without charges under the territory's security laws. President Matanzima came close to admitting in a recent speech that the killing had official sanction when

he blamed Ndondo for blowing up the fuel depot, June.

There is a history of resistance in this seemingly tranquil rural haven. The Transkei was the scene of a series of frontier wars between white settlers and black tribes in the early 19th century. Many prominent members of the ANC, including its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela, are Xhosas with their roots in the Transkei.

Most of the territory's two million people live grinding poverty. Until recently, poverty appeared to have created a population that was despondent and dully apathetic, but the winds of rebellion blowing in from the rest of South Africa seem to have fanned the old embers of resistance into life. Added to this has been the emergence of a militant new generation from the Transkei's schools and its university which was established soon after its independence in 1976. There is a deep irony in this, reflecting an ambiguity in the role of Matanzima and his younger brother, Prime Minister George Matanzima.

They are tribal nationalists, relatives of Mandela, who claim they opted for independence so they could advance the interests of the Xhosa tribe, but who are despised by the ANC and its followers for collaborating with the apartheid system. In his desire to give the Xhosas better education, Matanzima revamped the education system Pretoria has devised for Blacks and established the University of Transkei. The policy was soon backfire. As militancy increased at the university, Matanzima ordered a purge of students and staff. The Student Representative Council, with Ndondo as its vice president, was detained, then suspended.

Ndondo, who was studying law, was one of many students refused re-admission when the university reopened this year. He went back to Cala, where he related to a distinguished local family, the Ntsebezas and took a job as a field worker for a health care trust. According to a friend who has since gone into hiding, four men and a woman who described themselves as security police arrived at Ndondo's home, arrested him and bundled him into a truck.

Nontobako Tunzi, who lives in a house nearby, said she saw Ndondo struggling in the truck and heard him cry out: "Help, they are killing me."

Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-1985

It was the taste of freedom, a taste that was won after nine long months of continuous meetings and of planning and setting up a new transportation system for 60,000 Blacks in Montgomery. This was done while the constant terror, bombings, harassment, intimidation, firings and practically every form of inhuman treatment you can think of were thrown against the entire Black community in those months of struggle...

Few can look out upon a calm sea and tell when a storm will rise and the tides will sweep all filth to shore. No one can set the time, date or place for the self-activities of the Blacks, as the Communist and other radical parties have always tried to do.

—Charles Denby,
Indignant Heart:
A Black Worker's Journal



Black working woman walks in support of bus boycott

Because the spontaneity of the walk-out and the organization of their forces to keep up the boycott was a simultaneous action, it is here that we can see what is truly historic and contains our future...

1) They have been in continuous session: daily there are small meetings; three times weekly mass meetings; at all times the new relationships.

2) The decision is always their own. When the State Supreme Court handed down its decision against segregated buses...the Negroes said: we also asked for Negro bus drivers...

3) The organization of their own transportation, without either boss or political supervision, is a model.

Clearly, the greatest thing of all in this Montgomery, Alabama, spontaneous organization was its own working existence.

—Raya Dunayevskaya,
Marxism and Freedom

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

We are now more than a decade away from the passionate days of the Civil Rights Movement when the issue of unequal, segregated education was singled out as an insidious example of white racism that had to be eliminated. Blacks were in universal agreement that the American process of education had utterly failed to provide the masses of Black people with the training and skills that would give them the ability to make their way in American society and, moreover, it was a type of education that gave grist to the mills of racism by totally eliminating the Afro-American dimension from American history.

Essentially this criticism, leveled against the American process of education more than a decade ago, is still valid today. The great majority of Black students are still receiving instruction in understaffed, poorly financed ghetto schools and are barred, by the poverty of their families, from entering institutions of higher learning. Last November Time magazine reported that half of college-bound Black students come from families that earn \$12,000, or less per year.

PAUPERIZED BLACK EDUCATION

Over the last ten years there has been a dramatic drop in Black enrollment at colleges and universities. This decline is directly connected to the inferior education given to Blacks at the elementary and secondary levels of instruction, to endemic poverty among Black families, in addition to the high cost of education, the drying-up of private philanthropic funds and, above all, to Reagan's ruthless slashing of federal aid to education. There are fewer Blacks in institutions of higher learning today than there were in 1974. Director Louis Sullivan of Meharry School of Medicine has characterized the present state of Black education as discouraging, adding that "We have lost the legacy of the '60s and the '70s in equal opportunity and in equity."

The truth of the matter is that there has never been any real equity in the American process of education between Blacks and whites. The Civil Rights Movement and the Black revolt that followed caught the fact that America's racial, political and economic inequity was mirrored in the American process of education. These movements

Black education in dilemma

sought to transform education by demanding and getting the inclusion of Black Studies into the curriculum of schools and universities. This challenged the contradiction that existed between what was taught and what was practiced in society, because Black Studies is nothing less than the history of Black people's struggle for freedom.

Whether or not Blacks should be educated, and the kind of education they should receive, has always been a contentious political/social issue in this country. Before the Civil War, when the division between mental and manual labor was absolute, it was decreed by the white master class that Blacks receive no formal education. Yet many Blacks learned to read and write and even to establish underground schools.

FREEDOM AND EDUCATION

The Civil War released into the open a long suppressed desire for education. As soon as the Union Army freed slaves, schools were spontaneously organized by Blacks with whole families attending classes.

This desire for education immediately found support from the American Missionary Association, the Freedman's Aid Society and other Northern philanthropic groups. They did yeomen's work in establishing the Black educational system in the South and were responsible for the birth of Black colleges and universities.

Although the Northern philanthropists never had absolute control, they could, and did, because of their power and wealth, starve and stunt the free human development of Black education for generations. The reality of this type of domination has not vanished, but has come within the power of the Reagan administration. Its position was made clear over two years ago when Fisk University asked for government aid to pay some of its bills and Vice-President Bush offered it under the condition that Fisk change its curriculum focus from liberal arts and its "emphasis on the Black experience" to a more technological one.

What does technology for human alienation and destruction have to do with education? While it may be said that Black Studies brought no new scientific challenges to education, it did, in the spirit of Karl Marx's, famous quotation, reveal that "to have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie."

Future of the working class

Two Black Consciousness-oriented trade unions have formed a sub-committee to explore the future of the working class in South Africa. Council of Unions (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU), representing more than 200,000 workers, took this decision at a meeting in Johannesburg on Nov. 2, 1985.

The move is seen in trade union circles as a step towards forming an alliance of the working class after the two federations had been excluded from the talks aimed at forming a super federation to be launched on Nov. 30/Dec. 1. CUSA pulled out of the talks and AZACTU was excluded from further talks after the controversial summit of a trade unions at the Ipelegeng Centre last June.

The two believe in Black leadership in the trade union movement and have been opposed to white leadership as propounded by most of those in the super federation. A spokesman for the proposed super federation said that there was no need for two federations to be formed. CUSA and AZACTU should be invited back to talks aimed at forming the federation.

James Groppi

The news of James Groppi's death brought back memories of his life of struggle.

When the Black ghetto rebellions swept from Newark to Detroit in the summer of 1967, they came also to Milwaukee, where the Black community was sealed off—temporarily by massive police blockades, and permanently by viciously segregated housing. One month after the rebellion, James Groppi, then adviser to the NAACP Youth Council, decided to lead a challenge to segregation, Northern-style, demanding open housing throughout Milwaukee.

For six full months thousands of Blacks and whites marched daily, often 20-30 miles, daring to enter the most racist neighborhoods, and facing a hail of rock and bottles. In Groppi's words, it was a "racism uglier than anything I saw in the South." Marxist-Humanists were proud to participate in the marches, and N&L helped present their struggle to the world by publishing "Marchers' Diaries."

James Groppi's vision of freedom did not limit itself to the passage of an open housing law. He worked with welfare rights organizations, and with Menominee Indian activists in northern Wisconsin. Though he had been a Catholic priest, and remained religious after he left the priesthood, the 1980s brought him to a new interest in Marxism as a Humanism, and to a study of Marxism and Freedom. We mourn his death Nov. 4 at the age of 54, and we continue his fight for a human world.

EDITORIAL

Geneva 1985: the summit that wasn't

(continued from page 1)

It turned out that Weinberger's view was precisely Reagan's view. His "Hell, No" answer to any firing of Weinberger showed that it was the man who wasn't here—and not the Secretary of State, the National Security Adviser or the five other key spokesmen for the administration who were present at the summit and got led in the very first paragraph of the joint summit statement—who set the line. Reagan's comment defending Weinberger was said despite Reagan's pre-summit warning to the Russians that precisely there would be no retreat from abiding by the Salt II agreement though it is unratified.

On the Russian side, the official newspaper was as silent against the United States as any Reagan statement about Russia as the evil empire.

ISENHOWER-KHRUSHCHEV-MAO, BREZHNEV-MAO

Did other summits which were recorded, and were more or less open, and that did come out with concrete promises, really determine what the ruling interests of the capitalist countries, private or state, followed?

Take the great Camp David spirit of the 1959 Eisenhower-Khrushchev meeting that led to the 1960 meeting at was to prepare for a summit. Eisenhower didn't let at spirit stop him for one single second from the usual imperialistic spy-plane reconnoitering, even on one of the greatest holidays in Russia, May 1. So when Khrushchev stormed out of the 1960 meeting, it wasn't his bad temper that scuttled that summit-to-be. It was the fact that the Russians had succeeded in shooting down that U-2 spy plane.

Thus it was Eisenhower who actually helped Khrushchev to cover up the budding Sino-Soviet conflict by eating an opportunity for Khrushchev to call upon the world's 81 Communist Parties to give a unified rebuff to U.S. imperialism. Thereby, Khrushchev was able to keep Mao from developing his April 1960 critique of U.S. imperialism, and thus prevent Mao from showing that the great unified Sino-Soviet orbit was about to be sharply divided into the Sino-Soviet conflict.

The games that rulers play—whether they represent private capitalism (statified) or state-capitalism (privatized), both of which are deeply rooted as well as continually expanded as their "national" interests—are best exemplified by the Nixon spectacular to China in 1972, declaring it as important as the recognized global powers.

No one denies that it was a great achievement for U.S. imperialism, and that it took that reactionary Nixon to have broken through the China lobby and achieve what no Democratic President could have achieved. But did this new spectacular version of "peaceful co-existence" of the "two systems" really change anything in the course of capitalist nationalism?

The point is that U.S. imperialism, for its global ambitions, did think that the Sino-Soviet Conflict meant that Mao would accept an outright alliance with the United States against Russia. It didn't matter whether or not Nixon had been inspired for that spectacular journey because Brezhnev let the cat out of the bag on the question of how sharp was the Sino-Soviet conflict, because he felt frustrated at not being able to win the Vietnam War without help from China and Russia. When that U.S.-China alliance proved elusive, the spectacular change of line hardly yielded the results that Mao had expected from this shift in the balance of global politics.

That is precisely what is the issue with the present non-summit. Did it at least then change the "climate"? Can those smiles and change in rhetoric from the level of "evil empire" to a "fresh new approach" mean that

we are more secure? Does non-talking, but very continuous actions on so-called research for Star Wars, bespeak a softening of relations between these two nuclear Behemoths?

ABSOLUTE OPPOSITES AT HOME

The question is not one of denying the differences between mere dialogue and statements versus actual agreements, but as we showed in pointing to the "successful" summits, these two terrible powers are national enemies, but not absolute opposites. The absolute opposites are not the United States and Russia, but are the absolute opposites that exist within each country, between the rulers and the masses. That is what is decisive in each case. The two, totally opposite worlds are those which exist in every land. That is what is crucial as against questions of Russia and Afghanistan or the United States and Nicaragua, where it is the national ambitions of the rulers which is the determinant.

There were at Geneva itself signs of the many oppositions to this helter-skelter run for nuclear confrontation. The thousands who marched against both nuclear and any kind of war certainly did not let the rulers forget that the people in every country do not stand idly by. Neither was there any way for either of the superpower rulers or the rulers of their respective ally countries—NATO and the Warsaw Pact—to forget the ongoing, undeclared civil war in South Africa.

And to top it off was what is going on within each country. Here in the United States, the growth of the unemployed army continues; the number of homeless is increasing. The hungry children are not just in Africa; there are serious conditions of undernourishment right here in the U.S., especially among Blacks. The weakening of the economy extends very much to the crisis in agriculture among the American farmers.

What is truly new and decisive is the movement on the part of people in the United States against unemployment, against hunger, against nuclear or any other kind of war, all of whom refuse to consider peace as merely the absence of war. They are determined to oppose the wholesale Reagan retreat on civil rights, Women's Liberation, and the environment and health and safety both in and outside the workplace.

The one thing that the non-summit did reveal is the divisions within the ruling class, whether it be as serious as within the South African ruling regime when part of the capitalist class went to meet the African National Congress in exile in Zambia, or as simple as the division between Weinberger-Reagan and Shultz, that is, the division between the Pentagon and the State Department, all within the highest echelons in the White House.

Italy: a U.S. colony?

Milan, Italy—First, the Italian ship, the Achille Lauro, was sequestered by four terrorists—clearly a reaction to Israel's raid in Tunisia on the PLO base. Then came the act of U.S. air-piracy that forced an Egyptian plane to change course and land on a NATO base. This was followed by a government crisis in Italy.

With these events, a theme came to light that has never been discussed by the political parties in Italy (the Communist opposition included) simply because it has always been taken for granted: the subordinate role that Italy has in its relations to the U.S.A.

When the Achille Lauro was taken over by Arab terrorists, the U.S. did not attempt to intervene in the negotiations that Italy was having with the PLO. In this way the Palestinians were assured of their personal security, and the lives of many passengers were saved. Afterward, the U.S. forced the Egyptian plane to land on a NATO base in Italy, that is, on what is effectively U.S. territory, stating that the U.S. would not respect the agreements made by Italy and Egypt with the PLO.

It is not strange that Italy and Egypt reacted to a similar demonstration of total contempt. Reagan made it very clear in his hysterical speeches that he considers his allies to be simple servants rather than partners. What is strange is that almost all of the political parties in Italy went against Craxi, the actual president of Parliament, and forced his resignation, thereby creating a new fall of the Italian government.

The arguments given for this servile attitude toward the U.S. were not ideological but economic: the need for Italy to sell its shoes, spaghetti and canned tomatoes on the U.S. market. More importantly, if and when Italy needs another loan from the IMF, it will have U.S. support.

At this point Reagan had a new reason for panic. He needed a compact group of allies behind him in his conference with Gorbachev. There was also the danger that a new wave of anti-American, anti-NATO demonstrations might break out in Italy.

Thus, Reagan wrote a letter to Craxi that began with "Dear Bettino" and ended with "Yours, Ron," and Craxi's honor was saved. The Italian government was put back up on its feet by the U.S. All has remained the same except the Italian government has almost begged the U.S. to accept it as a colony.

—Margaret Ellingham

What must become our point of departure for action is this appearance of differences in the ruling regime. They are caused by dissatisfaction, from below—way, way below the ruling echelons. It is this dissatisfaction that rulers fear because they know it is deep, deeper than even the fact that the rich are ever richer and the poor, poorer. That dissatisfaction on the part of the masses is the point of departure for revolutionaries as they prepare for the total uprooting of the capitalistic, sexist, racist societies at both poles of the world. The nothingness of the summit that wasn't makes this the imperative task of the day. —November 16, 1985

Drama of Azanian struggle

Elsa Joubert's South African play, Poppie Nongena, is a moving experience. The play is not a musical, but music permeates it. The cast enters through the audience singing a South African song. Though few in the audience will understand the words, the way songs combine with dialogue projects the continuing struggle in that country.

There are very few props, making the set even more effective because it conveys the poverty and barren conditions of Black South Africa. One prop, however, turned out to show the two-way road of freedom ideas we talk about in News and Letters Committees between Africa and the United States.

The actor who played Jakkie was reading a book on-stage at one point. A friend and I, who saw the play in Chicago, were so anxious to ask him what the dog-eared book was that we waited outside the stage door after the performance. Was it perhaps Frantz Fanon? we wanted to know. No, he said, it was his own personal copy of Richard Wright's Native Son, adding that Wright was the first American author he had read in South Africa.

The play follows the life of a South African woman, Poppie, and how she confronts the institutionalization of apartheid after World War II. It shows each new stage over 40 years in South Africa as we trace her life story. She is not politically active in the South African Women's Movement or any of the revolts sweeping the country. However, the inseparability of objective and subjective movements are revealed first as we see how white South Africa has a direct influence on Poppie's life and then as we see her daily response to these conditions, including what happens when you don't fight for freedom.

White South Africa first displaces the family, forcing some to the "homelands" while others remain to labor in the city. Then pass laws create hardships for Poppie as she faces the whims of a pass officer on several occasions and he dictates the course her life will take. She eventually winds up in a resettlement camp with only her children.

Poppie is continually looking for a "peace" she never finds. Most moving to me was how the climax puts her views into direct opposition to those of Jakkie, her younger brother and a leader of the youth movement. It is here that the youth dimension is fully developed as integral to the entire struggle. Jakkie presents the different ideologies between the generations. For him, peace is impossible in an unjust society and youth have but one road to follow—that of revolt.

When Jakkie must flee because the police want to detain him, Poppie rejoices that her children are safe at the resettlement camp. Then comes the news that Jakkie has escaped, but he passed through the camp and the police have arrested her children.

At last Poppie reaches the conclusion that there is no "peace." It doesn't matter how non-violent you are. It is the armed government which makes revolution the only answer and the play concludes with the cast singing the Azanian National Anthem.

What makes the play so exciting in the midst of our new anti-apartheid struggles is not only seeing highpoints in the continuity of struggle but the new knowledge you as audience bring to it in 1985, when the struggle has reached near civil war. If Black South Africa proves anything it is that ever higher points of development continue to arise on the way to full freedom. —Erica Rae

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

an he'd make on the night shift. He was real new, and he went for it.

But once he got on the night shift, he found out they only raised him 25 cents, he lost all his overtime, and they told him, "You have to get more and more production out of these workers. If they're putting 12 bottles in the line, make them put 16. If they're putting on 16, make them put 20. If any worker won't do it, or talks back to you, send them to the office, they're fired!" Where was the union in all this? They never even had meetings. He felt the only thing he could do was quit.

NO UNION EVEN WORSE

But that first fellow worker, the Dominican, has also told me, "I've worked in shops with no union, and it's even worse. It's a reign of terror against the workers!" The point is that workers in these hell-hole sweatshops have no illusions about whose side the union is on. At the same time, it doesn't mean they prefer to have no union! What these workers are looking for is their form of organization, of union, that would bring down those odds the capitalists make of themselves. They want a form of struggle that would not only change their wages, but bring new human relations, "bread with dignity," to the work place.

Spreading U.S. strikes resist 'two-tier society,' pose questions

(continued from page 1)

52 years. The industry is second only to coal mining in health and safety dangers, with a 119% increase in lost-time accidents since 1981. In 1984 there were 202 injuries per 100 workers (more than two per worker a year) in the Hormel P-9 plant. The workers set up a Support Committee immediately and have sent strikers everywhere from the Minnesota AFL-CIO State Convention to the North American Labor History Conference at Detroit's Wayne State University to get support.

• In Watsonville, California, 2,000 cannery workers went on strike in early September to fight wage cuts of from 28 to 56% and a two-tier system that would give new workers as little as \$2.43 an hour. Mainly Chicano and Mexican, and the majority women, the workers have elected their own 11-member strike committee to meet with the company along with the Teamsters union leaders supposedly representing them.

The list could go on and on—shipyard workers in Bath, Maine; Southern California supermarket workers; General Dynamics tank plant workers in Michigan; nuclear workers in Ohio; migrant workers in Arizona. (See strike reports, page 3)

REAGANISM'S ALL-OUT ATTACK

The very minute Ronald Reagan took office his decision to fire the air-traffic controllers, on strike against

their potentially lethal conditions, not only made it clear that Labor was going to have to do unprecedented battle directly with this President, but set the tone for the all-out onslaught we have been witnessing ever since.

One measure of that onslaught is the tremendous expansion of professional union-busting consultant firms in the past five years. Where such anti-union campaigns before were concentrated on thwarting the drives of non-union workers, they are now focused on breaking long-established unions.

The demand for a "two-tier" labor force clearly is aimed as much if not more at busting the unions as at the immediate reduction of labor costs. In the first six months of this year nine major contracts included the two-tier system, affecting nearly 300,000 workers. What is involved is no simple 90-day "waiting period." Many workers will take up to three to five years to reach full rate, if they last that long; many others will hire in at a permanently slashed rate.

Black workers, women and youth are, as always, those the most immediately affected. Indeed, for youth, official poverty is already becoming the norm. No less than 22% of the under-18 population and fully half of all Black children are already officially classed as impoverished. The unemployment rate for 16 to 19-year-olds is 17.8%. For Black teenagers it is 38.2%.

The push now appears to be for a fully "two-tiered" and impoverished society, as lay-offs just keep mounting in one sector after another. The ghost towns that have increasingly dotted mining and steel areas now threaten to crop up even in Silicon Valley, as the micro-chip industry has begun to see shut-down after shut-down beginning this summer.

It is because they have reached such a completely crisis-ridden stage that, high profits or not, capitalism hopes it can return fully to the "good old days" of the non-union sweat shops. And their attack on the unions comes at a time when the unions have never been weaker. We have reached a point today where only 18.8% of the non-farm wage and salary force is unionized—the lowest point since 1938-39! At such a time, it is ludicrous for the AFL-CIO bureaucracy to think they can win the battle through a \$3 million a year media campaign of TV and radio commercials and a series of seminars to train 1,000 union leaders on how to be interviewed by television reporters.

WHAT DIRECTION OUT OF THE CRISIS?

At the recent North American Labor History Conference at Wayne State University in Detroit, which took place on the 50th anniversary of the CIO, the overriding concern of all the labor intellectuals present was how to overcome the crisis of the unions, and how to work out a new direction for the labor movement today.

All of our inventions and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life, and multiplying human life into a material force.

—Karl Marx, 1856

If anyone was listening, it was the untutored rank-and-file UAW member present—who "took on" Victor Reuther when all others were praising his new-found radicalism—who pointed to the direction needed. Angered at Reuther's expression that "we have to explain things down at the level of the rank-and-file," she rose to say that the leaders would have to do a lot of work "to get up to the level of the rank-and-file. We're way above you!"

It is precisely with the exchange of ideas and the questions raised among rank-and-file workers, nationally and internationally, that the search for new directions has to begin. Worlds apart from the jingoist protectionism of the union bureaucracy which contends that it is "foreign competition" that is the enemy of the Ameri-

can worker, stands the kind of exchange of ideas that took place between a group of rank-and-file auto workers in Detroit and Toyota auto workers in Japan seeking to realize the humanism of Marxism in practice—their daily struggles, which is recorded in Marxist-Humanism's latest work on the dialectics of revolution and of thought.*

It was a whole new stage of cognition that was reached when West Virginia miners—in their historic General Strike in 1949-50 against the first appearance of Automation—were seen to have raised the profound philosophical question of our age: "What kind of labor should human beings do?"

That was a full 35 years ago. Far from that question ever having been answered, the crisis has so deepened that new workers today are involved in their own struggles against the corporation, against Reaganism, and against their own union bureaucrats—and are raising their own demands for a way out of the crisis. Listening to those voices from below is where the search for the pathway out begins. Working out the total uproar they are demanding is the challenge.

* In Raya Dunayevskaya's *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, see especially the section on "Toyota Labor Speaks" in the essay on "The New Left in Japan."

BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

for granted is the worsening conditions of Black life under Reaganism, conditions even Farrakhan's detractors believe his "charisma" speaks to in terms that other Black leaders shy away from.

Farrakhan's "charisma" didn't originate out of his involvement in the Civil Rights Movement, because the Black Muslims were conspicuously absent from it during the '60s. As Dr. Betty Shabazz, Malcolm X's wife, noted: "The Nation of Islam (NOI) didn't get involved in any of the things most Black people were getting involved in...He (Malcolm) said he wouldn't be a party to any organization that was designed to get money out of Black people because this was all that anybody else had ever done and he wanted no part of it."

Louis Farrakhan came into prominence in 1964 leading a fanatical campaign against Malcolm X in the NOI which climaxed with Malcolm's assassination 20 years ago, this past February. The point is that there is no difference between Farrakhan's present demagoguery against Jews and Blacks, and his exhortations against Malcolm: "The die is set, and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk about his benefactor (Elijah Muhammad) in trying to rob him of the divine glory which Allah has bestowed upon him. Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death..."

CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN BLACK AMERICA

It is no mystery that the phenomenon of anti-Semitism and its conspiracy complexes gain new impetus in periods of political and social retrogression such as the present one. And as Fanon proved, the anti-Semite is inevitably anti-Black. The logic of this racist pathology explains the new alliance between Farrakhan and the white supremacist Thomas Metzger of San Diego as much as it does James Baldwin's critique of Black anti-Semitism at the time of the Black rebellions in 1967 when he asked: "Why when we should be storming capitols, do they (nationalist ideologues) suggest to the people they hope to serve that we take refuge in the most ancient and barbaric of European myths?"

Today, the tide of Reaganism has revealed deep contradictions within Black America as well. Farrakhan's brand of Reaganism, in truth, cannot be limited to him because it permeates today's Black leadership. Its point of departure is the belief that capitalism can do for Black folk what it hasn't been able to do for white.

The paltry \$5 million from the Colonel in Libya notwithstanding, Farrakhan's illusions of POWER (People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth), the NOI's petty capitalist venture, seem more attractive to the Black leadership than to the Black masses. For it is the masses who inevitably become the exploited objects of the primitive accumulation of Black capitalism.

It is no accident that such political personalities as Andrew Young endorse Farrakhan, saying: "Farrakhan and the Muslim movement (sic) reach out for part of the Black community that we have failed to reach...If you don't reach out, that's when conditions can be set for urban violence. Farrakhan performs an exorcising function."

Now the cat is out of the bag. What haunts today's Black leadership more than Reaganism is Black mass revolt. Farrakhan's anti-Semitism is a small embarrassment to bear for these Black leaders so long as Black disillusionment with capitalist-racist America is diverted into its opposite. The truth is that neither an Andrew Young nor a Louis Farrakhan represents the Black masses any more than the Black conservatives that openly spout Reaganism.

In Memoriam: Bernard Wolfe

The death of Bernard Wolfe led me to remember the militant student youth I knew in the 1930s. Bernard was an activist at Yale University in 1935, where he expounded revolutionary Trotskyist views of the world. His opposition to Stalin's betrayal of the Russian Revolution became intense as Stalin staged the greatest frame-up in history—the Moscow Trials. In 1937 Bernard went to Mexico, where Leon Trotsky had been granted asylum, to become a secretary and bodyguard to Trotsky.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials, organized by Professor John Dewey, defended Trotsky against Stalin's slanders. After a year of alternative trials in Mexico they issued an international verdict: Not Guilty. However, during those trials the old question of Kronstadt was raised, and some did not accept Trotsky's stand in putting down the mutiny. Wolfe himself became dissatisfied with Trotsky's analysis. He left Mexico and returned to the U.S. to pursue his literary career.

Of the many novels Bernard Wolfe penned, the one that is best known to this day is *The Great Prince Died*, published in 1959. The main character, Victor Rostov, bore such a striking resemblance to Trotsky that reviewers treated Rostov as Trotsky. Here is how Wolfe himself explained the work: "This work cannot be called history. It is, rather, a fiction based upon, derived from—dogged by, if you will—history."

A friend of Wolfe's wrote to me: "Wolfe abstained from politics in his last decades. In his writing he made clear enough where his sympathies lay: with the rebel spirit. Many of his readers would accept the proposition that to depict truthfully the features of contemporary society is a sufficient argument to replace it."

Although I broke with Trotsky over his position that Russia was still a "workers state though degenerate," and held that it was a state-capitalist society, I felt that to depict Trotsky as if he had a guilt complex about Kronstadt, as Wolfe did in his work, was a way of attributing his own views to Trotsky. I do agree, however, that the rebel spirit of the youthful Bernard Wolfe I knew remained with him in his later years. It is this we commemorate.

—Raya Dunayevskaya

Read The Labor Dimension In Marxist Humanism

"The historic significance of the 1949-50 strike...was not only that the miners had revealed...that they were far ahead of their leaders...They had made their own decisions, carried them out in opposition to the power of the government, coal operators, a hostile press and their own union leadership and at the same time had directly involved broad segments of the working class." — The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

"The fact that the movement from practice was itself a form of theory was manifested in the Miners' General Strike of 1949-50, during which the miners battling automation were focusing not on wages but on a totally new question about the kind of labor man should do, asking why there was such a big gap between thinking and doing" — Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future

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YOUTH

Black youth fight S. Africa, south USA apartheid

by Eugene Ford

"We are going to bring this apartheid system down. We may die in the struggle—we know that, and we accept it—but we are resolved that apartheid will not continue into another generation." This is what the Black youth in South Africa are saying today, and Black youth here in the USA, North, South, East and West, identify with that need to destroy the old ways of doing things and create a new free society.

Apartheid is not only in South Africa. Right within America we have an oppressive system of apartheid called democracy which is a concrete extension of the separate and unequal existence of Blacks since slavery. The South African revolt reaches into the whole of society, to a man, woman and child, and is affecting the creative minds of youth all over the world.

Here in Los Angeles Black youth are singled out and harassed and arrested. One Black youth at a Free South Africa meeting spoke out against South African apartheid but added, "I want to tell you about what happened to me in Beverly Hills. I was given a traffic citation, and then dragged and beaten by the police." This is what comes from crossing over the color line of race and class, being Black and poor in Beverly Hills.

This is a common attitude of the police within "white" areas in Los Angeles, where we are stopped for being Black and young and from outside the neighborhood. We are asked to show our ID as if it were a passbook, and if we don't live or work within the area, we are forced to get out of town or be subject to arrest. This has happened to many Blacks and to myself personally.

RACISM AND PROTEST IN ALABAMA

I was born in the South, in Alabama, so I know what

AS OTHERS SEE US

A review of two Marxist-Humanist works

• *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*, by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya

• *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, by Raya Dunayevskaya

The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 was caused by the introduction of the continuous miner, a caterpillar mounted machine that ripped coal out of the coal face, swung it back and piled it high about the work crew. Since coal dust explosions could "twist steel rails like pretzels" at speeds over 50,000 miles an hour, the miners feared for their lives from the clouds of dust and heat created by this new machine. John L. Lewis, the great leader of the miners' union, refused to fight the introduction of automation, but he did call a work action when contract talks stalled. Exasperated by months of jockeying for position between union leaders and mine owners, the miners began a wildcat strike that quickly spread to mines around the country. When Lewis ordered the miners back to work, they refused to go.

The story of how the rank and file controlled the strike and arranged for their own food relief despite opposition from their union leaders is vividly told by Andy Phillips, who was a participant. The miners forced the coal operators to negotiate a better wage and Welfare Fund. But the continuous miner could not be stopped. It caused thousands of workers to be laid off, bringing about the Appalachian depression area as we know it today. Months later in 1951 the miners of West Virginia struck over this "man-killing" machine and forced Lewis and the owners to negotiate a seniority protection clause. "All subsequent contract talks were held in secrecy, and we first learned of new agreements when they were reported in the newspapers," Phillips comments wryly.

Active in the strike was Raya Dunayevskaya, philosopher and Marxist with a perceptive and enquiring mind which in her writings since that period has carried Marxist philosophy over the impasse of Russian communism to an enlightened vision for the future. At the same time she has demonstrated a development of thought that hews more closely to Marx than that of other Marxist political groups.

The miners' strike taught her that spontaneous action created its own philosophy and led her to found Marxist-Humanism. Yet another left-wing party! you groan. But this one is directed by the workers and, I think, will become important.

Dunayevskaya explains her party thus:

What became imperative for revolutionaries in the state-capitalist age (she includes Russia and America in this description) was to recognize the class nature of state-capitalism and not to limit the discussion of organization to "democracy" vs. "bureaucracy." What was needed was not just a

American segregation is, yet I grew up during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, and then everything was changing. But today, in my hometown, Black youth right out of high school have no future. There is nothing for them to do unless they are one of the few who can go to college, or else they join the military. Otherwise all that is left is high unemployment and high crime. There are no real choices.

The city jobs for youth are served up from the top down, and that small Alabama town is run by a racist mayor. One Black youth recently went to the city clerk's office to apply for a job and was straight-out refused an application for no apparent reason. Those that do apply for a job are required to take a city exam which is very one-sided, with only one person making up the test, grading the test and determining who passed. This is in 1985!

While a few Blacks have secured city jobs, many are on the fringe of losing their rights to a job, with the right-wing mood of this country under Reagan. One Black youth, in order to keep her job within the public library, was forced by the mayor to sign away her right to the minimum wage.

All these racist incidents have sparked a wave of community meetings and Black protest. The Black community is determined to fight City Hall for basic rights such as the right to the minimum wage, and they are questioning the legality of the mayor's action. But they recognized that even the legal means are corrupt—the defense and prosecuting attorneys are blood brothers!

Nor are their protests just on local issues, but they also have an international dimension, with the organized boycott of Winn Dixie supermarkets which have been selling goods from South Africa.

LOCAL 1930 Newsline

Affiliated with District Council 37, AFSCME, AFL-CIO,
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political rejection of the "party to lead" but a whole philosophy of revolution as it related to organization.

Her book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, calls on Rosa and Marx (as distinct from Engels) to support her reasoning. She selects the Women's Movement as a salient example of spontaneous action becoming a form of philosophy. She shows us how Rosa, by championing mass action, overcomes the strait-jacket of organization thrust upon her. Marx, she writes, always recognized the importance of women for the success of revolution. Dunayevskaya is stimulating and profoundly insightful in guiding us past the thickets, the maze and the bear traps of Marxist thought as it has been presented by some of its interpreters. She introduces us to the recently translated *Ethnological Notebooks* that Marx wrote in the last years of his life. The *Notebooks* confirm Marx's emphasis on the Man/Woman relationship as the most revealing of all relationships, initiate his concept of "revolution in permanence," and establish the possibility of revolution in the Third World in advance of the Western nations. Extending these ideas, Dunayevskaya connects Women's Liberation with Third World liberation and emphasizes the Black dimension to the Women's Movement by several pages of bibliography at the end of her book.

A description she writes of Marx deserves to be quoted because it demonstrates both her understanding of the man and Marx's appeal to his readers.

Marx's historic originality in internalizing new data, whether in anthropology or in "pure" science, was a never-ending confrontation with what Marx called "history and its process." That was concrete. That was ever-changing. And that ever-changing concrete was inexorably bound to the universal, because, precisely because, the determining concrete was the ever-developing subject—self-developing men and women.

In the 1880s Henry Adams lamented that the ideas of the two most important thinkers of the time, Comte and Marx, were not taught in American universities. Comte has fallen by the wayside (though he may be found in university attics) whereas Marxist thought has invaded every intellectual discipline. I believe the above quotation gives the reason for Marx's durability and relevance.

And Dunayevskaya's extension of Marxist thought provides us with a promising path into the future which has the distinct advantage of encouraging us to develop it as we proceed. There could be no better antidote to Orwell's threatening vision of 1984, already close upon us.

—David Beasley

New York Public Library Guild

YOUTH CREATIVITY VS. CAPITALISM

This two-way road of revolutionary ideas between the U.S. and Africa confronts the rulers Reagan and Botha, who are the extension of Hitler. Black youth are fighting their attempts to revive a dying capitalism which shortens human life. That is true also for Thatcher in Britain, where youth revolted with more violence than has been seen before, leaving one policeman dead.

With oppression comes revolt, and South African Black youth are showing the world how it is done, with no compromise. One Black South African parent remarked: "All Black society is undergoing tremendous change right now, but to my mind none will be so far reaching as those affecting the youth. We may not welcome some of these changes, but there is little we as parents can do about them. The revolution that is coming will not only be against this apartheid regime, but it may also encompass the whole of Black society."

Youth in Revolt



Plainclothes cops drag away student protestors in Seoul.

"Down with military dictatorship" and "Withdraw American capitalists" were the rallying cries of 7,000 student demonstrators in several South Korean cities Oct. 31 to Nov. 4. At Seoul National University, 2,000 students were tear-gassed by police. Despite severe sentences given to occupiers of the U.S. Information Service this year, 15 students occupied the American Chamber of Commerce in Seoul until police stormed the building, arresting the students.

Hundreds of Chilean students participated in a two-day strike against the military dictatorship of Gen. Augusto Pinochet Nov. 5-6, along with workers, shantytown dwellers and other supporters of jailed labor activists. In clashes and occupations at three universities, at least 150 students were arrested.

Practicing the slogan, "Freedom now, degrees later," Black high school students in South Africa held a boycott of the college entrance exam in November. In the Eastern Cape region, attendance was only 5%. At several schools the test was cancelled altogether when protesters disrupted it. Police arrested at least 300 of the boycotters.

Police attack U of M protest

Ann Arbor, Mich.—About 75 students held a rally against the CIA at noon on Oct. 22. We marched over to the Career Planning & Placement Office where they were interviewing.

As they were letting one student in and it looked like we might come in, suddenly the police burst out. They forced their way into the crowd, hitting one woman, attacking another student, pulling him into the office by his hair. One cop kned him, while we were banging on the door. Then they dragged him out of the building in handcuffs.

Four people stayed and got arrested, put in handcuffs and then into a van. Then 10 others spontaneously blocked the van from leaving with them, and suddenly they too were arrested, without any rights being read to them. The woman who that policeman had hit was walking away, and he yelled, "Get her!" The people blocking the van were charged with hindering and obstructing a police officer — that's a felony!

Sixty students came back the next day to protest the way the university had used the police as an arm of political repression, and more students were arrested.

Everyone on campus is talking about what happened. Right now we are looking for help from other students at U of M, and want to know what is happening on other campuses against the CIA. Similar actions were taken against students protesting CIA interviews at the Universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota.

—Student protester

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

Colombia's savage state terrorism

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

At least 97 bodies, many burned beyond recognition, were pulled from the smoking hulk of what two days before was Bogota's Palace of Justice, after President Belisario Betancur unleashed a savage bloodbath on Nov. 7 against both the M-19 guerrillas who had occupied the building and the unarmed hostages inside.

Scores were wounded as Betancur, refusing any negotiation asked by the M-19 or the Red Cross, ignored the desperate pleas of the President of the Supreme Court, himself a hostage, for a cease-fire, allowed the military to go in with tanks and bombs. They killed all 35 or 40 guerrillas, 11 Supreme Court Justices and six alternates, and dozens of lesser officials and workers.

The immediate reaction was the strike of 6,500 judges and 15,000 court employees nationwide, demanding the removal of Minister of Defense General Miguel Vega Uribe. They will also formally accuse Betancur in both Congress and the International Court of Justice in the Hague of causing this bloodbath.

These growing divisions within the ruling class are but a pale reflection of the shock and revulsion Colombian workers and poor, at home and abroad, feel about Betancur, the president who had been elected with promises of peace, dialogue with the Left, stopping the drug mafia and its powerful players in the military, and

resolving the problems of the poor.

The M-19 has stated they took over the Palace of Justice to call Betancur before the Supreme Court to accuse him publicly of "betraying the peace efforts and the hopes for social justice of the Colombian people." They demand that the press and radio publish the cease-fire accords between the government and the M-19, as well as all agreements with the IMF, "so that Colombians should know the truth."

Betancur has arranged truces with leftist rebel



Over 100,000 demonstrators marched in London on Nov. 2 against apartheid.

groups, but Gen. Vega Uribe's military simply goes on killing rebels and dissidents, truce or no truce. Five labor leaders were killed before and after a June general strike, according to Amnesty International.

Two weeks before the siege of the court building, M-19, which had by then broken with the truce, had 12 of its youth liberate a milk truck in the Bogota slums and begin to distribute milk to the poor. The army arrived and arrested the youth, and then cold-bloodedly shot them all dead. Even the national TV called it an outrage.

Can it be a mere coincidence that, just now, after Reagan "hijacked the hijackers" to Italy, Betancur would respond in so openly barbarous a manner? Five years ago, when the M-19 occupied the Dominican Embassy, then-President Turbay Ayala, who did not have a policy of dialogue with the Left, negotiated for 59 days so that all were released unharmed. Even the butcher Somoza had to negotiate when the Sandinistas took over the National Palace.

Days later, when the Nevado del Ruiz volcano erupted and buried tens of thousands, Gen. Vega Uribe took charge of the "rescue." He announced almost immediately that they would not search for more survivors. Doesn't Betancur's bloodbath and indifference to the fate of volcano victims say a lot about the international atmosphere of barbarism that Reaganism has created?

Nyerere's legacy

The resignation of Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere and the election of a successor, Ali Hassan Mwinyi, marks the end of an era. Nyerere was among those leaders swept into power in the early 1960s as Africans won independence and set about building new societies, free of racism and colonialism. The African socialism he espoused, dubbed *ujamaa*, was to create decentralized socialist village communities, as spelled out in the famous 1967 Arusha Declaration.

Non-alignment and African unity were not just words, but principles of action for Tanzania. Whether giving bases to freedom fighters from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and, most of all, South Africa; or supporting Biafra's or Eritrea's right to self-determination, or helping to overthrow the fascist Idi Amin in 1979—Nyerere was a voice of idealism in an era of neocolonialism. At home, in one of the poorest nations on earth, literacy reached 75% (the highest in Africa), while a health care system and political freedom were established.

Yet even Tanzania in the 1970s showed the limits hemming in a small, poor African country, pressed by the world market and the superpowers. Agriculture and industry faced disaster in the world economic crisis of the 1970s. Nyerere responded by banning strikes and, in villagization, forcing peasants to join his "socialist" villages.

In the absence of a full revolution

where the masses shape their own lives, an administrative mentality grows within the leadership, undermining its original vision of an independent road to socialism. Thus, even Tanzania could not escape what Fanon dubbed "the pitfalls of national consciousness" where, after gaining power, the nationalist leaders got separated from their own masses, and grew into a neocolonial elite.

Algerian general strike

Nov. 6 was a day of general strike, including both shops and schools, in the city of Tizi-Ouzou, Kabylia. The strikers demanded release of political prisoners and an end to repression in Kabylia. For months the "Committees of Martyrs' Sons," orphaned children of Berber guerrillas who gave their lives for the revolution against French imperialism, and the Algerian League for Human Rights have been raising their voices against repression and the government's narrow Arab-Muslim nationalism.

There have been many arrests of youths and of intellectuals who supported them, such as the popular singer Ait Menguellat. What is at stake is the nature of post-independence Algeria, today drifting toward Islamic reaction.

The great Berber playwright Kateb Yacine told *Le Monde* recently, "It is not an accident that the women resist the best. The fanatical right takes religion as its mask. But the women defend themselves. Just as I rebelled against

French Algeria, I rebel (today) against Arab-Muslim Algeria." With voices like Yacine's, the cause of genuine national liberation cannot be lost.

Greece: no to austerity

Greek workers, who helped return Andreas Papandreu's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) to power last June, went out on a one-day nationwide general strike against the government, on Oct. 21, shutting down virtually every major city. Strikes before and since have been held to protest the harsh economic policies instituted by Papandreu, including a 15% devaluation of the drachma and a two-year freeze on wages. Unemployment, which has hit Greek youth especially hard, hovers around 10%. The call during the strikes has been "No to Austerity!"

While the right-wing New Democratic Movement claims Papandreu has adopted much of their economic program but carried it out ineptly, the opposition from Greek workers and many within PASOK is what really worries Papandreu. He has raised publicly the specter of a right-wing resurgence with references to the 1967 military coup.

Austerity has not halted the government's plans to go ahead with a billion-dollar purchase of 40 U.S. jet fighters. While anti-NATO protests have taken place elsewhere in West Europe, Papandreu continues to talk anti-NATO but in fact is preparing the framework for renegotiating treaties for the five U.S. military bases in Greece.

China's wheeler-dealers

Buried among the wealth of statistics on increases in food production and manufacturing are concerns that Deng's China has about future development. One problem is the system of special economic zones, beginning with Shenzhen near Hong Kong, which were to tempt Western capital and technology with the opportunity to directly exploit cheap Chinese labor with most labor protections removed.

In five years labor has created from nothing an industrial city of 400,000, and vast wealth for Western capitalists. But at the same time Shenzhen has become the place for officials and highly placed individuals from around China to "launder" illicit funds and turn such profits into luxury goods—to the point that in 1983 50% more was imported through Shenzhen than was produced there. In recent weeks the government has closed down 9,000 profit-skimming companies connected with Party or government units.

The special economic zones and the largest cities are also the center of the growing inflation, unofficially up to 20% in the last year. Inflation and devaluations totaling over 20% leave Chinese workers more than ever financing development.

Two economists recently made the proposal to turn all state enterprises into joint-stock companies, saying "If you want a commodity economy, you must have a stock economy." Whatever forms of ownership China proposes, we only know that workers' control will not be on the official agenda.

Spanish protest

Thousands of protesters in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia and Gijon marched on Nov. 10 for two main demands: the dismantling of the four military bases housing 12,000 U.S. troops on Spanish soil, and the termination of Spain's membership in NATO. Spain was admitted to NATO in May of 1982. The Socialist Party, headed by Felipe Gonzalez, came to power in the fall of 1982, promising then to implement what the demonstrators on Nov. 10 still demand.

Instead, Gonzalez has promised a referendum on Spain's military involvement with the U.S. and NATO. The head of the ruling Socialist Party weathered a wave of disgust this past summer for having taken several pleasure cruises on a yacht originally used by Generalissimo Francisco Franco.

It was Franco's fascist regime which in 1953 signed the first treaty with the U.S. for military bases. In 1983, Gonzalez approved the latest five-year extension of that treaty. His current policy is that Spain should remain in NATO, though not be subject to its military command structure.

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