

## SOS! Urgent Appeal

The urgency of the times demands that News & Letters be transformed into a BIWEEKLY in the struggle against Reaganism!

As 1986 begins, on the one hand, the world confronts the visage of Hitler, not only in apartheid South Africa, but in the rulers everywhere; while, on the other, so powerful has grown the new stage of Azanian mass revolt that its impact is international.

At the same time, the economic crisis is by now so deep that millions have been forced into the permanent army of the unemployed; poverty and hunger in this, the richest land of the world, grows ever more minimized and ever more Black; and youth face a veritable two-tiered society — while thousands of workers, on the picket lines, in unemployment offices, and in rank-and-file conferences, look for new roads out of the crisis.

Whether at home or abroad — where Reagan is waging Pax Americana against the Philippine masses, against the Central American peoples, pushing Star Vars from mad scheme to terrifying reality — retrogression and counter-revolution appear to be running rampant.

Never was there a greater urgency for a paper like News & Letters, where the voices of workers, women, the Black dimension and youth are not separated from both the working out and the practice of a philosophy of revolution.

Never was there a greater need to expand that practice in the struggles against Reaganism, just as a new banner of Marxist-Humanism was unfurled with the birth of N&L in 1955, when it was McCarthyism that pervaded the land. THE NEED NOW IS TO TRANSFORM NEWS & LETTERS — the only paper of its kind anywhere in the world — INTO A NEW BI-WEEKLY. BUT WE CANNOT DO IT WITHOUT YOUR HELP. A single issue of N&L costs us over 1,000 for printing alone. Postage runs over \$7,000 a year, and supplies nearly \$2,000.

In the 30 years since N&L broke totally new ground as a Marxist-Humanist paper that refused to separate inside and "outside," we have turned to you, our readers at every critical point of our existence. You have never failed to answer our Appeals for help to assure the continuance of N&L, to help us meet the mounting bills for rent, postage, supplies and printing. What we are asking now is that you become a participant in helping us expand our urgent work.

## We Need Your Help

Over and above the \$35,000 we must have to keep N&L from going under, we have set ourselves a goal of raising an additional \$10,000 TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF N&L AS A BIWEEKLY — and we are beginning a totally new kind of Workshop/Classes around the country, as our philosophic-journalistic preparation for the new bi-weekly we seek to become. We hope you will join them. (See box, p.12.)

At the same time, we want to publish a new, expanded edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*, nearly out of print at the very moment when there has been an increasing demand for it. We will need \$5,000 to get it off the press for Black History Month. The expanded edition, with a new Introduction, will be dedicated to the memory of both Charles Denby, our Black production worker-editor from 1955 to 1983, and to Steve Biko. Its Appendices will include two essays on Negritude by Rene Despre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o, and a Political-Philosophic Letter on Grenada by Raya Dunayevskaya.

Help us to expand the fight against Reaganism by giving as generously as you can to our Special 1986 Fund To Transform News & Letters Into A Bi-Weekly and to get our new pamphlet off the press.

NEWS & LETTERS, 59 E. VAN BUREN,  
ROOM 707, CHICAGO, ILL. 60605

- Enclosed is my contribution of \_\_\_\_\_ to the 1986 N&L Fund.
- I want to become a Sustaining Subscriber. I pledge a monthly contribution of \_\_\_\_\_.
- I want to order a bundle of N&L to distribute in my locality. Please send me \_\_\_\_\_ copies each issue.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
CITY \_\_\_\_\_ STATE \_\_\_\_\_ ZIP \_\_\_\_\_

From South Africa to the U. S., from the Middle East to Central America

## Reagan's 'Pax Americana' vs. global movements for freedom



by Peter Wermuth

A look at the "state of the world" as 1986 opens reveals both new freedom struggles and many new counter-revolutionary developments that could become the flashpoint for the next war. From the Middle East to South Africa, from the United States to Central America, these global crisis points bring sharply into focus Reagan's designs for a worldwide "Pax Americana." Let us briefly review the most recent developments to see if new doors are being opened to challenge Reagan's militarism at home and abroad.

The latest crisis in the Middle East is marked by a resurgence of terrorism on one side and Reagan's threat to intervene militarily against Libya.

### THE MIDDLE EAST CAULDRON

The fanaticism of the terrorist attacks on the Rome and Vienna airports that left 19 dead and over 100 wounded Dec. 27 is matched only by the imperial arrogance of Ronald Reagan, who in cutting off economic ties to Libya on Jan. 7 declared nothing short of a "state of national emergency." Though for now the actions are limited to economic sanctions, Reagan made sure to announce, "If these steps do not end Khadafy's terrorism, I promise you further steps will be taken," and backed up his threat by sending an armed flotilla from the Sixth Fleet toward Libya so replete with the latest military hardware that one analyst called it "star wars on water."

That Reagan has chosen not to take military action for now does not mean he isn't intent on overthrowing Khadafy. While U.S. imperialism is in no rush to embroil itself in a Middle East war if its timing and agenda are dictated by Khadafy rather than itself, so fractious and crisis-ridden is the context of recent Middle Eastern events that we cannot rule out outright military conflagration.

In the face of Reagan's saber-rattling, the truly critical question is: are the various factions of the splintered PLO or Arab state powers like Libya, Syria or Jordan any true pole of opposition to Reagan?

The one beneficiary of the new wave of terrorism has been Assad of Syria. Terrorist acts like those committed by Abu Nidal have been used by Israel for its own terrorist actions as it continues to refuse any dialogue

with Palestinians on the ludicrous ground that "all are terrorists," thereby strengthening Assad's own "rejectionist" approach. That Assad's politics often dovetail with Israel's in trying to eliminate any Palestinian voice that is not under his control was shown in last year's "war of the camps" in Lebanon where Syrian proxies killed hundreds of Palestinians.

The spectacular visit of Hussein to Damascus, coming but days after the terrorist incidents in Rome and Vienna, highlights Assad's growing power in the region. Hussein's visit was largely prompted by the failure of his Arafat-sponsored "peace initiative" to get off the ground.

What binds the "moderate" Hussein and the "rejectionist" Assad is the sameness of their exploitative class rule, which rests upon stifling any opening toward social revolution by preventing the emergence of an independent Palestinian movement that challenges Israel while opposing the class relations inside the Arab regimes. There is not the road to a genuine opposition to U.S. imperialism, but the road away from it.

As for Libya, it too faces deep internal crises, propelled by a massive decline in oil revenues that in the past year led Khadafy to expel over 40,000 immigrant workers, many of them from Tunisia. That Khadafy is

(continued on page 9)

### Black World

## S. Africa's new union federation



by Lou Turner

"U COSATU — Sonyuka naye 'masingena enkululekweni!" ("COSATU — We'll rise with you as we advance toward freedom!") was what 10,000 workers sang at the mass rally on Dec. 1 in Durban, held to celebrate the founding of the largest trade union federation in South African history. Meeting in Durban, the scene of the 1973 mass strikes which gave birth to the Black independent trade union movement, 900 delegates founded the 500,000-strong Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), elected a president, set forth their perspectives and tasks, and laid down their challenge to the apartheid regime of P. W. Botha.

Just how serious that challenge is and how sharp the ongoing conflict has now become was seen when 20,000 platinum miners were summarily fired only a month after the new federation was born.

### NATIONAL UNION OF MINeworkERS

It is no accident then that the Congress elected its first president from the powerful 150,000-member National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), Elijah Barayi, a 25 year veteran of labor and political struggles from the militant township of Craddock in the Eastern Cape. Led by Cyril Ramaphosa, the general secretary of NUM, the mineworkers have not only been pivotal in founding COSATU, but have engaged in some of the fiercest battles in the civil war between Black labor and multinational capital in South Africa. Indeed, the very birth of the new federation was singled out by Barayi as "the last warning" to the regime to "get rid of the troops in the townships before the house burns down."

Ramaphosa, the convenor of the Congress, gave the keynote policy speech in which he stated: "We all agree that the struggle of workers on the shop floor cannot be separated from the wider political struggle for liberation in this country...Through interaction with community organizations, we have developed the principle of worker-controlled democratic organization."

That has meant that many affiliates want workers, rather than paid union officials, to hold executive positions on committees in the new federation. And according to Lydia Kompe, an organizer from the militant

(continued on page 11)

## ON THE INSIDE

**South Africa**—"Freedom Journal" direct from South Africa on women in the labor force, "Women as Reason," (p. 2), on Mamelodi massacre (p. 10); Winnie Mandela book review (p. 5)

**Raya Dunayevskaya**—discusses series of News & Letters Workshop/Classes on Current Events and the Dialectic Method (p. 12)

**U.S. Labor**—Chicago Tribune strike, Anticoncessions conference, supermarket workers, Massey miners', Oscar Mayer meatpackers, U.S. Auto Radiator, Hormel strike (pgs. 3 & 4)

**Also**—Abortion bombings (p. 2); Philippine opposition (p. 8); Meese against civil rights (p. 10); Sandinistas as guerrillas (p. 11); "Star Wars" fantasies (p. 9)

# WOMAN AS REASON

## South African Freedom Journal

### Peru: woman demand an end to violence

*Editor's note—The following articles came to us directly from a South African Women's Liberationist and a founder of the South African Allied Workers Union Women's Association.*

Women are surprised at being oppressed and hindered by men when doing the same job men do. "Carrying of guns means training with a gun and shooting." No man disrupts us from political activities or being detained, but when facing a point of leadership and equalization of jobs, men oppress us.

In Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal, in South Africa as a whole, women are making roads and planting grass on hills exactly as the men do. But you can't see even a single man feeling ashamed or protesting against their women's sufferings.

It is difficult for women to stop the harassment of employers for it obtains its pressure from our men. They show, in front of the employers, that they don't stand with us. In case of lay-offs we should by all means propose a strike and demand the employer also lay off the white women. Lay-offs are usually caused by companies declaring financial problems. If that is so, then whites should be the first people affected by the

lay-offs as they earn a lot of money. Let's stand firm on this point.

Retrenchment and lay-offs are the government's or state's way of driving all of us to join forces. When you are hungry, you understand that you may find yourself digging the ground with a spade or doing all the hard jobs men do. Let's avoid this by forming one liberation struggle with our men.

The state is supporting the rich by moving the poor people out from their houses. The rich are supporting the state. If that was not so they would appeal to the state to renovate the homes of the poor and decrease their rent as some of these people are widowers with children. This situation worsens the violence because the rich—who we call sell-outs for representing the state and fighting against the poorest people and who are, we know, mostly police, Town Councillors and soldiers—end up in one section where they kill innocent poor people with guns which are supplied by the state.

Another point that we women are not aware of is the danger of marrying a man with a different background from yours. You can't marry a Christian with a drunkard or a dancer with a politician for this will definitely cause divorce immediately. This is why lots of us women are maintaining children without their fathers.

(continued on page 10)

**Lima, Peru**—Peruvian women have always suffered violence. Subjected to machismo and poverty, as well as a lack of educational facilities, they have always had little control over their own lives. But with the increase in political violence and crime in the country, violence against women has exploded.

In the sadly notorious Ayacucho region of the southern Andes, where the excesses of both the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) Maoist extremists and counter-insurgency forces persist, women are being treated, tortured and raped in the name of re-establishing an order that was never just. Swept by the winds of war, they suffer the loss of relatives, and all kinds of brutalities, including death.

On Oct. 4, a group of women dressed in mourning staged a protest in Lima against several massacres that have taken place recently in Ayacucho, against the general increase in violence. In solidarity they laid placards and wreaths on the steps of the headquarters of the Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff.

As Mariela Sala wrote in the Lima feminist magazine *Viva*: "The women were expressing their hope, flowers, as well as their homage to the dead, were a symbol of their dedication to life. They carried candles instead of guns."

In Lima, where acts of violence—prison riots, kidnappings, bomb attacks—have multiplied, each newspaper carries several reports of women shot dead by their husbands or partners. Generally, these men belong to some branch of the armed forces or police. Why they have arms at hand. If it were easier to get arms in Peru, then presumably even more women would be killed in this way, since ill-treatment and beatings of women in the home are very frequent.

Rapes are almost always not reported, since women fear further violence from the police. Moreover, rape is considered as a crime against public morals and not as a crime against the person. In 99% of reported rape cases, the rapist receives no punishment. The press treats as quaint curiosities pregnancies in eleven- or twelve-year-old girls, following rape by fathers, teachers or teachers.

However, on Oct. 16, the subject of rape did hit the front pages of the Lima press and attracted the denunciation of some men well-known in public life. This was because the authors of this execrable crime against four Peruvian young women were five United States Marines—John Crossman, Carl K. David Barragan, Ricky Rivero and Paul Schoelkopf. These rapists quickly fled the country before investigations were completed.

But less than a month later, the press had gone back to ignoring the subject of rape. On Nov. 24, when organized women held a cultural event in the Plaza San Martín in the heart of downtown Lima to celebrate National Day of Violence Against Women Day (instituted in 1981 during the first Latin American Feminist Gathering), not one of the major newspapers carried even a line about the event.

—Caroline C...

### We must be allowed to choose

I went into a clinic here to get a pregnancy test and while waiting for the results a counselor started talking to me. She asked me what I was going to do if I was pregnant and brought the baby to term. I answered that I would terminate the pregnancy. She seemed appalled and asked me how I could do such a thing, and if I had seen the movie "The Silent Screamer." I hadn't seen the film, and not knowing anything about it I agreed to watch it.

She left me alone to watch, and I started to cry. Not because the film (which supposedly shows a fetus' "pain" during an abortion) changed my mind, but because it was trying to call me a murderer. I don't know if this type of thing is legal but it shouldn't be. We must be allowed to choose what to do with our bodies without this harassment and (im)moral coercion.

—Subscriber, Louisiana

*Editor's note—This came to us in the same month that we heard of the arson fire that burned a Toledo, Ohio, abortion clinic on Dec. 31, one day after two Cincinnati clinics were set ablaze. On Dec. 29 a bomb threat had forced the evacuation of another Cincinnati facility. The first week in December a napalm and dynamite bomb was delivered to the Portland, Ore. Feminist Women's Health Center and three other bombs were then found waiting to be delivered. While Reaganism has allowed anti-choice terrorists to run rampant, the "National March for Women's Lives: East Coast/West Coast" to be held March 9 in Washington, D.C. and March 16 in Los Angeles, Cal. will make Reagan and the whole world know that women will control our bodies and our lives.*

### Mothers fight evictions

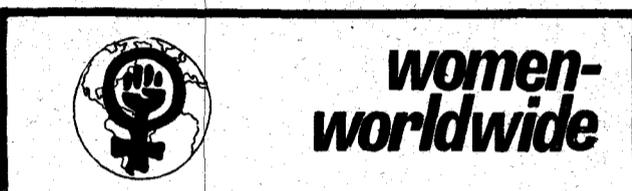
**Concord, Cal.**—Two weeks before Christmas the property managers of a 62-unit apartment complex in Concord began distributing eviction notices. Earlier, they had attempted to evict families with children, almost all of them single parent families. The landlords are seeking to "upgrade" the complex in anticipation of herds of migrating yuppies who are fleeing the shrinking job market in San Francisco.

One woman on ADC talked about her experiences. "I remember when we were trying to stop the evictions at the other complex I used to live in... All the time I was scared because I was carrying petitions. My husband was out of work and Jamie had just been born, and I couldn't afford to move... I used to carry the petitions in shopping bags, or in the sleeve of my coat I thought the manager was watching me all the time. "Well I guess it's time to fight again. I'm not as scared this time. This time if we stick together we'll all be all right."

Another woman spoke up angrily. "I've been on welfare. People treat you like dirt. Especially the landlords... I used to complain about the people on welfare. I heard my parents do it, so I did it too. But that was wrong. I finally got a job and I'm doing a little better now, but I look around this room and see all these women here who are just like me... I think it is real important to stick up for the women on ADC."

As of this writing the tenants have located an attorney and confronted the on-site property managers on a number of occasions and forced them to back down, which has reduced the harassment. Plans have begun to organize for a rent control initiative and have begun outreach to other complexes in the area.

—S. Grief



Women protesting in Santiago, Dec. 26, against Chile's military government were attacked by riot police who arrested seven demonstrators.

Five of Greece's largest feminist organizations demanded President Christos Sartzetakis apologize for saying that Greek women should have more babies in case of a future military threat from Turkey. Their statement read in part: "Women are not child-manufacturing machines which must give birth to soldiers for war."

Wilma P. Mankiller became the first woman to be chief of a major American Indian tribe, Dec. 14, when she was sworn in as head of the 67,000-member Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, the second largest U.S. Indian tribe. A veteran of Indian protest, she promised to "stay on the same path," fighting up to 50% unemployment, poor education and health care, and finding new sources of income to replace Reagan's budget cuts.

Hundreds of women demonstrated at the U.S. airbase at Greenham Common near London shortly before Christmas. In one incident 65 women were arrested, and in another, protesters built and burned a barricade to obstruct a convoy of nuclear Cruise missiles returning from maneuvers. Women's protests have been continuous here since before the Cruise missiles were deployed in 1983.

The Washington Federation of State Employees has agreed to a \$482 million out-of-court settlement for 34,000 predominantly female state employees, to be distributed from now until 1992 to correct inequities in state wages based on sex. The highest increases will go to the jobs with the greatest wage disparities; but there is no provision for back pay. By agreeing to the settlement after a 12-year dispute, the union chose not to challenge in the Supreme Court the September 1985 Appeals Court ruling which overturned a previous court decision supporting comparable worth.

To help give action direction...

### Raya Dunayevskaya's

Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future—

*"Once there is a Women's Liberation Movement, the whole atmosphere of the country changes, so that even where it is a question of establishing personal relations with sweetheart or husband, with father or brother, you don't feel alone any longer, just as you don't feel alone when you fight for the right to abortion."*

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution—

*"The Grundrisse, by disclosing Marx's analysis of precapitalist economic forms, especially the Asiatic mode of production made it crystal clear... how wrong it was to consider that Marx had been concerned only with the West... Finally, it was only after the birth of a new Third World, as well as the rise of a totally new Women's Liberation Movement, that the transcript of the Ethnological Notebook, Marx's last writing, was published."*

Both for \$23 (a \$27 value).

Order from: News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605

# Mass rally for Chicago Tribune strikers

Chicago, Ill.—On Jan. 4 nearly 20,000 workers from over 100 Chicago-area locals rallied in front of the Chicago Tribune printing plant to support the giant newspaper's workers who have been on strike since July 18. Strikers and their supporters — steelworkers, printers, vice employees and many others, including thousands in the building trades — began streaming to the rally at 5:00 a.m.

On their own they began to block trucks hauling out Sunday editions driven by the regular Tribune drivers whose Teamster local has refused to honor the picket line. In the melee that followed, 12 were injured and 48 were arrested, including five firemen who, unlike the police, strongly support the strike.

At the rally union leaders gave many speeches, supporting the strikers, but at the same time asked their rank and file not to interfere with the Teamster drivers. The organizers of the rally, Chicago AFL-CIO officials, accepted the Teamsters' no-strike clause as the excuse for scabbing on the 1,000 striking Tribune workers. But many of those rank and file were ready to go much further with their solidarity. As the leaders talked, some workers began chanting "March north," referring to the fact that we were standing directly south of the Tribune loading dock.

Three locals, Typographical Union Local #16, Mailers Local #2 and Web Pressmen Local #7, are on strike. The Tribune Company had been able to open a brand new plant with the most modern equipment in the world, in exchange for guarantees of "lifetime jobs" for present workers. Under automation, as one worker said, "The good work is gone. Anything that took any brains is now computerized."

The basic issue in this strike seems to be whether the company can now use automation to break those agreements and to break the unions. The Tribune is demanding the right to transfer workers from one job to another (even if that job is in another jurisdiction) and fire them if they cannot perform as well as people doing that job for many years. While transferring workers out of some jobs, the company wants the right to hire part-time workers to fill those jobs at half the current wages.

While the rally was very moving and impressive, many questions raised there remain unanswered. One is the gulf between union leadership which continues to counsel restraint and the rank and file, many of whom are ready to "march north." Secondly, it is not only the Teamsters that are helping to break this strike — a number of other skilled trades cross the lines, including electricians and editorial workers whose unions supported the rally. Even other printing unions are giving the strike only lukewarm support.

Furthermore, racism and sexism are a major factor. The Tribune, which throughout its history has accepted the white, male character of the unions, is now using these practices to try to break the unions. Many of the jobs they have been hiring are Black and women. It is no accident that the vast majority of the strike supporters at the rally were also white and male.

At the same time, what is happening to the Tribune strikers symbolizes what is happening to labor generally

## Union hides at Oscar Mayer

Chicago, Ill.—The January meeting of Local 100A, United Food and Commercial Workers, was most revealing for Oscar Mayer workers in what happened after the meeting adjourned. After the usual fast adjournment without a vote, despite the fact that many workers still wanted to talk, Local secretary-treasurer Piotrowski said he would be willing to listen to what the workers from Oscar Mayer had to say, what they wanted in a new contract.

A third shift worker with high seniority said, "I want to have more say so in these negotiations. They are negotiating my life. I want to be able to have my dignity."

"On the third shift you have no rights. The foreman on this shift turns the 150 line up. I don't want to break any production records, I want to live 10 more years. This foreman gets so much on third shift because he threatens the girls who are new. He tells them they have to be on the line five or ten minutes twelve, when that is not true. I never see Steve (the business agent) on third shift."

A former union steward also brought up the business agent: "I was off sick and ended up being suspended for three days. Steve docked me for a whole month, then I found he could say was that if my health was so bad why didn't I go get another job."

A first shift worker responded to Piotrowski's claim that the Oscar Mayer workers are in pretty good shape since they still have their \$10.69 an hour by saying, "You haven't given me a raise in five years. You haven't given me cost of living."

Many workers wanted to know why Piotrowski's salary continued to go up (it's over \$100,000 a year now!) while the workers were not getting any increase and fighting a pay cut.

Was Piotrowski really listening to any of this, or just going through the motions? One test might be if some of these workers become part of the negotiating team for the new contract. But we will see.

—Supporter of rank and file

under the whip of decadent capitalism and Reaganism and that is why so many turned out to support the strikers. As one Black worker, one of 4,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers at the rally, put it, "These companies want to walk all over us. A union like ours has the power to shut down this whole city, with all the work we do on street lights and traffic signals. It might just come to that if they keep up with these give-backs and wage cuts."

—David Park



## Solidarity for awhile won't do

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

The Southern California supermarket strike-lockout (see N&L, Dec. 1985) ended in late December, when management used the oldest trick in the book—"divide and rule"—and offered contract terms to the drivers and warehouse workers (Teamsters) that seemed like a retreat from previous management demands for a two-tier wage structure. The rank-and-file Teamsters, hurtling from the 7½-week strike, ratified the contract.

The meat wrappers and meat cutters in the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), however, voted down the contract offered them, which included both a permanent two-tier wage structure (new meat wrappers to be hired at \$5.53/hour, less than half the current wage) and a guaranteed work day of only four hours for all new workers.

### TEAMSTER BETRAYAL

Whereupon the Teamsters leadership, who all throughout the strike had vowed "solidarity forever" ("We will never return to work unless the meat cutters go back also"), announced that, with their contract ratified, Teamster workers were to report back to work immediately! Many meat cutters now bitterly said that their strike was lost, and when the International UFCW ordered a second vote, the contract carried, though only with 54% approval. Two out of the six UFCW locals still voted against ratification.

It makes me sick to see something like this happen. The Teamster leadership has a long history of encouraging strike-breaking. Here in Los Angeles, the fact that Teamster drivers crossed the picket lines of the striking meat packers at Farmer John (see N&L, Nov. 1985) was a big part of what forced those workers back to work without a contract.

But the point is that it is not only the workers of other unions that the Teamster bureaucrats care little about. Like all our so-called labor "leaders," they understand the language and "needs" of management much better than the thoughts and demands of their own rank and file, and actively help management to pull the wool over the workers' eyes.

What the supermarket drivers and warehouse workers were getting was supposedly not a "two-tier" contract. Management invented a new term: a "progression" wage plan. These new workers who hire in at a lower pay scale will supposedly reach wage parity after three to five years. But by then there will be new contract negotiations; and now that the management has its foot in the door, it will come up with some other new word to stretch out "progression" for 10, 15, 20 years.

What hits me is how quickly workers are losing ground, and how fast the crisis of labor is moving. It started with the "give-backs" to Chrysler in 1979—and soon every company was demanding give-backs. Then came "two-tier." When we wrote about this in N&L, two and a half years ago, it was a new phenomenon, but now two-tier contracts are everywhere. Now management and the labor bureaucrats are working together to convince workers that "two-tier" is really "progression"!

### PITFALLS OF CONCESSION FEVER

When the supermarket strike was over, and one market, Alpha Beta, said it would close a warehouse in Fullerton because the wage concessions weren't big enough, the workers held a demonstration demanding that they be allowed lower wages! I have been a worker all my life, and I can hardly believe I am seeing this happen. It is part of the brainwashing of this age of Reaganism (which Reagan calls "economic recovery"!).

But it is significant that only 54% of the meat cutters and meat wrappers voted to accept their contract, even though their strike was broken once the Teamsters were going back to work. There are many workers who are not brainwashed by Reagan, management and the labor bureaucrats, and are thinking their own thoughts, preparing for new actions and new directions.

## High-rise work doubled

Detroit, Mich.—"Things are worse than ever now," was the way one worker summed up the recent settlement of a seven-week strike by 200 maintenance workers at the high-rise Renaissance Center.

Employees of the National Cleaning Contractors, Inc.—members of Local 79, Service Employees—walked out over the issues of repeated cuts in their workforce at the same time they were being forced to do more and more work. Workers were faced with reprimands, suspensions and discharges when they could not keep up with the employer's demands that each person increase their work load from one to two floors per night.

But the strike eventually took its toll financially and physically during the snowy, frigid pre-Christmas season. Strikers went back to work on Christmas Eve with a 30-cent-an-hour raise, but still face two floors a night to clean. In spite of supposed "protection" against layoffs, some workers are still in danger of losing their jobs. —Strike supporter

## Hormel strikers defiant



Striking meatpackers at the Hormel plant in Austin, Minn., with support from area union members, halted the company's first attempts to reopen production. The members of Local P-9, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), twice rejected a mediator's settlement which the UFCW International tried to shove down workers' throats, even though it introduced a two-tier wage, stripped away safety rights and did not even restore the wages which the company unilaterally slashed in 1984.

The company threatened to replace the strikers and ordered them back, but after five months on strike, only a handful responded. Mass picketing prevented production with scabs on Jan. 20, but the National Guard has been called out. Now the strikers face Hormel, the UFCW International and the National Guard as they continue their strike.

## A.T. Massey strike is ended

Williamson, W. Va.—"We hear that the strike is over, but it looks like the fight has been moved from the picket lines to the courts," a miner here stated in response to the announcement by United Mine Workers (UMW) president Rich Trumka that the 15-month long strike against the A.T. Massey Coal Co. was over. Trumka called the strike off following the late December ruling by the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) supporting the UMW's contention that the company must negotiate a single contract for the 15 mines it owns in the southern West Virginia-Kentucky region.

The strike began in October, 1984, when the company refused to bargain for all of its mines, maintaining that a separate contract had to be negotiated with each operation. Trumka called a strike against the company, a subsidiary of the multinational conglomerate Dutch Shell; the bitter struggle has been marked by many pitched battles as the miners fought against the company's efforts to bring in scab workers and armed thugs.

One scab truck driver was killed and many miners and scabs were injured in the skirmishes. Hundreds of striking miners were arrested by the state police in both states, leading to charges by the miners that the strike would have ended long ago if the police had not been "baby-sitting" the mines for Massey.

The NLRB ruling, while favoring the position of the UMW, imposed no penalties and there were no findings of "wrongdoing" by the company. This, in turn, led the company to declare that it was reserving the right not to rehire any miner it claimed engaged in "misconduct or violence" during the strike.

"What it all comes down to is that the company can pick and choose who they want to rehire, and you know they're not going to take back the guys who were the best fighters during the strike," another Williamson miner said, adding that he had heard reports that the company had a "hitlist" of 180 miners who were not going to be rehired.

Although the strike is over, there are many unresolved issues that will take years to settle in the courts. As we go to press, many miners have yet to be recalled, and the UMW is still paying weekly strike benefits to those still out of work. Miners are very apprehensive about the outcome of the court battles, noting that the company had been able to delay the NLRB court ruling for over a year. And since the regional courts are "owned by Massey," say the miners, the cases can easily be stalled for years. —Andy Phillips

## Rank-and-file conference

Chicago, Ill.—Over 250 participants—local officials and rank-and-filers, meatpackers and steelworkers, shipbuilders and longshoremen—from across the nation attended the founding of the National Rank-and-File Against Concessions conference here on Dec. 6-8. What gave the conference authenticity was participation of members of locals involved in strikes against concessions not supported by their national unions.

The impact of the rank-and-file presence could not be missed. Even before the conference started, general protest put an end to the organizers' rules prohibiting literature distribution. The executive committee called police to arrest people selling labor history pamphlets, but too many delegates saw it and objected, forcing the rules to be modified.

### HORMEL STRIKE

The Hormel meatpackers' strike was discussed throughout the conference. Kathy Buck of Local P-9, United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW), in Austin, Minn. spoke of how the full participation of the Hormel workers has opened many new doors during the strike. There were discussions about how the Hormel workers are questioning everything from the farm crisis that surrounds the Austin community to the patriarchal attitude of the "community" leaders.

They have been visiting thousands of people in their surrounding areas discussing the strike with them and they have begun an "adopt a family" program that involves not only financial support but also direct correspondence. It is indeed a very different concept of "family" than the master-slave relations Hormel has in mind.

In response to this type of coming together by the workers, the UFCW national president William Wynn sent out letters to all locals to tell them not to contribute to P-9 workers. The national union has actually been trying hard to break up the strike by intimidating the strikers.



### STRIKES NATIONWIDE

In one workshop there were several reports about other strikes and activities nationwide, from New York writers against arms, to Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers' creative work to stop forced concessions, and Los Angeles longshoremen and artists working together.

But it was one Black woman worker who challenged the speakers by saying: "Everyone here is talking about how to reach out to the rank-and-file. Well I am rank-and-file and my problem is the union. What can we do when our local president buses in workers from other plants to pack our meetings. We want to have a say in who is going to negotiate." The question seemed to shift the whole context of the discussion.

Some of us in News and Letters Committees had the story of the first rank-and-file general strike in the U.S. against automation, The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. This was a contribution to the current discussion, from the description of miners continuing their strike in defiance of John L. Lewis, to their creativity forging links of solidarity with other workers when raising relief contributions that helped win the strike.

Many participants left with a lot of new questions, and, at the same time, felt strengthened by the communication among rank-and-filers and the reports of the struggles throughout the U.S. Those creative activities set the ground for anyone searching for new openings, regardless of what direction this new organization itself takes.

—Cyrus Noveen

## U.S. Auto strike ended

Detroit, Mich.—By a vote of 128 to 80, U.S. Auto Radiator workers decided Jan. 6 to end their ten-week strike. One woman summed up the meeting called to hold the vote this way: "Most of the people who voted yes thought it wasn't a good contract, but it was the best we could get. The union thinks we got a lot, but really we got a little bit. By UAW Regional Director Perry Johnson being there, the leadership wants to take credit. But the 80 who voted against the contract, voting against the union leadership, are significant, especially on health and safety."

Another worker said, "At the meeting when people complained about health and safety, things like smoke in the plant, the union said you can file a grievance. If everyone put together all the grievances filed there, it would make a pretty big book."

The week before the vote, several workers at the plant had debated the company's offer. One white worker talked about what the company does offer: "The company says it doesn't have enough money for a nurse. They say they'll train people in industrial first aid. A girl lost the tip of her finger working on the seamer at the end of 1984. The foreman who was supposedly trained in first aid found the end of her finger and put it in alcohol. Any dummy knows you need to put it in ice. It killed the nerves. So now she doesn't have the end of her finger. That's why we need a nurse."

## Salvador refugees: No forced relocation

San Antonio Salvadoran Refugee Camp, Honduras—We the women of the Committee of Mothers of Political Prisoners and Disappeared are very worried about the situation tormenting our Salvadoran people. Therefore we demonstrated Oct. 15 with thousands and thousands of women, children and old people, demanding dialogue for peace in El Salvador, freedom for the political prisoners and explanation about what has happened to the political disappeared, and respect for human rights in El Salvador and all Central America.

Brothers and sisters, we want you to know of the difficult situation we face in the refugee camp. The Honduran government has announced a plan of relocation to Mesa Grande. We do not agree to be relocated because we know that the Honduran population adjoining the Mesa Grande camp have shown that they do not want any more refugees. Also we do not agree to leave the camp where we have with our labor built workshops, housing, means of production like farms and gardens, and our schools that are of great importance to us so that our children develop. In our country we did not have conditions in which they could learn anything. Also we could mention the water project that with great sacrifice the refugees have achieved.

We are very concerned about the pressure the Honduran government is putting on us. The military has surrounded the borders of the camp. At night soldiers enter to throw trash about. They also come in during the day when we have some celebration or activity. Also they continually intrude into the health center to harass the managers.

They do all this to intimidate us and thus demand our repatriation to El Salvador, which would bring us no benefit, because we know that there is no peace there with dignity and respect for human rights. For all these reasons we do not agree with the relocation and will insist on remaining to the final consequences. —The Msgr. Oscar A. Romero Committee of Mothers of Political Prisoners and Disappeared



## Canadian Indian blockade

by Shainape Shcapwe

Lyell Island, in British Columbia, is part of the Haida homelands in the Queen Charlotte Islands. The Haida people have been involved with the occupation of Lyell Island since October. Last summer, they decided at a series of tribal meetings to interrupt the work of Western Forest Products logging company, and Frank Beban Logging Ltd., to get publicity for their attempt to work out a land claim settlement for the Haida.

On Oct. 30 they had a human blockade. People went out every day after that. They were told to leave, but there were no arrests until Nov. 16, when three elders were arrested after a court injunction in favor of the logging companies. Over 80 Haida have been arrested on charges of anything from mischief to more serious charges where they could be jailed for a long time.

Harold Belmont, at the Indian Center in Vancouver, said that he and others there are just sick at the thought of a number of elders being arrested and possibly serving long sentences. Those elders have been working for most of their adult lives on getting non-native people to deal with their right to make land claims. Belmont said it's so ingrained in the non-native people that the Indian bands don't have a right to their land just because there are no written claims. They've come a long way to accept that.

There's a lot of support now from non-native people in the area for the Haida, the Nishga and other tribes, but the government is working hard to make that support impossible.

British Columbia (BC) Premier Bill Bennett has tried a lot of scare tactics. He has been trying to convince non-natives that if the Haida win and get the land they will kick everyone else off. But neither the Nishga nor the Haida say anything like that. They say they want to share in the political and economic process, to share in something which is rightfully theirs to begin with.

On a national level, the federal government appears to be willing to deal with the natives on land claims but only because they have to legally. Because of great pressure in the 1960s and early 1970s, former Prime Minister Trudeau appointed the Berger Commission, which in 1973 found that the government cannot legally act as if land claims don't exist—though they didn't say how to deal with them. So BC Premier Bennett's attempt to not deal with the land claims is not so far removed from the national government as it appears.

Because it is winter now, there are not as many people staying out on Lyell Island. There are 15-25 Haida at the camp there to get publicity. They are also trying to raise money for legal costs. Donations and letters can be sent to: Council of the Haida Nation, Box 589, Massett, B.C., Canada V0T 1M0.

## Mixtecs in Baja want justice

Los Angeles, Cal.—"We are also Mexicans. We want to be allowed to work. Our women don't earn much selling their crafts, but the police abuse them because we are indigenous and we don't speak Spanish well. The police take away the little money they earn. That isn't just. We want you to know what is happening to the Mixtec peoples living in Baja California."

Feliciano Guzman Torres, president of ASMIRT (Assoc. of Mixtec Residents in Tijuana), was speaking to an audience at Cal State-Los Angeles in December about the conditions of migrant workers in Baja California. He is a member of a delegation touring the U.S. to establish relations with indigenous peoples from Mexico working in the American fields.

Another delegate, Victor Clark Alfaro, who is an anthropologist, also addressed the audience. He said there are more than 40,000 Mixtecs living in Baja California, picking tomatoes: "Americans enjoy eating Mexican tomatoes without realizing the suffering that goes into the picking of them, the subhuman conditions in the fields. The living 'houses' are worse than concentration camps."

Clark Alfaro had testified late last year about the conditions of migrant workers to the Mexican Senate. In his study he states: "In the last 20 years, indigenous peoples of southern Mexico (Chiapas, Oaxaca, Guerrero and Puebla) have become migrant workers in the northern part of the country and in the southern states of the U.S. Culturally the migrants are different from the mestizos. Their language is not Spanish. They come from states where economic conditions are deteriorating. They are being replaced also by thousands of Central American refugees."

During the question-and-answer period, Guzman Torres made it clear that his organization has no ties with any political parties. Up until now they have chosen to fend for themselves in their negotiations with the Mexican government. As of now they have had one victory: a chief of police in Tijuana lost his job because of discrimination against the Mixtec women. They are also forcing the government to become aware of their needs. During the Senate investigations in November an inspection of the Mixtecs' living conditions was patched over by a selective tour; later there appeared articles in the local Tijuana papers claiming that the living conditions have now been greatly improved. "Not so," says Guzman Torres. "Obviously the indigenous part of this package was not invited to participate."

ASMIRT's immediate demands are the creation of temporary shelters, establishment of information booths to assist migrants on their rights and to give them an urban orientation (housing, health, etc.), and establishment of a lawyer's office to take care of complaints.

In their U.S. tour they have met with workers in New Mexico and Arizona and in California they visited workers in Riverside and the San Joaquin Valley. In the meantime, they get organized, they negotiate with the Mexican government and their struggle continues.

—Chicana student, Cal State-LA

## News & Letters

Vol. 31 No. 1

January-February, 1988

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published ten times a year, monthly except bi-monthly January-February and August-September for \$2.50 a year (bulk order of five or more — 15¢) by News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone (312) 663-0839. Second Class Postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,  
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby ..... Editor (1955-1983)  
Felix Martin ..... Labor Editor  
Eugene Walker ..... Managing Editor

News & Letters  
is printed in  
a union shop.



"The press is the ruthless language and manifest image of the historical spirit of the people..."

—Karl Marx

Don't forget the appeal  
for a biweekly  
News & Letters  
See Page 1

# Discussion Article: Rajiv Gandhi, the Reagan of Asia

**Bihar, India:** A few weeks ago we marked the anniversary of Indira Gandhi's assassination. What is happening today in the India of Rajiv Gandhi? Have there been any changes? Many people look at him as "promising." He has promised to end corruption in the bureaucracy. He has been called "Mr. Clean" and has promised to remove poverty. Have these promises been fulfilled or are we on the way to create a new Indira? Or are we on the "socialist path" so many times used in rhetoric?

Indira Gandhi's assassination, an important political event, instead of leading to a serious phase of political crisis, has led to a consolidation of the power of the ruling classes. As compared with other Third World countries, India has a more powerful indigenous bourgeoisie with a considerable administrative and legal system. The Congress Party, the old platform of the ruling classes, seems to have gained a new lease on life. Rajiv Gandhi is openly proclaiming the need of one-party rule and the infeasibility of an opposition. As Frantz Fanon put it, the "single party" is the modern form of dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

## DIA, RUSSIA AND THE U.S.

In the international sphere the relationship with the Soviet Union has been a primary relationship in India's foreign policy for the last four decades. The Soviet Union has given to India a loan to finance several projects such as power generation, oil exploration and mining. Terms are soft, repayment over 20 years at an interest rate of 2.5%. All this will further heighten the Russian grip over the Indian economy.

Rajiv has to make sure that relations with the Soviet Union would remain on a stable footing, given the size and composition of Indo-Soviet collaborations in trade as well as in defense. But India is the leader of a non-alignment policy and that means taking the best of both worlds. On the other hand, Rajiv's preference for private entrepreneurship and modern technology, and disapproval of the slow-moving and inefficient public sector, lead him to seek much closer economic ties with the West, to follow a policy of relaxed restrictions on imports of foreign technology and to invite multinational firms to invest in India.

As a result, on the American side there is a lot of cheering for India. The familiar stories — famine, drought, starvation, corruption, poverty — have suddenly been replaced by stories about the new India, an India with a large technological base and a trained scientific manpower, an India of immense natural resources and the potential of an enormous market, a country with 1/6 of the world population and above all an India with a new leadership, youthful, pragmatic, technologically oriented and forward-looking.

While state warehouses are bursting with grain (25

## AIDS and homophobia

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—The beginnings of movement toward social freedom for gays, lesbians and bisexuals have suffered a major setback in the wake of the reading horror of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). It has become a convenient tool of the religious Right to confirm "God's wrath" against gays, and reflected in the Reagan administration's swift removal of Margaret Heckler from the post of Health and Human Services Secretary immediately after her declaration that AIDS is "the number one health problem in America." This is because it was only gay liberationists who first pushed for AIDS research, and despite all recent news, homophobics still dismiss AIDS as a "gay problem," preaching that heterosexuals had best regard themselves as "untouchables." Likewise, it's assumed that a blood test showing even exposure to AIDS is a confirmation of homosexuality, like the 15 seamen recently dismissed out of the Navy.

While the gay liberation movement did manage to secure some states into gay rights legislation (concerning housing and employment), the homophobic character of the society remains largely unchanged. The development from underground nightlife into open gay communities has been a successful "support system" to help gays feel human, but gays cannot live constantly in the community closet. Legal rights on the job are overruled by cruel peer pressure, while in the streets, what is seen as a "gay takeover" is still met by beatings and murder.

Most critical is the relationship of gay to other forces of liberation, which has yet to be worked out. As a closed bisexual active in the Black revolution in the 70s, I had to sit, intimidated, and listen to Afro-centric "scholars" denounce homosexuality as a "white European social disease," even claiming it never existed in pre-colonial Africa. A few years later, a more "liberal" approach allowed for gay rights, while still insisting it is pretty unimportant.

Because a movement for a new society means freedom for all, and because gays want to help other forces, what's needed is for revolutionary movements to recognize gay liberation as a legitimate struggle, and for gays to recognize their interest in a revolution toward new human relations for all. —Wayne Carter

million tons last summer), hunger has become more widespread. Exports are based on the fact that the bulk of Indians lack purchasing power to buy the food or the political or organizational strength to seize it. More than half of the country's population goes to bed with half-empty stomachs. Unemployment is rising by leaps and bounds. Twenty-four million are registered with employment offices and this is thought to be only a small fraction of the total unemployed since the figures do not cover rural areas.

The problems faced by the rural proletariat are much worse. With runaway prices of essential commodities, inflation, and non-implementation of the Minimum Wages Act, their very survival has been difficult. People do not have purchasing power with which to buy their daily needs, and when political groups organize the rural population on such basic issues as minimum wage, they are met with the armed might of the state.

## POLICE ATROCITIES

Not a day passes without the press reporting police atrocities in some part of the country or the other. The *Hindustan Times* brought out a report from Bhopal which says that a young man awaiting trial, who died in jail recently, was reported to have been beaten up by the police after he was picked up from the bus stand and taken to the police station on vague charges. Such reports are common these days, such abuses are the norm.

Threats, intimidations, arrests, illegal detention and physical assaults are part of a mounting attack on civil rights activists. This attempt to terrorize and

silence the civil rights movement is an attempt to suppress the spread of information about assaults on the democratic rights of ordinary people.

The tribals have become victims of the development politics of the government. Displacement of people from their forest habitat to drought-prone areas, from an economy where internal class structure and class relations have developed only to a limited extent to a semi-feudal economy with a developed network of class relations and a rigid caste hierarchy, will completely disrupt their existing culture. We have seen enough examples of such disruption and its dehumanizing effects on the tribals in this region over the last century.

The destruction of a traditional culture, the breakdown of social ties of cooperation with no alternative set of values except that of the market, have had the effect of marginalizing, dehumanizing and demoralizing simple communities.

There is, however, ferment everywhere. Feminist, anti-communal, tribal and ecology movements are developing. After the Bhopal catastrophe, people are becoming more sensitive to ecological problems—these are among the new forces of revolution in India today.

These movements are taking an aggressive attitude towards the Left Parties. They're disillusioned with vanguardism, bureaucratism, sectarianism and dogmatism. One of the characteristics of these new movements is that they go beyond the economic level and class oppression, exploitation is defined along race and gender lines as well as class lines. Today's reality is complex and many revolutionary forces are outside the factory walls. —Correspondent, India

## Winnie Mandela—Banned voice of freedom

Banned from speaking publicly for many years, it is exciting to be able to read a book of interviews with and letters of Winnie Mandela which begin to give us a picture of her life and struggles.\* Compiled by Anne Benjamin, this collection becomes a biography of sorts, a web of imprisonments, arrests and banning orders that Winnie Mandela has had to face since 1958.

### 1969, incarceration:

"The days and nights became so long I found I was talking to myself. It is deathly quiet—that alone is torture. You don't know what to do with yourself; you sit down, you stand up, you pace up and down. The cell is so small that you can't even run right round. You lie on your stomach, you lie on your back, on your side; your body becomes sore, because you are not used to sleeping on cement."

### 1976, the Soweto Rebellion:

"I was there among them, I saw what happened. The children picked up stones, they used dustbin lids as shields and marched towards machine guns. It's not that they don't know that the white man is heavily armed; they marched against heavy machine gun fire. You could smell gunfire everywhere. Children were dying in the street, and as they were dying, the others marched forward, facing



Winnie Mandela freed

\* Part of *My Soul Went with Him*, Winnie Mandela (W.W. Norton & Company: New York), 1985.

guns. No one has ever underestimated the power of the enemy...But the determination, the thirst for freedom in children's hearts, was such that they were prepared to face those machine guns with stones. That is what happens when you hunger for freedom, when you want to break those chains of oppression. Nothing else seems to matter."

In this work we see Nelson Mandela through Winnie Mandela's eyes. There are a few early letters from him that reveal a male chauvinism. Yet, a sense of camaraderie begins to grow in him toward her throughout the years. And we see in her a consciousness of both male chauvinism and her own development: "In the earlier years I was just a carbon copy of Nelson. I was no individual. If I said something, it was 'Nelson's wife' who said so. When he was no longer in the picture...the public began to say... I had ideas and views of my own...I wasn't just a political ornament...Looking at our struggle in this country, the Black woman has had to struggle a great deal...One has had to fight the male domination in a much more complex sense."

This powerful book ends with a moving exchange of letters between Winnie and Nelson Mandela, which includes Nelson's speech given by his daughter Zindzi at Jabulani Stadium in answer to Botha's offer of "conditional release." And yet this work raises questions: Why is the spontaneity of the masses seen as something needing to be controlled from the top by the "leadership"? And how can Steve Biko be seen only as an "African nationalist" when he had such a following among the youth for his unifying national consciousness with an internationalist perspective?

Along with raising these questions, it is also imperative to read this book to hear with what power the banned voice of Winnie Mandela speaks to us.

—Diane Lee

## Anglo-Irish summit: spectre of an upheaval

Two months have passed since British Prime Minister Thatcher and Irish Prime Minister Fitzgerald met at heavily guarded Hillsborough Castle Nov. 15 and signed an agreement they immediately termed as "historic." "The process toward an Anglo-Irish compromise on Ulster has begun," trumpeted the BBC. In return for Fitzgerald's recognition of Britain's "right" to continue its rule over the six counties of Northeastern Ireland, Thatcher gave up nothing—offering Fitzgerald only a consultative voice in the affairs of Ulster's 1.5 million people. The "Intergovernmental Conference" created by the agreement has already been meeting for the past two years, with no visible effect.

All media focus since the agreement has concentrated on the thundering anti-Thatcher speeches by Ian Paisley, the resignation of Paisley and other ultra right-wing anti-Catholic bigots from Parliament, and the mass rallies and strikes by their supporters. A week before the agreement, the fascist "Ulster Freedom Fighters" murdered Kevin McPolin, a Catholic construction worker, as part of a campaign to drive Catholics off all building sites. Conveniently forgotten is the fact that Paisley and his ilk are the creation of British imperialism, nourished and armed as a force for reaction when revolutionary working class and national struggles involving both Catholics and Protestants erupted in Ireland from the

period 1907-23.

Forgotten also are today's harsh facts of life in Ireland, North and South, untouched by the agreement. In the North: unemployment that reaches 60% in sections of West Belfast and Derry; slum housing in ghettos visited by police attacks; jailing of activists on frame-up charges. In the South: a rapidly deteriorating economy, with nearly 20% jobless; a new generation of unemployed youth described as "drug-prone"; an entire nation whose poverty is exceeded in the Common Market only by Portugal.

What Thatcher and Fitzgerald have not lost sight of—indeed, this is what motivated their pact—is the explosive potential of such social conditions. It is a power they glimpsed briefly in the Ulster civil rights movement of the late 1960s and in the 1981 wave of support for the imprisoned hunger strikers. Whether it is expressed today as votes for Sinn Fein or as unemployed demonstrations, as protests for women's reproductive rights or as support for political prisoners, the spectre of upheaval is not far from the surface again. It is precisely to better coordinate their suppression of such revolt—and not for any "historic compromise" on Ulster—that the Nov. 15 agreement was reached.

—Michael Connolly

## THE REAL STATE OF THE UNION, 1986

I greatly appreciated the Lead in the Dec. N&L on labor. It made me see the break-up of AT&T as part of capitalism's drive to the "two-tiered society" you discussed and hit me personally. I attended a six month course in telecommunications last year. The majority of those who found work at one of the newly-formed companies after graduation are paid only \$6 an hour, while a worker at AT&T earns \$13 an hour. (It should come as no surprise that all the students attending the courses did so with a government-sponsored loan.) I got a real "shock of recognition" when I realized I was being trained to be a scab against those being laid-off by AT&T.

Worker  
Los Angeles

I cannot help but contrast the description of the freedom schools in American Civilization on Trial to the present attempt of the Reagan Administration to introduce a voucher system for education. We may have a "two-tier" system of education now, but we are looking toward a system with no bottom tier at all.

Former High School Teacher  
Detroit

Vietnam is a part of my life I'll never be able to quite understand, and certainly never forget. I still find myself waking up in a cold sweat some nights from nightmares that are 16 years old now. Sometimes the dreams are so real it's as if I was right back there again, and in the VA hospitals they say it's something I have to live with and deal with, yet I still ask why! Isn't it amazing how one little three letter word like "why" can be so simple and so complex a word?

Prisoner, Vietnam Vet  
South USA

There was no time in the Rank and File Conference Against Concessions that took place in Chicago in December for thinking things out and nothing to help develop ideas for a new or better labor movement. The attention was focused on getting a coalition formed, not

on clarification. The South, the miners, Spanish-speaking workers and the unemployed were under-represented—and without those forces it would be difficult to go very far in breaking from the old labor movement. The greatest weakness is that it has begun as a defensive organization with no theory and lacking the push it needs from those forces to put it on the offensive. The greatest strength is that it has gone beyond networking and has definite projects so it is a well-centered group with a purpose.

Participant  
West Virginia

The day before the big play-off game that sent the Chicago Bears to the Superbowl amid wild cheers from all of us here, the Chicago Defender ran an Editorial, titled: "Could The Refrigerator live in The Island?" The Island, for non-Chicagoans, is a classic "bastion of bigotry," as the Defender puts it, but the question is not just put to them. It is put to all of white America.

Reader  
Chicago

The trucker who picks up garbage at the plant refused to cross our picket line and the company told him if he didn't he'd be replaced. He still refused. We really depend on the support of the truckers because there is still no real negotiating going on. We've been talking about the number of homeless people everywhere. The shelters can't hold them all and some are going to die.

U.S. Auto Radiator Striker  
Detroit

A young woman who works as a telephone operator told me she hopes there will be a strike next year, despite the financial difficulty it will mean. It not only means time off from work, she said, but she likes the picket line which they turn into a kind of party. That "unserious" attitude is, to me, a very serious love of life—away from the switchboard. It reminded me of Marx's description of French workers' meetings in the early 1840s: "Society, association, entertainment which also has society as its aim, is sufficient for them; the broth-

## Readers' Views

erhood of man is no empty phrase but a reality..." Of course, at the phone company "brotherhood of man" means especially sisterhood of women.

Supporter  
Utah

The faint hopes of progress most students here at NYU had previous to the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting were shattered by the summit's insubstantiality. The Dec. N&L editorial penetrated the hype and provided insight on this... Yet the change in rhetoric from "evil empire" to a "fresh new approach" seems to have made many students feel that "At least they're talking and we don't have to worry about nuclear war." But how can we feel secure and simultaneously understand that real tensions have not been reduced?

The problem appears to me to be one of not grasping the possibility of real change, of revolution, and getting bogged down in "trying to get by"... A similar situation existed last year at Columbia before several hundred students blockaded Hamilton Hall in the name of Nelson Mandela. What sparked such spontaneous reaction? Can similar traces be found at NYU?

NYU Student  
New York

Reagan may want to turn the clock back, but I can tell him that in my home state of Alabama the consciousness from the Montgomery Bus Boycott is still very much present.

Black Activist  
Los Angeles

## STATE OF THE WORLD

The Gramsci quote Lou Turner began his column with in December was excellent: "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." This is what is happening throughout the world. Almost everyone is looking to the past, not only for political solutions but for their personal and social solutions. One thing in which most Marxists have erred is that an economic crisis inevitably means rebellion. History shows the contrary, that it can be a period of "darkness in thought" when dictatorships are created. One has to keep that in mind if one wants to be creative as a humanist.

Margaret Ellingham  
Italy

The "Sanctuary" movement that is growing in the U.S. gives hope to all Latin America, because it's not only Central America that's in crisis. I say it gives me hope because the response from those 200 churches and other organizations to the Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees lets them know they're not alone in their fight. They have the support of a lot of people who are aware of how the system affects them. We all share that one ideal—a better life. To obtain this, the society we live in needs to be changed totally.

Young Latina  
Los Angeles

The letter from the Philippine student in the Dec. N&L proves that the opposition to a technocratic society and the interest in revolution starts in the so-called "undeveloped" countries from the highest point. It made me go back and reread my copy of the pamphlet on The Fetish of High Tech and Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts with newer eyes.

N&L Committee-Member  
Chicago

Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* is circulated hand-to-hand among students in South Korea. Of course, it is not publicly available. Another book important to student activists, *Socialist Humanism*, edited

by Erich Fromm. We feel many of the East European writers have important insights from direct experience with Stalinism. If anything, the government in the North is even worse, because it's one man held above everything...

Besides studying revolutionary philosophy, students have formed committees and organized events with people in the rural areas, even though they would immediately be broken up by the police. Also, we had committees to collaborate with workers and others...

The article on "Defiant Korean Students," in Nov. N&L, is important. With all the recent arrests, we need to force the regime to release all the prisoners and we are trying to make this an international issue... Within my country, the revolutionary activities are not covered by the press. But when a newspaper prints a front page story describing the Philippines revolt everyone knows just to substitute Korea for the Philippines.

Korean Student  
New York



TRIBUTE  
TO  
BENJAMIN  
MOLOISE

*Let me write a book that anyone can read about a poet condemned to death/in the words and phrases/and the prose of many places/in the language of the man on the street/in colors of a Soweto township/in the voice of an illegal song/in the lyric of a Shakespearean lovesong/words chanted for the occasion/a soulful demonstration*

*In the rhythm of punk music pounding the pavement/and the beat of resistance*

*In the morning a willow sings swaying softly/Yet boldly free*

*Today a poet is hanged in South Africa,*

*on walls the defiant calls/we shall rise again toward freedom our aim/the clocks tick faster now/the sands slowing its beat/on sunset's horizon death and life will meet.*

Nigel Quinten  
New York

## FARRAKHAN AND REAGAN

I found your "Black World" column on Farrakhan very interesting. I helped bring Farrakhan to speak at Northern Illinois University to a Black and white audience. And I agreed with your view that Farrakhan is a manifestation of Reaganism. But Farrakhan is being realistic and saying that in a capitalist society Black people are going to have to generate their own capitalism in the Black community. Farrakhan's solution is straightforward. What is yours?

Student  
De Kalb, Illinois

The Farrakhan article came right to the point. I've been having a hard time fighting his popularity here. It is the "progressives" who defend him, claiming that Jews are just paranoid about having "true history" exposed. They believe him just because he says, "I don't hate Jews," right after he finishes doing everything possible to project them as a race of predators. It's hard to explain to people how Farrakhan is actually anti-Black, but it helps to see his affinity to Andrew Young, correctly explained as both of them wanting pacification of Black rage. The Black Trotskyists have tried to be more reasonable, saying that it is anti-Semitism, but accepting the "critique of the class position of Jews in American society," as if they are all the same, as usual. All in all, it has been a bad time, revealing that many who couldn't see his anti-Semitism hold those same attitudes themselves.

Black Activist  
Los Angeles

## 'AS READERS SEE US' — WE NEED YOUR HELP!

I became a subscriber of N&L ten years ago after I bought *Philosophy and Revolution* at a local radical bookstore, and then immediately bought *Marxism and Freedom* and a sub.

What I had seen in Marcuse was a Marxism that wasn't simply economic or political but philosophic as well and that reaffirmed my reason for becoming a radical during the anti-war movement. But when I read *Marxism and Freedom* I could see that for Dunayevskaya the proletariat was the source of all her theory whereas for the Marcuse of *One Dimensional Man* the proletariat was the source of disappointment. It was clear Dunayevskaya intended to develop this "restatement of Marxism for our age," and though I could not have predicted then the further course of the development of Marxist-Humanism, it has never surprised me because from the very beginning it was clear that Marxist-Humanism took philosophy that seriously. That is the main reason I have sustained my sub to N&L for ten years and will continue to sustain one until there is no longer a revolutionary need for a paper like N&L.

Supporter  
Florida

The comments a member of the BCMA (Black Consciousness Movement of Azania) made about Marxist-Humanism when he was in Oxford seem to me a real "As Others See Us." Here is what he said:

"In reading the works of the Marxist-Humanists we have found an understanding of Black Consciousness which is very rare in the West, even among

Marxists. Black Consciousness arose to kill the master and servant relationship whereby the Black man felt himself, in his mind, in his work, as a servant and couldn't therefore express his humanity to the fullest. We saw, in the writings of Marxist-Humanists, an understanding that went way beyond thinking that this is a passing phase. There has been a tendency in the West to think we are for Black Power, and that time has gone now and we have to graduate to a higher type of philosophy. We have felt it necessary to encompass most if not all of the insights that have informed revolutions throughout the world. We understand why Marxist-Humanists felt a need to call themselves that, because the humanism of Marxism had been so much removed that people thought they could come with ideas from the top, from intellectuals theorizing and telling the people how to liberate themselves."

Richard Bunting  
Oxford

I received a copy of your paper from a Local P-9 Hormel worker in Minnesota and mentioned it to a Local 100A member in Chicago. He told me that you had helped them last winter, so my buddy and I would like to read your paper for a while. Here's \$5 for two subs.

Working Woman  
Wisconsin

THE TIMES DEMAND A BIWEEKLY!  
WE NEED YOUR HELP! SEE OUR AP-  
PEAL, PAGE ONE...

**WOMEN, REVOLUTION AND LITERATURE**

I have been reading *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, and appreciate both the emphasis on Women's Liberation, and that Women's Liberation is not separated from the struggles of Blacks and workers. What is also new to me is how Dunayevskaya shows that the activity of masses helps ideas develop. We usually think that ideas come first and that intellectuals have to teach the workers, but Dunayevskaya shows a different relationship. She shows how, during Abolitionism, the escaped slaves stimulated the educated white middle-class women to think about their own oppression, and that Black women also stimulated the rise of the Women's Liberation Movement in the 1960s.

Feminist  
Los Angeles

Raya Dunayevskaya's new work is impressive. There should be classes for working class women organized around it.

Genora Johnson  
California

Note: Genora was the organizer of the Women's Emergency Brigade in Flint, Michigan, during the famous 1936-37 Sit-Down Strike that won the union at General Motors.

When I first read Diane Lee's column on "Black Women Writers" (Dec. N&L) I thought her question, "What do we mean by politics? Can it be a politics that really moves to the full relation of literature and revolution?" was too facile. But then I realized how many times "politics" is limited to questions of state, public policy or political parties. And how often even the best of our literature is limited to "slice of life" portraits devoid of history, movement and potential for change? I liked the column very much.

Reader  
Philadelphia

The recent Black women writers' conference opened up, not "a" Third World women's literature, but many worlds. I found relationships to revolutionary questions throughout, whether in reports from the UN Conference, a debate on polygamy, a plenary on "the

politics of publishing," or the powerful words of Senegalese author Aminata Sow Fall, who sees the Black African woman writer as a voice for freedom, specifically as continuator of executed South African poet Benjamin Moloise.

We were the only Marxist tendency who participated openly and fully. Many were struck by the omni-presence of Black women's liberation in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*—from the Americans Sojourner Truth and Rosa Parks to African women demanding "Freedom NOW!" to the exciting essay relating Marx's 1883 *Ethnological Notebooks* to the multi-faceted freedom struggles of our day.

Susan Van Gelder  
Detroit

**AN APPEAL FROM BRITAIN**

Thanks for carrying information about the Carole Duffy Defense work here. We are trying to gain support especially from women's groups, Black organizations and trade unions for this highly qualified nurse who was suspended in December 1984 for being "union minded" and speaking at a public meeting on Trade Union rights at which miners were due to speak.

Her case is part of the attacks on the unions everywhere. At the end of the Miners' Strike last March nearly 1000 NUM members were dismissed and the campaign to defend them continues. We are also involved in helping FFestiniog Quarrymen in Wales in a dispute that has been going on since August, and the Furniture, Timber and Allied Trades Union workers who were forced out on strike in June. My own hospital union (COHSE) is fighting an injunction to stop us from helping in the occupation of Weesdon Hospital in London.

The importance of fighting Thatcher's privatization has not yet been dealt with by N&L and needs discussion. It has meant here that hospital domestics have lost over 11 pounds out of their 55 pound a week wage packet. Things are very hard indeed. We need support. Your readers can write to us through:

Carole Duffy Defense Committee  
243 Marston Rd., New Marston  
Oxford, England



**RUSSELL MEANS VS. MARX**

Shainape Shcapwe's critique of *Marxism and Native Americans* in the Dec. N&L seems to me to be a wonderful demonstration of the practicality of philosophy. When she wrote the piece in November, skewering Russell Means for his vicious anti-Marxism—arrived at without ever having read Marx, and only fooling around with the Communist Party—she could not possibly have known what he would do in the next month.

Yet no sooner did I read her critique in N&L, than the daily press carried reports of Means sitting on the platform at Minister Farrakhan's Madison Square Garden rally, praising Farrakhan to the skies. This was immediately followed by Means' announcement that he was organizing "warriors" to join the contras' attack on the Nicaraguan revolution, since "Marxists are racist." You can see how a serious theoretical analysis can actually predict future events.

Impressed  
Chicago

**QUESTION OF 'THE PARTY'**

I have been reading *Rosa Luxemburgo, la liberacion femenina y la filosofia marxista de la revolucion*. I am seeing things I never saw before. One thing that is presented in a very new way is the question of the party.

In Latin America, we have had many parties: the bourgeois, the Aprista, the Castroist, the Left. We have not been exposed to Marx's and Dunayevskaya's idea of the party. This will be very new to Latin America in this book. Even Hugo Blanco, who was a great leader of a mass protest of 10,000 peasants, when that protest ended, made a party. He became bureaucratized. He is still at it today, campaigning in presidential elections and so on. This book can mean some new ideas for Latin Americans who are tired of all these parties.

Peruvian  
New York

**CRITIQUE OF MACGREGOR**

It's too easy to satisfy yourself that you have caught the essence of Dunayevskaya's critique (of David MacGregor's contention that Hegel and Marx are parallel, if not identical) simply by agreeing that, far from being "abstract" (on the "withering away of the state" at that!) Marx was, of course, more concrete. And it is always satisfying to understand an "example"—like what the Paris Commune meant to Marx. But that review went far beyond that. It revealed what the dialectic method actually is by critiquing, concretely, what it is not. I am certainly not satisfied with my understanding of it. But there is no doubt in my mind that it was a critique of all those who do not grasp the urgent need for a philosophy of revolution—whether Marx's Marxism itself or as it is spelled out today as Marxist-Humanism (and they are not identical either)—that is both rooted in Hegel's "revolution in philosophy" and yet had to discover totally new continents to make that philosophy real.

Still Working On It  
Chicago

**BETANCUR'S ROLE**

Editing of the Dec. 1985 "Our Life and Times" story on Colombia deleted this paragraph: "Some profess that President Betancur ordered the policy of 'no negotiations,' such as the New York Times, who praised his 'firm' defense of 'democracy.' But the truth is more likely that the reactionary U.S.-trained military did it and told the President he had better support them. He did so, after keeping 'inexplicably' silent for quite a while afterwards."

Instead, material was added beginning "President Betancur unleashed a savage bloodbath..." Since then, revelations even by the bourgeois press have borne out the above analysis, placing the military and not Betancur at the heart of the decision to carry out the Nov. 7 massacre. It is not a question of excusing Betancur, but of portraying clearly the true power in even a "democracy" like Colombia: Not the (originally) reformist elected President, but the military and the oligarchy.

Kevin A. Barry  
Chicago

**SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS**

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard  
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$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
- 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
- Now Available in Spanish:  
Marxismo y Libertad  
de Raya Dunayevskaya \$8.00 per copy  
Rosa Luxemburgo, la liberación femenina y la filosofía marxista de la revolución  
de Raya Dunayevskaya \$8.00 per copy
- The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts  
by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts  
Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of Ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domaniski \$1.00 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
- Marx and the Third World: New Perspectives on Writings from His Last Decade  
by Peter Hudis \$1 per copy
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- Bound volume of News & Letters (Aug. 77 to May 84) \$20.00 per copy
- 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 ... from 1776 to today  
1982 edition. New introduction by author  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao  
1982 edition. New introduction by author  
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- 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  
Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year \$2.50 per year

MAIL ORDERS TO: (1-2-86)  
News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren,  
Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605  
Enclosed find \$\_\_\_\_\_ for the literature checked.  
Please add 75¢ to each order for postage.  
Ill. residents add 8% sales tax

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

• News & Letters is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.  
• News & Letters and most other publications are available on tape for the blind. For information, write to News & Letters.

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

# Mass opposition to Marcos in Philippines

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

After a lot of infighting, the bourgeois anti-Marcos electoral forces united in support of Corazon Aquino, with Senator Salvador Laurel her running mate. Their campaign has become a new outlet for expressing the all-pervasive anti-Marcos sentiment. But it is not the only alternative to Marcos.

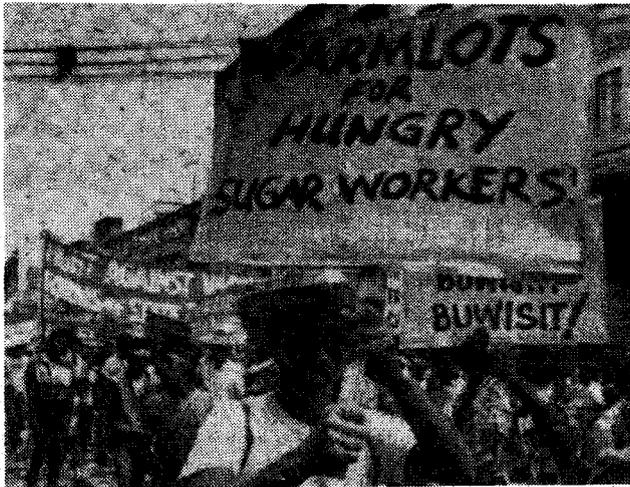
Several left political coalitions and worker and peasant unions have called for an active boycott of the elections, while other opposition groups have given conditional support. On one of the key issues—the future of the U.S. military bases—Aquino has said she “will respect the bases up until 1991 (when the current lease expires) and keep all of our options open.” On the other hand, she promises to put Marcos on trial.

The Pentagon has begun the first installment of a \$1.3 billion project to upgrade the Clark and Subic Bay military bases. They have also increased military aid and training and shifted the focus to an “internal” threat. Reagan has released a flurry of reports to Congress which raise the spectre of the growing NPA (New People's Army) “Communist insurgency” and pointed a finger at possible future ties to Russia, while admitting the guerrilla movement is indigenous with no foreign backing.

Meanwhile, Marcos has presented himself (especially to the U.S.) as the only alternative, claiming that Aquino's campaign is rife with “Communist sympathizers.” Reagan has avoided “taking sides” in the Philippine elections but intensified U.S. imperialism's stakes there, including the possibility of an increased role in counter-

ing mass unrest.

Throughout the Philippines, anti-Marcos mass activity has continued with an intensity and creativity going far beyond what Aquino posed in the political campaign. On Negros Island, agrarian reform is not a sometime electoral issue but a daily life and death question. When Aquino and Laurel campaigned in Escalante—where 21 farmers were killed by security forces during a demonstration last September—thousands turned out. Aquino and Laurel themselves come from politically



Unionized sugar workers in Bacolod call for use of small plots of idle land to grow food.

powerful major landowning families, but Aquino has promised to end Marcos control of the government sugar monopoly, which is rotten with corruption. However, the movement to break up the sugar-growing system of peonage was underway long before their campaign stop.

The latest mass protests took place on Negros in early December, when thousands of sugarworkers and their families began a five-day march, from Kabankalan in the south and Escalante in the north. They passed through many small towns, and by the time their marches converged in the capital city of Bacolod, their ranks had swelled to 50,000.

In the past year, nearly a quarter million cane cutters, mill workers and small farmers on Negros have lost their means to life as sugar exports collapsed. If they work at all, it is only a few days a week; their children are suffering from severe malnutrition. Rural organizing has been growing on Negros and Mindanao, where upwards of 70% of the rural population is landless, despite military and police killings and repression. After the marches on Negros, thousands participated in a two-day people's strike (welgang bayan) which shut down Bacolod. The schools were empty as students joined the strike. Hardly a week passes now without some form of mass protest throughout the islands.

No matter what happens with the Marcos-controlled elections, the mass movement is continuing to release new human forces: urban and rural workers, students and farmers, women and church activists. They and not the electoral process will determine the future, beginning with an end to the “Marcos-U.S. dictatorship.”

## Polish protests

In early December, over 1,000 students made a protest out of a farewell meeting for Wladyslaw Findeisen, rector of Warsaw Polytechnic in Poland, who was fired in what the government calls a “strengthening” of academic self-government. His crime was his failure to punish students who upheld a Solidarity-organized boycott of parliamentary elections in October and students who carried his Institute's banner in the funeral procession of Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko, a Solidarity supporter murdered by police.

Students and faculty members have been sending the government petitions and letters of protest against the firings of more than 70 academic officials who supported Solidarity or criticized the government. Students at the University of Gdansk, whose rector was fired for eulogizing a student activist murdered by police, met with Lech Walesa to discuss responses.

In Wroclaw the banned Independent Students' Association, which was born as part of the Solidarity movement in 1980, called for a state of “strike readiness” in case the firings become a widespread purge of faculty members. They

threatened to occupy Wroclaw's two major universities.

Also fired were Wojciech Wrzesinski and Mieczyslaw Zlat, two Wroclaw historians who were among the organizers of a nationwide petition drive for the release of all Polish political prisoners.

## Angola under attack

At the very time when South Africa's military and economic attacks on its Black-ruled neighbors have escalated, as the dying regime lashes out in murderous fury at the whole of southern Africa, Reaganism is once again moving to support the racist regime. Angola is a special target. Nothing less than direct “covert” U.S. aid in Angola to Jonas Savimbi's South African-backed contra group, UNITA, is being proposed, to the tune of \$15-30 million in 1986. Savimbi himself has visited the U.S.

Since Angola openly backs both the African National Congress and the Namibian freedom fighters of SWAPO, it has been directly attacked by South African troops dozens of times since independence in 1975.

South Africa has backed UNITA since the 1975-76 Angolan civil war, where the puppet Savimbi, then also

## Haitian youth protests rock Duvalier regime

Youth and students demonstrated once again, 400 strong, in the capital Port-au-Prince on December 31, shouting “Down with Jean-Claude Duvalier.” They reached the central market area before police caught up with them and attacked. On Jan. 7, a nationwide student strike broke out. In the town of Gonaives, scene of the 1984 riots, another demonstration took place on Jan. 6, where traffic was completely blocked and homes of top officials were burned. The week before, demonstrators in Gonaives had attacked the cars of two Duvalier officials, while that town and Cap-Haitien had general strikes of businesses, forced or urged to close for the day by young revolutionaries.

Everywhere, leaflets and manifestos have appeared, signed initially by student groups, later joined by those of underground opposition organizations. One leaflet read: “People of Haiti, rise up against the misery that tears at your gut, against the hunger of the streets and the famine of the countryside.” The demonstrations have continued despite police and army killings and massive arrests.

This new wave of protest, beginning with street demonstrations in late November, represents a more serious uprising against Duvalier than even the May 1984 food riots. It began Nov. 28

in Gonaives, the town where the 1804 revolution began. In 1985 four students were killed and fourteen wounded when police fired on over 1000 students protesting the arrest of two local activists. Then, in Port-au-Prince, 1000 took to the streets December 15 after the regime closed the only independent radio station, the Catholic Radio Soleil (since reopened). Those demonstrators chanted: “We demand the reopening of Radio Soleil! Down with corruption! Down with poverty! Down with hunger!”

On Nov. 30 youth from Jeremie wrote “An Open Letter to Haitians at Home and Abroad,” which read in part: “The world has seen the judgment of the great Nazi criminals at Nuremberg. We hope that one day Haiti will see the trial of the sadistic criminals who befoul our country...Who doesn't know that the government just bought an Italian combat plane...while the people of the country, men, women, children, old people with bony faces... hunger tortures them...For us, the youth of the country, we need an enlightened consciousness, free of superstition and naivete, and capable of putting us totally into the struggle for freedom.”

It is the youth who are taking the lead, not only in bravery, but in developing their own creative freedom leaflets, pointing to a new society,

backed by Mao, lost to the deeply rooted historic independence movement MPLA, who took power with the aid of 20,000 Cuban troops. U.S. imperialism also funded UNITA at that time. The 1975 Clark Amendment barred further open U.S. aid, until the Reaganites repealed that law in 1985.

Since 1976, South African and UNITA raids have caused oil-rich Angola thousands of deaths and \$10 billion in damages, including destruction of the nation's transport system. The last massive South African invasion came in fall 1985, just at the time when Angolan and Cuban troops had encircled UNITA's headquarters at Jamba. In May 1985 a white South African commando carrying UNITA literature was caught trying to bomb the Cabinda oil facilities 800 miles north of the border.

U.S. opposition voices are beginning to be heard, as in 1975, against Reagan's obscene racist scheme to aid UNITA. These voices surely will grow louder as more become aware of the scope of what Reagan is doing.

## West German racism

On Jan. 11, 15,000 people, many of them Turkish workers, demonstrated in Hamburg against the murder of a 26-year old Turkish worker, Ramazan Avci, in December, by a gang of racist skinheads. Two other Turks have been killed by racists in the past six months.

An anti-racist book, *Ganz Unten* (All Under) by investigative journalist Gunter Wallraff, a speaker at the Jan. 11 rally, has sold nearly a million copies in its first two months. Wallraff disguised himself as “Ali Levent,” a Turkish immigrant worker, for two years.

“Ali's” work included a stint as chauffeur to the industrialist Adler, who supplied immigrant workers—preferably illegals so they could be easily deported in case of problems—to repair serious malfunctions in a nuclear power plant. A foreman asked “Ali” while convulsed with laughter: “What is the difference between Jews and Turks? Answer: For the Jews, the worst is over.”

## China's students

China's students are on the move once again. On Dec. 22, 300 Beijing students, originally from the western Xinjiang region, marched into the Tiananmen Square and then on to the Zhongnanhai compound, where top officials live. They were demanding nothing less than an end to nuclear testing in their region, populated mainly by Muslim minorities.

Additional demands included dismissal of Xinjiang's new governor, more rights for minorities, an end to forced birth control, and an end to forced labor camps in Xinjiang. A week before, 1,000 had demonstrated in Xinjiang itself, while in Xian, several thousand people protested the killing of a Muslim by ethnic Chinese on Dec. 15. On Dec. 27, the anti-nuclear demonstrations reached Shanghai. There have also been bus strikes in Beijing.

The Chinese youth of the 1980s are developing their own voices and issuing their challenge to Deng's rule.

## Japan rail workers

December headlines told of the sabotage and crippling for one day of rail service in Tokyo and Osaka by the small Left group Chukakuha. That type of hyper-vanguardism was denounced by the very workers it had ostensibly supported: the militant Chiba Doro section of the Japanese National Railroad Workers' Union (Kokuro).

Those workers had themselves called an illegal strike—all railroad strikes are illegal in Japan—over the Nakasone government's plan to sell off the entire Japan National Railroad (JNR) to private interests. This will be preceded by 100,000 layoffs, fully a third of the work force.

JNR caught world attention with its famous “Bullet Train” in the 1960s and is today in deep crisis. The workers in Japan are struggling so that the crisis is not solved on their backs. They need the support of workers in America who face similar battles.

### HOW TO CONTACT NEWS & LETTERS

CHICAGO: 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605 (663-0839)  
 DETROIT: 1249 Washington Blvd. #1740, Detroit, MI 48226 (963-9077)  
 BAY AREA: P.O. Box 77303, San Francisco, Cal. 94107 (658-1448)  
 LOS ANGELES: P.O. Box 29194, Los Angeles, Cal. 90029  
 NEW YORK: P.O. Box 196, New York, N.Y. 10163 (663-3631)  
 SALT LAKE: P.O. Box 8251, Salt Lake City, UT 84108  
 FLINT: P.O. Box 3384, Flint, Mich. 48502

# 'Pax Americana' vs. global movements for freedom

(continued from page 1)

not averse to stifling revolution when it fits his class interests was shown in his declared "union" with King Hassan of Morocco in 1984, after which Khadafy cut off all aid to the Polisario guerrillas fighting for independence from Morocco. His endorsement of mindless terrorism is part and parcel of his effort to ensure that opposition to Israel be restricted to the most narrow nationalist, anti-revolutionary lines.

The greatest tragedy is that so much have all factions of the PLO become tailenders of Arab state powers that whether negotiations or terrorism is touted as "the answer," no truly independent banner of a new human society has been unfurled to combat Reagan's Pax Americana.

## LEBANON'S '75-76 CIVIL WAR

Creating a different banner of opposition requires rooting ourselves in a view of the 1975-76 Lebanese civil war, which was and remains a test not only of the PLO but the whole Left.\* For here was a genuine revolution where Lebanese Moslems, Palestinians and some Christians came together to oppose the reactionary Maronite rulers, thereby opening the door to a new kind of social revolution in the Arab world.

But so all-pervasive was the reduction of all questions to "Israel is enemy number one" by Arafat's PLO that it supported the Syrian invasion of 1976 which crushed the revolution, all on the grounds that "Syria is anti-Zionist"! By the time of the genocidal Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 which eliminated the PLO's base of military operations, the failure of the PLO to re-organize its thinking resulted in each faction of a now-splintered PLO tailending one or another Arab state power.

What is new in 1986 is that this splintering of the PLO has gone so far that terrorist actions could become the spark that ignites the whole military arsenal of Reaganism.

Precisely because of the need to combat that threat, we need to turn to the ground of genuine opposition to Reaganism—the two worlds in each country and solidarity between U.S. and Third World freedom struggles.

## FIGHTING REAGANISM IN AMERICA

The ramifications of Reagan's effort to impose a militarized "Pax Americana" upon the whole globe are felt right here at home. American workers face a constant drive by capital to impose two-tier wage conditions on the entire workforce, at the same time as Meese's "Justice" Department whittles away further at affirmative action and anti-racial discrimination laws. (See Black/Red, page 10.) What continues to be the most threatening development is the push for full militarization of the economy through "Star Wars." Billions upon billions are scheduled to be spent on Star Wars science fiction technology. (See "Star Wars fantasies," this page)

It is not necessary to wait until Star Wars bankrupts the American economy to see new opposition to these conditions. Though many of the recent labor strikes have come under pressure from management and union leadership to accept wage concessions, important labor struggles are being waged by Hormel meatpackers in Minnesota, who have been on strike for six months, and Watsonville Food and Cannery Workers who have been on strike for three.

What has opened truly new doors are the activities in solidarity with ongoing Third World revolutions—especially South Africa's. The solidarity activities with the South African revolt have fanned discussion on the importance of revolutions independent of all state powers, and the need to hear what the Black masses of South Africa are fighting for. This kind of dialogue can become the foundation for creating a "new America" against Reaganism/capitalism.

The content of the freedom ferment in South Africa is revealed both by masses in motion and individuals whose thought and actions express what is new in the movement. The refusal of Winnie Mandela to kneel to

the South African authorities who have banned her from her home in Soweto has become a spirit of defiance to the whole world. At her recent appearance before the South African Supreme Court to demand that the ban on her political activities be lifted, she was accompanied by hundreds of youths shouting "Freedom Now!"

At the same time intense labor battles have produced the first unified trade union confederation, COSATU. The new General Secretary of the Confederation, Jay Naidoom, spelled out the philosophy of the labor struggle when he said, "What happens on the factory floor cannot be separated from the wider struggle for freedom." (See "Black World" column, page 1.)

What has given the South African freedom struggle its international impact is the emergence of numerous forces of revolution—workers, students,

## 'Star Wars' fantasies

by Peter Mallory

Cambridge, Mass. — A gathering of 1,200 scientists, computer experts and academic types from around the world was faced with the burning question of the day: Is star wars a viable proposition or a wild dream of Minister for War Weinberger? With \$60 million already committed to research, the best brains in the country were asking basic questions: Is it possible to track 30,000 warheads and shoot them down without a large percentage of them getting through, how many and how much damage, and at what cost?

The leading computer experts say that to tackle the problem would take 50% of all their staffs off their regular work and cripple industrial development.

Dr. Parnas, a professor at the Univ. of Victoria, B.C., was a leading opponent of Star Wars. He pointed out the huge possibilities for error in the software of the systems proposed. He cited a case at Bell Labs, where despite meticulous planning, 300 serious errors turned up in 1,000 lines of programming. Making the system work would require between 10 million and 100 million lines of computer code with no room for error. An impossibility, claims Dr. Parnas.

So widespread among scientists is the belief that Star Wars is technically impossible that over 2,800 at about 100 campuses have joined a boycott of all associated research projects and funding. At 23 campuses from Cal Tech to Stony Brook, New York, a majority of physicists have signed up for the boycott.

## THE SMELL OF RESEARCH MONEY

Of course, when professors smell money for research programs, someone is always there with his hand out and a possible solution. Dr. Danny Cohen, on the Pentagon payroll as Chairman of the Pentagon's advisory committee on battle management systems, proposes that in place of a monster computer system, a multitude of smaller "modules" would govern independent sensors, weapons and other hardware. Finally even Dr. Cohen was forced to admit, "there is no magic, over-reliance in radical software approaches may not produce a reliable system."

The undesigned Star Wars machine compared with the space shuttle is like a 747 in contrast to a Model T Ford. Yet from newspaper accounts alone, how many times has the shuttle been scratched because of the malfunction of one of these much vaunted "modules"?

The problem as presented to the assembled scientists was, suppose that 30,000 warheads plus about 300,000 decoys came flying at you, could you sort out the wheat from the chaff and make reasonable assurances that none of the missiles would hit a vital area or target?

## DEFENDS MISSILES, NOT PEOPLE

The Pentagon proposes a complex seven-layer system consisting of thousands of space satellites. They claim that there are 3,500 major targets in the United States. The alleged "defense" would deploy groups of lasers (still uninvented), direct energy beam weapons launching high-speed projectiles and ground-based rocket interceptors. They admit that this scheme might permit about 20% of the missiles to "slip through," but they hope to catch them with their final layers.

The truth, acknowledged by some officials, is that Star Wars would defend missiles, not people. Even the director of Star Wars system studies at Livermore Labs has complained about the Pentagon's hype. And a Congressional study concluded nuclear war would be made ever more likely, because a first strike would be made "more attractive" (though they forget that a first strike is part of U.S. contingency plans and not only Russia's.)

The whole problem with Star Wars is that, no one knows what they are talking about. The administration has no firm proposals to seek a final solution. Without a projected proposal before them, the scientists can offer no positive solutions.

The entire concept of Star Wars emerges from an administration so beset with both xenophobic fears of the stranger abroad and the domestic bankruptcy into which the country is falling, that they will resort to any measures to divert attention from their own dilemma.

women, youth—and the struggle's clear expression of its drive to create a new, human society to replace apartheid. The force and reason of that revolt, though far from finished, has shaken Reagan's Pax Americana by revealing the hollowness of his policy of "constructive engagement" with apartheid.

The unfinished tasks facing the solidarity movements, however, were revealed early in January when Chester Crocker—the very architect of "constructive engagement"—visited Angola to inform that government the U.S. may soon begin openly arming the counter-revolutionary, South African-supported guerrillas of Jonas Savimbi. South Africa's occupation of Namibia, its military forays into Angola and Mozambique, are not in contradiction to Reagan's view of southern Africa.

## CENTRAL AMERICAN MASSES VS. REAGANISM

Solidarity that opposes Reaganism by projecting the highpoints of masses in motion, both as forces of revolt and reason of revolution, becomes crucial in face of the latest developments in Central America, where the war against the Nicaraguan revolution that has already cost thousands of lives continues. Two months before the \$27 million allocated for "humanitarian" aid to the contras expires, anti-Sandinista leaders have already turned to Washington to lobby for \$100 million more in aid to bring down the Nicaraguan revolution.

Though all revolutionary forces in Central America—from Nicaragua to El Salvador to Guatemala—have felt the pressure of the U.S. military arsenal being thrown against them, no instant success for U.S. imperialism appears within sight in the region. On the contrary, even where the U.S. control appears most absolute—Honduras—new liberation struggles emerge. A new wave of peasant land seizures over the past year has sent tremors through the Honduran ruling class, and last month major strikes broke out as workers rallied to the support of 5,000 striking workers at the Standard Fruit Company.

Building solidarity with these Central American revolutions does not mean closing our eyes to the contradictions within the revolutionary movements. It is rather a question of initiating new actions and thoughts to issue so total a critique of the Reaganist ideology that the Central American revolutions can obtain room to breathe.

## CLASS SOCIETY IN RUSSIA AND CHINA

Breaking the ideological chains of Reaganism is a question of recognizing the class identity of private capitalism calling itself "democratic" and state-capitalism calling itself "communist." The depth of the crises within Russia was shown Jan. 7 when the Russian people were told to expect "18 to 17 million workers soon to face unemployment" because of "changes in industry." Pravda announced around the same time the construction of the "Riga Industrial Robot Works" which it hailed as "making possible the creation of worker-free production." The drive to accumulate capital at the expense of living labor is as endemic to the Russian economy as it is to the U.S.'s.

The crises are no less internal to China, despite Time's discovery of Deng Xiaoping as its "man of the year." Though it hailed the "economic revolution" Deng's privatization of industry has wrought, Time neglected to mention that China has just experienced its worst grain harvest in 36 years, largely due to the fact that 50 million peasants were forced out of grain farming and into rural industry by Deng's policies.

Meanwhile new voices of revolt are emerging in China, where the nation's first series of anti-nuclear demonstrations was held by youth from Xinjiang province in Beijing and Shanghai in late December. (See China's student demonstrations, page 8.)

The depth and global reach of Reagan's Pax Americana is not opposed in a fundamental way by the state-capitalism of a Russia or a China; nor by the narrow anti-imperialism so pervasive in the Middle East. Rather, the fundamental opposition to all class society, East and West, small powers and large, rests upon the unity of the newly emerging freedom struggles of the 1980s — from South Africa and Poland, to El Salvador and the United States — with a newly emerging philosophy of freedom, having its roots within Marx's Marxism, and reaching for a future of a classless, non-sexist, non-racist human society.

There is nothing automatic about such a unity of action and thought, of revolution and philosophy. We founded News and Letters Committees, began publishing its Marxist-Humanist newspaper, News & Letters, and created our "trilogy of revolution" — Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution — precisely to help unite the global freedom struggle with a philosophy of liberation. Because that has become an even more urgent objective task in the 1980s we feel compelled to begin a financial drive to have News & Letters become a bi-weekly by 1987. (See Appeal, page 1.) At the same time we are initiating a series of Workshop/Courses to further intensify our practice of Revolutionary Journalism. We invite you to join us in these discussions. (Please see the announcement on page 12.)

## News & Letters

Only \$2.50 per year

Send to: News & Letters  
59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707  
Chicago, IL 60605

Enclosed find \$2.50 for a one year subscription.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

.....

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

On Jan. 10, it was announced in Wash., D.C. that Attorney General Meese's position that "affirmative action is reverse discrimination" had won the approval of Reagan and his Cabinet. Reagan is expected to issue an executive order releasing contractors doing business with the government from any legal requirement to hire and upgrade Blacks, Hispanics and women.

Only five days later, the first national observance of Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday was marred by the outrageousness of President Reagan's belated and unsolicited "joining" the Civil Rights Movement. He announced to a group of Black elementary school children that he was among those "who were a part of the revolution that King performed." Attorney General Meese shamelessly contended that he too is following in King's footsteps toward the "color blind society by eliminating minority hiring goals for government contracts."

The absurdity of this rhetoric lies in the fact that both the President and the Attorney General owe their past and present political careers to their opposition to King and the Black mass movement.

### VOTING RIGHTS UNDER FIRE

At the very moment when Reagan was supposed to be engaged in a discussion with Gorbachev over gross violations of human rights in Russia and in Afghanistan, his chief of the civil rights division in the Justice Department, William Bradford Reynolds, was telling angry members of the House Judiciary Subcommittee that the Justice Department was proposing to make a drastic change in its method of challenging changes in election procedures by local governments. No longer would local governments have to show that the change would not be racially discriminatory. That burden of proof for racial discrimination would be shifted to the individuals and groups charging discrimination.

But Reynolds—the man that Reagan wanted as assistant attorney general—didn't stop there. He proposed to revise the 1965 Voting Right Act to the extent that it would permit a reduction in minority voting strength.

Reynolds told the House Judiciary Subcommittee that these revisions were needed to bring the Justice Department procedures in conformity with court decisions and 1982 congressional changes in the law. This is hardly the real reason, but rather a screen to conceal the Justice Department's relentless onslaught against Black voting rights.

The most outrageous case for this is the Justice Department's prosecution of civil rights activists in Alabama's Black Belt region on charges of absentee vote

## Jim Crow in Dearborn

*Detroit, Mich.*—After residents of nearly all-white Dearborn voted for an ordinance banning non-residents from their parks Nov. 5, six hundred Black Detroit residents packed Little Rock Baptist Church Nov. 25 to hear Black civic, religious and labor leaders and the ACLU pledge to take action—including a boycott of Dearborn commercial establishments and a legal challenge of the ordinance's constitutionality. Speakers urged action by showing the parallel between South African apartheid and the ordinance. Rosa Parks linked this fight to the history she experienced in the Civil Rights struggle in the South. The boycott was planned to begin the day after Thanksgiving.

Then the boycott was dramatically called off as it was about to start when the outgoing Dearborn mayor agreed not to enforce the ordinance until its legality was settled in court. Yet just as dramatically, the new mayor reneged a few weeks later, giving the excuse that the lawsuit needlessly included Dearborn's history of racism. Though much of the holiday shopping period had passed, nevertheless the Detroit anti-ordinance coalition leaders reinstated an "official" boycott beginning Dec. 23.

One woman who had come for action to the Nov. 25 mass meeting said, "I was upset when they cancelled the boycott. I don't know who the folks in the NAACP were waiting on—the white business people? But it isn't bad that this happened. People can become aware that things have not changed that much, that many people have moved back into the old frame of mind." A Dec. 7 editorial in the *Michigan Chronicle*, a Black weekly, was headlined, "Dearborn compromise: joke's on us."

Though the coalition leadership had called off the boycott, a "silent boycott" went on immediately after the ordinance passed, and Dearborn businesses have reported a substantial decline in sales. High school students, formerly ardent shoppers at Dearborn's lucrative Fairlane Mall, have been boycotting all along.

The way many Blacks were discussing how to take the fight beyond its current confines was shown when a worker from the giant Ford Rouge plant located in Dearborn said, "A Catholic girls high school moved its Christmas party out of Dearborn even though they lost a \$600 deposit. Yet UAW Local 600 didn't move its party. Another thing—how can you go after Dearborn without naming Ford?" Many are now speaking of direct action—going into Dearborn parks and getting arrested.

—Susan Van Gelder

## Meese turns clock back on civil rights

fraud. The trials themselves are only the public expression of the Justice Department's determination to intimidate Black voters in Alabama. During the "investigation" of alleged fraud they brought in 80 FBI agents to question 1,000 rural Black voters, carrying some to towns in state police cars to be photographed.

### CONSTITUTION OF SLAVE HOLDERS

We can't separate the Reagan administration's legal undermining of civil rights from Meese's all-out ideological offensive on how to interpret the U.S. Constitution. Meese has charged that for the past 60 years all U.S. judges have deviated from the intent of the authors of the Constitution, especially in their compelling the states to abide by the Bill of Rights—the first ten amendments to the Constitution—and in their "broad interpretation of the 14th amendment's due process" and "equal protection" provision.

The aim of Meese's ideological offensive, which has the backing and support of powerful conservative forces in this country, is to limit and weaken civil rights protection, while at the same time putting liberal jurists on the defensive. In no way is this a debate between judges and lawyers. What Meese is doing is harking back to an alleged unmediated Constitution that does not have the dialectical marks of social and

racial conflicts written into it.

The U.S. Constitution was conceived and written by a group of men who were commercial and industrial capitalists, bankers, powerful slaveholders and their lawyers, who were bent on protecting their property interests at a time when the idea of human freedom had caught the universal imagination of both lower-class whites and Black slaves. Out of this historical situation came a Constitution with major contradictions along with a great deal of generalities.

The greatest of these contradictions was the Constitution's recognition of the rights of slaveholders to hold humans in bondage in the same breath with the Bill of Rights. As we all know, that contradiction was not resolved "constitutionally," but by the movement of slaves for freedom in conjunction with the Abolitionist movement which led to the second American Revolution, the Civil War. This war made null and void the rights that were given the slaveholders by the founding fathers. The significant amendments and the various interpretations that jurists have given to the Constitution, which so annoy Meese, are nothing but the expression of the social struggles and stages of consciousness of labor, Blacks and women to gain human rights.

## South African Freedom Journal

(continued from page 2)

I was employed by a company as a labourer. I was earning only R23 (about \$9.50) per week as a starting wage. This was paid to everybody, even to women employed as operators. But men operators were earning more than women. I was later promoted to a factory clerk in the office. I was surprised to see work such as that paid only R32 (\$13.10), still less than men working in a factory as labourers. I inquired from my secretary who told me I was paid less because I am a woman. I was ordered to carry heavy boxes containing nails and steel into the factory. I found that now is the time for freedom. I was told I was insolent and dismissed.

From there I joined the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) and worked in an office job as a trade union member. I realized that the discrimination is still continuing. They did not care whether I worked hard or not, the only thing they were always saying is: in a struggle there is no woman. I did all the jobs and tried my best.

At last women in the organization promised me a better salary, but all the men refused with one word—I am a woman, I can't earn more than men. I decided to form a SAAWU Women's Association Group. This is where I am now, relying on women...

## Mamelodi massacre revealed

*Editor's note: The following is an exclusive in-person report of the Mamelodi massacre which inspired a mass rally of 30,000 on Dec. 3, and impelled Winnie Mandela to break her ban on speaking in public for the first time in 25 years.*

On the 21st of November, 1985, the residents of Mamelodi organized each other to march to the Town Council to protest the rent increase. The people collected each other from their different houses, assisted by the students. After all this, they marched to the Town

Council where they were going to lay their claim. After inquiring if the chairman of the Town Council was available, the reply was, "go and congregate by the stadium. The chairman will come and have a meeting with you there." The people accepted and went.

When arriving at the stadium, people saw police vans, hippos with soldiers surrounding the stadium and helicopters above them. Immediately, there were shots of bullets and tear smoke covering the whole stadium. Old people who were unable to run were falling and were stepped on by the young ones who were able to run. Some people were injured and sent to the hospital, whilst others died of tear smoke and bullets from guns which were shot without a word of warning. People ran away and lots of clothes, such as shoes, hats, jerseys, jackets, etc. were scattered all over the place.

Students who helped their parents organize the march had decided not to be involved. At their homes they waited for the results from their parents' discussion with the Town Council. There were helicopters flying over the houses in the township, pouring tear smoke in each street. People who were at home were injured as the smoke got into the houses through windows. In one case, a two-month-old baby died in a house. The canisters were also shot at students in their homes. This was all done by the police under the state's authority.

It is untrue that the death estimate at Mamelodi was only 13. More than a hundred died, as corpses were buried by the police and soldiers secretly. The residents went to dig those corpses out and bury them in their graveyard. Some of the corpses were found dressed with the clothes of those arrested, who were forced to dress them with the injured people's clothes to make people unaware of who is dead and who is alive.

This is how the state acted against the Mamelodi residents' claim in Pretoria.

## Racism in Beaganland, Los Angeles to Alabama

by Eugene Ford

*Los Angeles, Cal.* — I recently returned to visit the small town in Alabama where I grew up. Many of my friends, like myself, had moved away from the hollowness of that rural ghetto with its dead-end jobs. Some, I learned, had joined the service; it was just after the Vietnam War had ended and it seemed a perfect time to enlist, before the next war began. But even in "peace time" one brother was sent home mentally broken from the inhuman life in the military.

One of the jobs I worked at, while growing up in Alabama, was in the textile industry. The air and your lungs were filled with cotton fibers while the machinery was running, making thread. One time I had to break in a new employee who had asthma. Within 20 minutes he ran gagging out the door unable to breathe. I made up my mind then to leave. Brown lung was not for my future.

But today in Los Angeles the conditions at my job are just as bad. The air in my work area is filled with asphalt fumes and powdered dust, used to make roofing tile. I work as a pumper/boiler operator, and operate seven kettles, 6000-gallon capacity each, keeping the asphalt at 425°F. A thick layer of asphalt builds up inside the kettles over a period of time, but the company doesn't like to shut down to clean the kettles because that means loss of production time. When dirty, the kettles have to be fired for five rather than two hours, and then when they are emptied there is the danger of the fire walls creating flash explosions. An explosion like that can take your head off if you are in the wrong position.

There's also plenty of racism in California, though it

can be more sophisticated than the racism of the South. At my job, one Black employee who had worked for more than 30 years as a boiler operator was told that he had too many asphalt spills at the kettles. He was given a 50% cut in pay and put on the clean-up crew, and then eliminated within a month's time.

At the same time, one of the few white employees in production had probably the worst spill ever, thousands of gallons of asphalt. When this same white worker had a fire on his shift, the plant manager told the foreman, who is Black, to put out the fire, while the white pumper who was responsible for the kettles just stood by and watched.

Racism is everywhere in Reagan's U.S.A. In Alabama, my brother told me the story of what happened at a neighborhood watch meeting in a mainly middle-class neighborhood in a city in the northeast part of the state. A high-ranking city police officer ran the meeting, and stated that everyone had to watch out for crime and "Be careful, because you are just up the hill from n---r town." And this was said in the presence of a young Black lawyer and his wife who had recently moved into the area!

Although there are those who think that under Reagan they can return to the ways of the "Old South," the reality is that Reagan can never erase from history or from the minds of Blacks — or whites — what the Civil Rights Movement meant and did. When I talked to people in Alabama I found that Southern Blacks still have that defiant spirit. And they are open to ideas — the name of Marx and the idea of revolution are not unfamiliar or dirty words. I think that spirit and thought can be the forerunner of the next, needed American Revolution.

**YOUTH**

**Sandinista book reveals needed solidarity of ideas**

by Ida Fuller

At a time when the Reagan administration with its network of lies is trying to obtain open military aid for the Contras in Nicaragua, a question on the minds of many young solidarity activists is how to go beyond exposing Reagan's lies.

A new book, *Fire From the Mountain: The Making of a Sandinista*\* by Omar Cabezas, long-time Sandinista and presently in the Nicaraguan Ministry of Interior, gives us a chance to hear Nicaraguan revolutionary voices from below, see the emergence of the Nicaraguan revolution as a genuine mass movement, and feel an affinity with the life of a young revolutionary from the time he joins the movement as an 18-year-old to when he returns from the mountains as a guerrilla in 1975.

Cabezas joins the Front for Revolutionary Students of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation (FSLN) in 1968 as a working-class student in Leon who has just graduated from high school.

There are many scenes of Cabezas' youth that North American youth can feel an affinity with, from his frustration with ghetto life which makes him decide to become a revolutionary, to his participation in university campaigns against the ideological brainwashing taught by professors, to accounts of teenagers struggling for access to contraceptives. But most exciting are his accounts of working with the Indians of Subtiava, and workers, men, women and children in the barrios of Leon.

When a Subtiavan Indian offers his house as a sanctuary for the FSLN fighters, Cabezas, who suggests that they form a study group with other Indians, is not only

surprised by the attendance, but by the avid interest of the Indian participants. "We started out with the *Communist Manifesto*. You could see they were taking it all in with their eyes...listening, listening, listening...They were filled with enthusiasm..."

**THE PEASANTRY AS REVOLUTIONARY**

Cabezas' account of bonfire political meetings in the barrios also shows that the men, women, and children attending weren't just attracted by the fire but thought of these meetings as the chance to have political discussions with each other. "Pretty soon the students weren't building the fires anymore. The people were building their own fires. In the daytime they were exploited and at night they rebelled."

Cabezas discovers the deep revolutionary aspirations of the Nicaraguan peasantry after he comes down from the mountains on a tour of rural areas in search of peasant compañeros. An 82-year-old peasant who can hardly walk digs out a set of bullets from the time of Sandino, which he has kept for 40 years in excellent condition because "I knew that someday the Sandinistas would come again."

Cabezas then meets another old peasant comrade of Sandino in his eighties, who regrets not being able to go with him but is happy that "my sons can go along with you" because "we can't let them put an end to it all."

But reading this book, I also found many dualities

which urgently need to be discussed. Upon his journey to the mountains with a group of youth to fight as a guerrilla in 1972, Cabezas still maintains the concept that guerrilla struggle can replace social revolution, and that theory consists only of the *Diary of Che Guevara*, and writings (of Mao?) on the Chinese Revolution.

**PITFALLS OF GUERRILLA STRUGGLE**

Despite his long, arduous and painful struggles in the mountains experiencing everything from starvation to leprosy, he remains very isolated from the peasantry in that period. "Sometimes you can't say all you want to say to the campesino. You have to talk on their level. So when I arrived, Tello (a guerrilla commander) opened up to me; now he could talk...something he hadn't done with the campesinos because he thought they probably wouldn't understand." I couldn't help but think that this was related to his concept of "a new man" which limits itself to "military training as the start," and leaves untouched the crucial discussion of how total the vision of the uprooting and of the new society has to be.

Even though one of the most exciting features of the Nicaraguan Revolution has been the revolutionary force of women's liberation—women constituted no less than 30% of the guerrillas—nowhere in this book are women discussed as revolutionary thinkers.

After his tour of the rural areas in 1975 where he meets many peasant compañeros, Cabezas concludes the book by declaring, "This was the history of the Nicaraguan people...a history of rebellion...I felt I was rooted in history...I had recovered the essence of Nicaragua." It is this sense of a mass movement with deep roots before the 1979 revolution, which one gets after reading this book. But it is also a sense of the needed solidarity of revolutionary ideas that one feels urgently.

\*Published in 1985 (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc.)

**BLACK WORLD**

(continued from page 1)

Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) in the Transvaal, a women's trade union group presented a list of demands to the Congress which proposed "That within the structure of the new federation there will be women officers there as representatives of women, not a particular union."

Nevertheless, with a draconian state of emergency in effect in Black townships around the industrial and commercial centers of Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, the perspectives and tasks of COSATU became two-fold. First, there is the task of consolidating 33 unions into 13 amalgamated unions, as well as creating a national union for the unemployed as an affiliate to the federation. Secondly, there is the question of working out a relationship between the federation and the national political organizations, such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Forum Committee (NFC).

**GENUINE SOLIDARITY**

This second task involves the immediate perspective of COSATU's relationship to the imminent formation of another, 200,000-strong, federation made up of CUSA (Council of Unions of South Africa) and AZACTU (African Confederation of Trade Unions), two federations who did not merge with COSATU. (See Dec. 1985 N&L.) However, both the fact that NUM parted from CUSA to help launch COSATU and the fact that NUM has led in calling for new unity talks with CUSA and AZACTU reveals that the actual measure of worker solidarity is not size alone.

As one trade unionist in FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions), the federation that initiated the merger talks between the 33 unions in COSATU, noted: "...the pure size of working class organization is itself no guarantee that workers will control their own destiny. In fact as the struggle of Solidarity (in Poland) shows, even the fact that a country is said to be socialist does not guarantee that workers control their own destiny."

The differences between COSATU and CUSA and AZACTU are decisive and cannot be subordinated to the vulgar Stalinist vanguardism of the South African Communist Party which views the self-organization of Black workers as its political rival and has openly declared: "Dare (FOSATU) ignore either the confusion and division it will sow in the ranks of the working class if it sets up a new 'workers' movement' in competition with or alongside the still-living Communist Party?"

Most important at this moment is the challenge COSATU represents for the apartheid regime in Pretoria as spelled out in its statement of demands: 1. divestment of American and British holdings, 2. the resignation of Botha, 3. nationalization of South Africa's mines, 4. withdrawal of troops from the townships, and 5. abolition of the pass laws.

This is not separate from working out new relationships in the liberation movement as a whole. As the unions own inaugural newsletter concluded: "The challenge facing COSATU will be whether it is able to link this worker base to the present upsurge in South Africa's Black communities."

**Youth in Revolt**



Over 1,000 protesters built a camp on the site of a planned nuclear waste processing plant near Wackersdorf, West Germany, in December. Police attacked and destroyed the camp Jan. 7.

The anti-apartheid movement continued over the winter break. Among other actions:

- Twenty-six students held a sit-in Jan. 9 in the office of the President at Dartmouth in New Hampshire.
- Members of Sisterhood, a Black student group at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania, announced their withdrawal in December from the college's honor code. They called the school's rejection of full divestment a violation of the honor code.
- At Cornell, where anti-apartheid sit-ins have become a near-daily event despite harsh disciplinary measures aimed at protesters, the administration unsuccessfully attempted to provoke six students, who were merely just delivering a letter, into getting themselves arrested.
- A group of students sat-in Dec. 11 at Swarthmore College, demanding total divestment and serious recruitment of Black students and professors.

**Apartheid in Illinois**

Woodridge, Ill.—Although the struggle against apartheid in South Africa has affected the creative minds of youth in this area, who are writing term papers on South Africa and becoming active, many are not aware of the apartheid existing along class and color lines right under their own noses. This ignorance seems strange when the long history of housing discrimination in such towns as Berwyn and Cicero and DuPage County is considered.

While activism against apartheid in South Africa is increasing among youth here, it is still found in low amounts. Most youth activists in this area participate solely in the anti-nuclear movement. Yet the examples of racism to be found in the western suburbs are so obvious. An incident involving white homeowners trying to petition a Black family out of moving into a house in Oak Brook comes to mind.

The towns of Cicero and Berwyn have less than one percent Black population while being an area of moderately priced housing. Complexes in these towns have previously been found guilty of housing discrimination.

Area politicians consistently take a stand against their towns granting permission to build lower-rent housing. This is simply another way of saying that they do not want any more minorities moving in from the city.

The class and color lines are there and have yet to be broken. The Western suburbs of Chicago are yet another monument to capitalism and racism in America. The youth in this area have to be awakened to the apartheid at home.

—Student activist

**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 inherent in the present.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation — activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. We organized ourselves 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.

# THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Author of *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*

The following are excerpts from "New Beginnings that Determine the End," a report delivered by Raya Dunayevskaya to a meeting of the expanded Resident Editorial Board of *News & Letters*, December 29, 1985. The full report can be obtained for 50¢ from *News & Letters*, 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, Il. 60605.

So new are our Workshop/Classes, not just for ourselves, but because of the kind of workshops Marxist-Humanism has in mind, that philosophically as well as concretely they are totally new. You will become practicing dialecticians as we probe the objective developments and see that while the media gives you what happened, it doesn't give you the meaning objectively and subjectively — and that is true both of the reporters and the so-called analytical commentaries.

To grasp the meaning, objectively and subjectively, you need to have internalized what Marx meant by history-in-the-making. Naturally — though not out of whole cloth — each generation does bear the responsibility for how history is shaped and re-shaped in its age. Dialectics discloses, if you probe deeply, the process of development, objectively and subjectively.

The meaning of the event is grounded in the event itself; your method of examining it is not just as a single event or one which you judge in a quantitative way only, but in its totality, in its class relationships, where each class has an aim of its own. Rulers make headlines because of their power to exploit and destroy; it is that military might that seeks to terrorize people, to make us believe that our fate is in their hands. In truth that is not so, and Method will help us see the truth.

Each workshop will need to study the daily press inseparable from the source and principles. It is the source and principles that set the direction of the approach to the news. It is true that we approach a current event not in an abstract manner, but concretely. Concrete, however, is not just immediacy or appearance, but essence which flows from Concept — what to Hegel and Marx was comprehensive/concrete. Precisely because the meaning of the event is seen to be imbedded in the event itself, it draws the audience into participation. To comprehend a meaning in the concrete event, a meaning the audience may not have seen when it was just a headline in the newspaper, can "transform" listeners into participants. This, too, is the purpose of the classes as workshops.

The source and principles are what give meaning to the event as well as understanding of Marx's concept of history-in-the-making and your own practice as dialectician to develop it for our age.

## Class I — The Reagan-Gorbachev Summit and the Black Dimension

The first Workshop is not to take off only from the Editorial in the December issue of *N&L* (even though that was written as the summit was occurring). Though the Editorial did take into consideration the fact that the person who was not among those listed principal participants — Weinberger — was the one who really set the line through the Reagan-planned "leak," what is needed is to philosophically comprehend the objective situation, the masses making history, the undeclared civil war in faraway South Africa.

This is quintessential because it is important to not be diverted by seeing opposite nations talking, even when they are as far apart as the U.S. and Russia. The absolute opposite is within each country — the masses against the exploiter-rulers. It is the dissatisfaction of the masses with their conditions of labor, with their lives in their respective countries, and it is the birth of the Third World in particular that are the real pivots.

Even if we knew the secret, so-called unrecorded "personal" talks between Reagan and Gorbachev, we would not know what motivated them if we were bereft of Marx's dialectical analysis of history-in-the-making. For example, whether or not anything was mentioned by the two Behemoths about South Africa, the rulers' preoccupation was the dissatisfaction of their masses at home — and far, far away was the Third World that, to them, was silent. But in truth the Third World spoke loudly and clearly; it didn't wish to tie its fate to either one of the two nuclear poles of capitalism. That is to say, that was "in the air," kept developing, and is ongoing.

The co-existence of two different "systems" could be seen in their true state — as merely different forms of world state-capitalism. What was pushing at Reagan and Gorbachev to smile was the concrete crisis in each one's country revealed by the dissatisfaction of the masses in their countries and the continuing unrest in all of the Third World, climaxed by what is happening in the most "stable" (i.e. militarized) country in the world — South Africa.

The visage of Hitler is projected not only in apartheid South Africa but in all the countries. Just as we now see that the stage of automated and robotized capitalist production has produced a permanent army of the unemployed, so what is new since the 1950s is the emergence of a Third World as a measure of the whole

Learn about revolutionary journalism with Marxist-Humanists

# News & Letters Workshop/Classes on Current Events and the Dialectic Method

world. That means the masses of the globe. What the rulers will never understand is that it is not they but the masses in revolt, who are the absolute opposite, who will win.

## Class II — The State of the Union and Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program

We all know that in January the President has to deliver what is called the State of the Union address. All media pundits — economists as well as politicians — also sum up the year and try to see into the next. Statistics continue very nearly endlessly through January and into February.

We will consider them as we ponder the headline of the week. But to really embark on one's task as a revolutionary worker-student-youth theoretician, we need to turn back the clock over a century to what may seem irrelevant, but will be a profound illumination of today — Marx's Critique of the Gotha Program.

In that work, Marx (in what he called "Marginal Notes") commented on the proposed union of "Marxists" (Eisenachists) and Lassalleans that was being founded to fight Prussian overlords. Bismarck's Germany was in its most reactionary period following the White Terror of the first counter-revolution in France against the first attempt for a workers' republic, the Paris Commune. So new were the truly new human relations emerging in the Paris Commune — with the women having been the first to sound the alarm and take up arms, as well as with men working out production relations in so new a form — that Marx made "its own working existence" a beacon for all future attempts to create a new society.

This session will be especially difficult both for the reporters and for the audience itself, precisely because every one of us without exception has views on this, and there are a multiplicity of Left tendencies who are all against Reagan but refuse to discuss the topic of what they are for.

Yet this is precisely what Marx talked about in those Marginal Notes. It is the first time ever that Marx wrote anything resembling a so-called party program, not limiting it to immediate tasks, much less the existing situation, but insisting on projecting what communism would be after the overthrow of bourgeois society.

## Class III — The Post-World War II World: Latin America's New Type of Worker-Peasant Revolutions

Although what I am going to say now is just for keeping in the back of your mind, the methodology points us to the relationship of something in the movement from practice that signalled the new as not only against capitalism but also against the so-called Communism in Russia. It was the 1937 Revolution in Spain. It made for a kind of new Divide in the 1930s not only in Spain but projected to the whole world, especially Latin America which was not tied to Russia in the first stages of revolt.

A multi-faceted spontaneity emerged that laid the ground for a new generation of revolutionaries and, at first, even united the many native tendencies from anarchism to socialism. Though soon the global outreach of Stalinism with its murderous attacks on dissidents wasted away that spontaneity, it remains a task for this generation to work out its full dimension, as it definitely will illuminate the whole problem of the dialectic of the "Party."

Whether it was the Debs or Lincoln brigades in the U.S. or the very first nationalization of the oil industry in Mexico, there was, and continues to be, a very new and historical alternative to both the transformation into opposite in Russia and a new stage of capitalism born out of Depression, i.e. state-capitalism, welfare state, co-prosperity sphere.

Relate how this impacted on the way we were to work out state-capitalism as the world stage of capitalism, of which Stalinism was but the Russian name.

Although this is kept in the back of your mind, the central point of Latin America is the new opposites

brought on by the Bolivian Revolution, on the one hand, and Pax Americana on the other, all the way to El Salvador and Nicaragua in the 1980s. Reagan leaves no doubt in anyone's mind that his view of Pax Americana will make headlines throughout 1986 as he continues his mad pursuit to overthrow the Nicaraguan Revolution.

## Class IV — Revolutions in East Europe from under Totalitarian Communism

The point here is to show how totally new events, that become what philosophically would be called categories, actually are grounded in what is magnificent about Dialectics — whether that be Dialectics in Thought alone (or maybe I should say where the objective situation, especially the revolution, is not openly seen as a determinate); or whether that be where both philosophy and revolution are definitely seen as determinate, as in Marx (but that was the 19th century, not today).

For Lenin, in 1914-17, dialectics was the determinate in defining not only the politics of being against both imperialism and Second International socialism, but 1917 as the actual concretization of the dialectics of revolution. Central, however, is neither 1917 nor 1937 but the three decades from the 1950s to the 1980s with daily headlines on new forms of worker-opposition, from the birth of Solidarnosc in Poland to the ongoing underground revolts as they are related to new points of cognition — and to such betrayals as Kolakowski's writing, when he was in Poland, "Towards a Marxist-Humanism," but adhering in the 1980s to the new Reaganism.

## Class V — Revolutionary Journalism and the Absolute Method

This will be a certain type of summation and concretization of what we have done thus far when our need has been to express events as they happen and the attitude must be that to get the full meaning one must turn to it philosophically. You will be surprised at how many new things are seen in the same event, depending on the relationship it has to history, to our other writings, as well as to what we are trying to project for the next year.

Look again at *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, not as a whole but singling out something like the 1950 article on the miners' wives, as written when the strike happened and as seen in relationship to the 1969 article that precedes it in the book, written when the category of "Woman as Reason" was created, as well as in relationship to the article "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies," delivered during the Marx Centenary, 1983, and reprinted in the international-Yugoslav dissident philosophic journal *Praxis*. Try to do the same thing in relationship to something you have written, whatever period you choose, relating it to what you think about the same subject now.

## Class VI — The Trail to the 1980s from the 1880s: Marx's New Moments and Those in Our Age

Standing on Marx's Marxist ground and reason for a new relationship of theory to practice, Marxist-Humanism saw in the new moments of Marx in the 1880s a trail to the 1980s. Our tasks begin there, but that is not where they end. It is the todayness that has to be worked out anew in each epoch, rooted in the concreteness of the new age. That can not be anticipated; it must be worked out anew by the new generation of revolutionaries. That is what we aim at in all these Workshop/Classes.

Absolute Method helped us reach today. Let us all this time concretize it organizationally in 1986 by projecting it to others. Thus our self-development will bring those hungering for philosophy and revolution to join the News and Letters Committees of Marxist-Humanism.

## Raya Dunayevskaya

will give the first Workshop/Class in person in Chicago, by videotape elsewhere

• *Chicago*—Sun., Feb. 16, 3 PM  
59 E. Van Buren, Room 707

• *New York*—Mon., Feb. 24, 7 PM  
Grace & St. Paul Church, 123 W. 71st St.

• *Bay Area*—Sun., March 2, 7 PM  
3122 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley

• *Detroit*—Sun., Feb. 23, 3 PM  
Unitarian Church, 4605 Cass

• *Los Angeles*—Sun., March 9, 6:30 PM  
People's College of Law Building  
660 S. Bonnie Brae

• *Salt Lake City*—Mon., Feb. 24, 6:30 PM  
U. of Utah, Marriott Lib., Rm. 465