

AFL-CIO  
plans spell  
s.e.i.l.o.u.t.

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

This year's winter vacation for the top bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO got a rude interruption. Jim Guyette, president of Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, threw a hornet's nest among those sunbathers, meeting at the fancy resort complex in Bal Harbour, Florida that they built several years ago with union members' money.

Guyette heads the Austin, Minn. local that has been in strike since last August against the Hormel meat-packing company. The Hormel workers are striking not only against take-backs in wages, but for better health

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## Black World

Dialogue  
on Black  
thought

by Lou Turner

For one week in March I had the opportunity to take part in a series of discussions with American Black students, Caribbean intellectuals and activists on the campuses of New York University, Columbia, and City College of New York on the imperative need to reorganize Black thought. Frantz Fanon, *Soweto & American Black Thought* had just been published in a new expanded edition during February's Black History Month. And the interest Black students showed in discussing that work gave further indication that it is not just commemoration of history but its transformation that has become most concrete.

## REORGANIZATION OF BLACK THOUGHT

Two sharply opposing realities met in my lectures on "The Black World and the Dialectics of Revolution" to form the context of our discussions: the impact of Reaganism on Black reality and thought, and the new revolutionary reality being born in South Africa and Haiti. Along with the most serious probing of the thought of Frantz Fanon, Karl Marx's relation to the Black and Third World and the theoretic methodology of Marxist-Humanism as indispensable to the process of reorganizing Black thought; the discussion also brought to the surface an intense battle of ideas.

The recognition that Black thought too is vulnerable to the pull of Reagan's ideology raised the question: if the economic and social impasse in Black America signifies the need to reorganize Black thought as much as it exposes the structural inequality of American civilization, what form does the reorganization of Black thought take? Two kinds of responses to this emerged.

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## Counter-Revolution and Revolution



U.S. warplane taking off from carrier in Gulf of Sidra.



Demonstrations in Port-au-Prince protest interim government.

## Editorial

Reagan's attacks on  
Libya and Nicaragua

Yesterday, March 24, out of the clear blue, the Reagan Administration announced that the U.S. had sunk Libyan patrol boats hours before. Supposedly they had approached U.S. ships in the Gulf of Sidra with "hostile intent." The U.S. then followed with actual attacks on "missile sites" on Libyan soil. Whether the Libyan dictator, Col. Khadafy, had first given the order to fire on U.S. ships, or whether the U.S. had begun the firing is not the question. What is crucial is this:

Bent on converting the presidency into a regal outlaw throne, Ronald Reagan, that counter-revolutionary extraordinaire, is engaged in these near-war acts.

**Ronald Reagan must be stopped!** If he is not stopped now, will his obsession with being Commander-in-Chief in an outright war lead to a full-scale attack on any country, especially a Third World country like Libya or Nicaragua?

For the first time an American president, Reagan, uttered the truth, when he explained to the press that the word "contra" is short for "counter-revolutionary" in Spanish, and declared that "that makes me a contra, too." Reagan is continuing his all-consuming drive to overthrow the Nicaraguan Revolution, demanding \$100 million in aid to the "contras", while allocating \$20 million in immediate "emergency aid" for the Honduran military.

His March 16 televised speech to "the nation," warning of the "mounting danger in Central America that threatens the security of the United States," surpassed all his previous exploits in the Big Lie, as he painted a picture of Castro and Gorbachev, Khadafy and Khomeini, all converging in Nicaragua and preparing an attack on U.S. borders.

Unintentional truths and carefully planned Big Lies coincided dramatically in a long-winded "background message" he sent Congress that same week, entitled "Freedom, Regional Security and Global Peace." There he vowed that his administration will oppose dictatorships of the Right as well as the Left. Some liberal journalists promptly hailed the message as a "breakthrough in expressing the administration's commitment to 'democratic revolution'" (NY Times 3/15/86), while others suggested that its purpose was merely public relations. It is more than public relations.

## U.S. AND THIRD WORLD REVOLUTIONS

In fact, "contra aid" and Reagan's new so-called "democratic revolution" represent two prongs of U.S. imperialism's campaign to halt or channel a new wave of revolutions in the Third World of the 1980s. Even though the House voted "no" on "contra aid" March 20, it will vote again in April, and there is every likelihood that Reagan will get in some form his aid to the murderous right-wing mercenaries camped along the Nicaragua-Honduras border, just as he did last year, when it was supposedly limited to \$27 million in "non-military" assistance, and as he did in 1983 when they were secretly funded by the CIA.

This is true despite the many demonstrations by solidarity activists opposing funding, few of which have been reported by the media. The McCarthyite attacks launched by Reagan aide Patrick Buchanan

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Can Haiti's revolt be  
deepened to revolution?

by Kevin A. Barry

The unfolding dialectic of revolt in Haiti has put the question of social revolution on the agenda. Six weeks after the ouster of Duvalier the revolt has deepened dramatically:

- Protesters have set up roadblocks around the capital of Port-au-Prince, shouting "Down with the Government!" "Down with Namphy!" (the military head of the interim government.)

- Market women, who sell fruits, vegetables and clothing, have refused to open their stalls.

- Thousands upon thousands of youth everywhere have taken to the streets in protest marches, demanding the ouster of the Duvalierists and the installation of a civilian government.

- Strikes have begun throughout the country, organized not by any official unions, but from below.

- Blacklists of former officials of the Duvalier government are circulating in the streets. Workers through work stoppages have forced the removal of Cabinet ministers and directors of government offices.

## THE GROWING PROTESTS

Gerard Gourgue, a human rights activist and the only independent member of the government, resigned in protest after the army killed demonstrators, and the government failed to prosecute the Duvalier-created gang of torturers-murderers, the Tontons Macoute, allowing known mass murderers such as Albert Pierre to leave for Brazil.

It has only been the ever-watchful, creative and self-mobilizing Haitian masses, who occupied the airport by the tens of thousands, that has prevented others such as a leading Macoute, Luc Desyr, from escaping.

Under the impact of the growing protests, the government of Namphy has re-organized itself over and over, dropping several Duvalierists from the Cabinet, and arranging three more resignations from the interim ruling council. The Reagan Administration has rushed to prop up the interim government by freeing \$27 million in U.S. aid.

Before the most recent wave of protests, even a liberal U.S. columnist such as Flora Lewis wrote that Haiti may need "the framework of temporary international supervision" (NY Times 2/13/86) while the *Wall Street Journal* (2/11/86) actually raised the possibility of a Grenada-type intervention. Reagan himself visited Grenada at the very time when quite a few of his warships stood off Haiti.

Whether direct intervention is immediately in the cards, the U.S. has other avenues of influence, including the banking community as well as sectors of the Catholic Church. Other sectors of the church, such as Bishop Willy Romelus of Jeremie, did support the youthful revolutionaries, and had for years encouraged "base communities" among the masses.

## STUDENTS, WORKERS, PEASANTS

Right now the crucial dimension lies within the hands of the Haitian masses. Student youth have shut down the universities and high schools in Gonaives, Cap-Haitien, Jeremie and other cities. They are demanding a restructuring of education so that students would go to

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# 100,000 women march for abortion rights

by Laurie Cashdan and Terry Moon

Washington, D.C.—Whether it was under warm, sunny Washington, D.C. skies or beneath a cold, drenching Los Angeles rain, tens of thousands of women and men told this administration to keep its hands off legal abortion. In Washington, over 100,000 strong, we marched down Pennsylvania Ave. to the Capitol. Young and old, veteran abortion rights activists and students, women from as far away as Texas, Florida, Minnesota, we took the fight for control over our own bodies and minds to the nation's capital on March 9 in the "National March for Women's Lives."

The chants on everyone's lips were about the freedom to choose—the freedom to choose to have a child, and the freedom to choose not to. Scores of women wore white to bring the spirit of the suffragist movement to the march. But the spirit of the anti-apartheid movement and ongoing labor battles marched down Pennsylvania Ave. as well.

## ANTI-APARTHEID, LABOR, YOUTH

Thus students from universities across the country came directly from anti-apartheid protests and Central America solidarity work. The young women from Smith College had ended their five-day blockade of the administration building only one week earlier.

Thus two dozen workers from United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 in Austin, Minn. came from the picket lines at the Hormel meatpacking plant, and one woman described the discrimination against women workers there. Along with them marched women poultry workers on strike for two years against Marval Products in Dayton, Va. over working conditions so bad that a Black woman



—News & Letters photo

## Abortion rights marchers in Washington D.C.

marcher described how she had been pregnant and not allowed to go to the bathroom.

That kind of participation and the number of women who turned out had many people talking about a new beginning for the women's movement. The president of the National Organization for Women, Eleanor Smeal's proclamation that "It's time for women to get back into the streets," drew wide applause.

What united everyone was the determination to combat Ronald Reagan's attack on women. Reagan's disgusting State of the Union rhetoric Feb. 4 equating abortion rights with "a wound in our national con-



## women- worldwide

More than 2,000 women in Santiago, Chile fled from police tear gas and water cannons at an International Women's Day celebration, March 7. Chanting "Bread, Work, Justice and Freedom!" the women demanded an end to President Augusto Pinochet's regime.

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Feminists in Rhode Island have organized support for Mary Ann Sorrentino, director of Planned Parenthood there, who was excommunicated last year by the Diocese of Providence. Sorrentino thinks this unprecedented action is just the beginning of attacks on all Catholics who staff and volunteer at Planned Parenthood.

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The highlight of the state celebration of International Women's Day in Russia was a nationally televised housecleaning contest titled: "Let's Go Girls," pitting five young women against each other in vacuuming, cooking fish, and peeling potatoes. Even the parties planned for the holiday aren't all fun. According to one woman, "You just have to go around and do all the shopping (in long lines) for the guests who will be coming to celebrate."

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The 500 clerical and office workers employed by the UAW voted overwhelmingly March 7 to reject a proposed contract and set a strike date of April 7. The women, most employed in the Detroit, Mich. area, opposed the elimination of four sick days and poor pensions for retired workers.

science" followed on the heels of the news that he would pardon an "indigent" abortion clinic bomber. He thus again gave the green light to a continuation of the bombing of 37 abortion clinics in the U.S. last year and the continual criminal harassment of women entering clinics for abortions.

## 30,000 MARCH IN LOS ANGELES

That determination to stop Reagan was repeated on March 16 in Los Angeles, Calif. There over 30,000 disregarded a chilly downpour in a high-spirited march that included people from all over California, Alaska, Hawaii, Idaho and Minnesota. The P-9 workers were there as well, and they were joined by striking TWA flight attendants. The L.A. march, along with the D.C. march the week before which was the largest demonstration for women's freedom ever in the U.S., proved with a vengeance what we wrote last month: "The fact that cannot be escaped is that—just as they did 13 years ago—most U.S. citizens favor legal abortions."

What is it that created such a massive turnout? Part of the answer is that women have been itching to take to the streets to express themselves on this issue. But beyond that, this march was the first opportunity for over 10 years for women to demonstrate on our own ground. That ground is not arguments on if or when a fetus becomes a person, but our determination, our passion to control our own bodies, the fact that when abortions are illegal women die and are mutilated. We drew the line on March 9 and 16, a line that we won't let the right wing cross. We said loud and clear: Keep your hands off our bodies! Keep your laws off our bodies! And remember that those bodies have heads that think and fight back.

This march raises the question of why the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) ever moved away from that ground. Part of the answer is that there was such elitism and mistrust of women by the self-proclaimed leaders of the WLM that they did not trust women to see through the right wing's talk of "when life begins" and got sucked into that debate. They felt they had to explain to women that the anti-abortionists were wrong, and that it's OK to have an abortion. There was little confidence in the passion women have to control our own bodies and no real understanding of how truly international that demand is.

Young women from Boston marching at the very end of the D.C. demonstration proclaimed with their sign: "This is only the beginning—not the end." That is true. Let's work out together how this can be a new beginning. Based on this magnificent outpouring from below that revealed passion, intelligence and a desire for a better world, can we work out such a new relationship of philosophy to the movement that we never get sidetracked again?

## Chinese feminist Ding Ling

This year's celebration of International Women's Day (IWD) brought the sad news of Ding Ling's death. Her essay "Thoughts on March Eighth" gained international recognition. Ding Ling was considered the most articulate champion of women's rights in China as the author of over 300 novels, short stories and plays centering around the reality of women's lives in revolutionary China.

Ding Ling's commitment to feminism and revolution began at an early age. At 14 she challenged a pre-arranged marriage and was fighting for women's equal rights including their right to inherit property. In 1936, Ding Ling, by then a well-known writer, escaped house arrest and, leaving her two children behind, joined Mao's movement in Yanan. There she became the editor of the literary pages of Liberation Daily and she edited the historical records of the Long March.

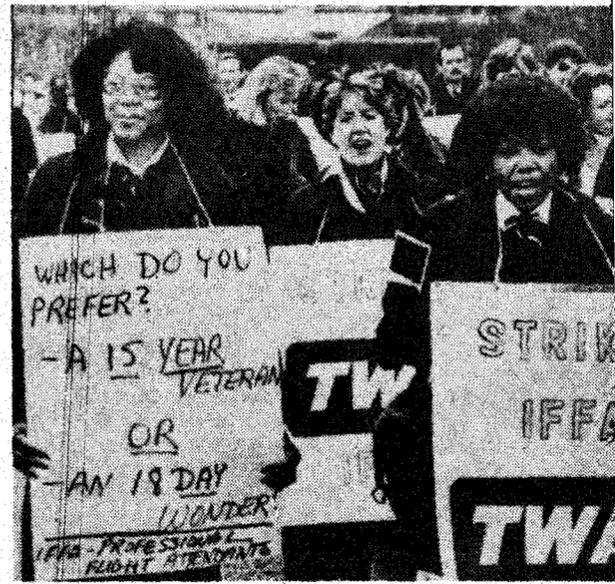
In Yanan, Ding Ling's criticism of the subordinate role of women in Chinese society extended itself to the revolutionary movement. Partly in opposition to Ding Ling's writings, Mao unleashed his criticism of the Yanan intellectuals in 1942, where "realism, sentimentalism and satire" became unacceptable cultural expressions. Ding Ling responded a month later with her "Thoughts on March Eighth." Ignoring the party instruction that the celebration of International Women's Day be devoted to praising the active roles of revolutionary women, Ding Ling spoke of the subordinate role of revolutionary women and of sexism in Yanan.

In referring to Nora in Ibsen's "A Doll's House" Ding Ling likened the situation of revolutionary women who were forced to give up their party careers to marry and to bear children to "Noras who came home." For this she was severely attacked and forced to recant.

Ding Ling's originality was such that when in the aftermath of the 1979 Iranian Revolution we translated her "Thoughts on March Eighth" into Persian, all felt a "shock of recognition," as the issues she had raised some forty years ago were the issues we were still facing in the 1980s. Today we remember her originality which manifested itself in how she combined her critique as feminist with a revolutionary vision of transforming society.

—Neda Azad

## TWA attendants strike against sexist wage cuts



Striking TWA flight attendants march from Independence Hall in Philadelphia to a local hotel where talks between union and management broke down.

L. A. International Airport, Calif.—"I can't have in his head the idea that because most flight attendants are women, we wouldn't go out on strike. He thought we wouldn't protest his sexist demands that the flight attendants give more in concessions than the male-dominated unions, since we're 'not breadwinners.' But the turkey couldn't have been more wrong. Women are very tough."

That's what one picketing flight attendant told me and it's what the striking TWA flight attendants are saying all across the country, as they attempt to shut down the airline and force management to recognize that they have the right to contract terms similar to those reached with the other unions. Their strike received a blow on March 11, when a federal judge barred machinists from continuing sympathy walkouts, but the attendants are nonetheless determined. However long the strike lasts and whatever its outcome, the women spoke with on the picket line were learning a lot about themselves and the world.

"I think before this, I must have had my head buried in the sand," one woman told me. "There are strikes happening all over that I didn't know anything about. Workers from Hormel came and spoke at our rally. They have it so much worse than we do."

"I hate to say it," another woman said, "but I have crossed picket lines before. Like when the Gemco store were on strike, I would go in, and tell myself, 'I just want to get one little thing.' But I know now I will never cross a picket line again."

"There's a lot of money around in this country, but only a few people at the top are getting it. And I use to think that Reagan had done some good things for the economy, but this strike is making me wonder, an question everything."

—Strike supporters

## Filipinas celebrate IWD

Some 5,000 women come together for two days for International Women's Day (IWD) in the Philippine Islands. Sponsored by the women's coalition, Gabriela (named after Gabriela Silang, who led a revolt against Spanish rule in the 18th Century), the discussions ranged from unemployment and prostitution—especially around the U.S. military bases—to bride sales and the activity of women workers.

Zemaida Laron, a factory worker in a foreign-owned snack food plant, described how the 50 women in her shop tried to organize a union to fight against \$1.80 for a 12-hour day. She told how when company thugs tried to intimidate the women, they went on strike: "The place is closed. We sleep on the picket line."

The women rallied at Malacanang to greet President Aquino. But as Nelia Sancho, vice-chairwoman of Gabriela, pointed out, Corason Aquino did not address women's liberation in her campaign. She is first now being tested.

A year ago, in their congress marking IWD and summing up the UN's Decade for Women, Nelia Sancho said "As we liberate ourselves from the forces that prevent us from achieving our human totality, so too will we help in the liberation of our brothers in the other oppressed sectors. For it is in the emancipation of all people from every form of slavery and bondage where women can find the most fertile ground to plant the own seeds for liberation."

At this year's IWD celebration, one young newly released political prisoner, Judy Taquiwalo said, "Before we were the invisible people." The 5,000 women in Manila on March 8 and 9 began to make sure that Filipino women would never be invisible again. —Mary Holm

**WORKSHOP TALKS**

(continued from page 1)

and safety conditions. While the average injury rate in U.S. industry is eight injuries per 100 workers per year, and the average in meat-packing a staggering 33 per 100, the rate in the Austin plant is 202 injuries for every 100 workers!

**ANTI-UNION BUREAUCRATS**

When Gov. Perpich called out the National Guard to protect the scabs crossing the picket lines, the response of the UFCW was to tell the striking workers to give up their fight. In Florida, Guyette called a press conference and accused the International of "undermining" the workers and stated: "Their vicious anti-union attack is unprecedented in labor history. They are out of step with the better part of the labor movement."

That those fat-cat bureaucrats are out of step with the rank-and-file workers is evident in what happened in Madison, Wis. The International pressured the leadership of the Oscar Mayer local there not to help the Hormel strikers. The rank-and-file responded by kicking that local leadership out and electing a whole new executive board, which then sent \$10,000 worth of food to Local P-9.

In response to this unrest, the AFL-CIO Executive Council, meeting in Bal Harbour, came up with a proposal for the creation of a national clearinghouse of information to aid unions in nationwide publicity campaigns on their disputes with management. But they clearly do not intend to include cases where rank-and-file workers want to also voice their differences with their union leadership!

The thrust of the Executive Council's decisions, however, had nothing to do with strikes, and in fact little to do with unions. Their current brainwave response to the crisis of labor in the age of Reaganism is the concept of "union associate membership," by which workers in unorganized shops and offices will pay a small fee and in return receive benefits such as group insurance.

The bureaucrats are so in love with this new concept of unionism that they didn't stop there. All kinds of sterile ideas began to jump from their heads—like offering MasterCard to union members at interest rates 5% below regular MasterCard rates.

**I know I am not alone in being sick and tired of all this empty talk from the bureaucrats, while they stab the workers in the back in outright betrayal.**

Labor is going through difficult times now, but in one current strike in Massachusetts I saw something that I have not seen in a long while: 7,500 workers are on strike against General Electric, even though their contract is not up for two more years. They walked out because a foreman was abusive to a union steward; and they are protesting the fact that there are over 300 unresolved grievances.

**STRIKES CHANGE THINKING**

I have often heard workers say, "We can't change things," or "Why try anything; nothing will come of it." But perhaps this attitude is beginning to change. We see what the people have done and are doing in South Africa and the Philippines. The Hormel workers are not giving up, and there are many, many strikes in small shops across the nation that we do not even hear about.

Any worker who walks a picket line grows in consciousness, so I know that workers everywhere are doing some rethinking about where can we go from here.

The rulers and bureaucrats of this world make headlines because they have the power to exploit us. They want us to believe that all power and all thinking comes from them, but that is not so. Working people everywhere are seeing that we need to do our own thinking for ourselves, to develop ourselves as total human beings and work out ways to create a very different way of living and working in this world.

**U.S. Auto harassment**

*Detroit, Mich.*—It's been terrible at U.S. Auto Radiator since the strike is over. It's been two months and still everyone has not been called back. Some that have been called back were laid-off again after a few days because the company is not calling back by seniority. They do it purposely just to mess up people's unemployment, which it took a month to get in the first place. And with all the lay-offs, they still had overtime on Saturday and the union never said anything.

The company's found a new way to harass those who are back on the job. You can't go to the bathroom without the foreman's permission and then you're timed until you come back.

Workers can be disciplined if the company says they stayed in the bathroom too long. The first time it's a written warning; the second time three days off; the third time five days off; the fourth time they can fire you. It's just another chance for the company to put out people they don't want—people who speak out and don't obey them.

—U.S. Auto Radiator workers

**Mass. GE workers wildcat for stewards**

by John Marcotte

On Friday, Feb. 21, 3,700 aircraft engine workers in Lynn, Mass., walked out over one of their union stewards getting suspended—supposedly for cursing out a foreman, but it was the steward who was cursed by the foreman for presenting workers' grievances. Then on Monday, workers from the Everett and Medford, Mass. plants joined the wildcat.

On Wednesday, the turbine division workers in Lynn walked out too, and at that point Local 201 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) held a vote to support the wildcat, which passed overwhelmingly. The union says there are 300 outstanding grievances and that several stewards have been suspended for trying to do their job. They say the foremen have a lot of cursing out the stewards.

**BIRTH RISKING JOBS**

I would like to be up in Massachusetts to speak to some of these workers to find out all that is involved in what the press calls "relations between stewards and foremen". In this age of concessions and plant closings, 7,500 workers to feel they have to take matters into their own hands and wildcat, you know there has to be something very oppressive about the relations between the company and the workers.

It was Marx who kept coming back to the fact that capitalism, just like slavery and other forms of society, is defined by human relations at the point of production. Specifically, it is the relation of the capitalist class and its representatives like the foreman, to the workers, through the instrumentality of the machine. In other words, that relation is certainly what is being rejected in this wildcat.

It doesn't mean to imply that the growing anti-concessions struggle and strikes don't raise all of these questions too, as I tried to point out about Hormel last

**Hormel rally in Detroit**

*Detroit, Mich.*—Over 400 workers from all around Detroit filled the UAW Local 600 union hall on March 1 for a rally to support the Hormel strikers. There were black and white, men and women of all ages as well as workers from Austin, Minn., and Ottumwa, Iowa.

Oscar Bunch, president of UAW Local 14, came from Toledo to express the support of the AP Parts workers. He thanked all those who had helped them in their strike in 1984 and described his participation in the march of Hormel workers and supporters in Austin.

Maria Rosaria Marino came from California bringing support from the Watsonville, Calif., cannery workers. Speaking Spanish, she told how those most-Latina women workers are fighting the company demands for a one-third wage cut. The crowd roared when she called this area of California "Reagan country" and the court-ordered limitation pickets to four, "martial law."

Marsha Mickens, the Black woman president of the Key Workers local from the Detroit Wonder Bread plant which was closed last year, co-chaired the rally. While she talked about a "national network of union leaders" as a "natural outgrowth of the struggle against concessions," what people responded to was her work with the National Rank-and-File Against Concessions Conference.

Jim Guyette, president of UFCW Local P-9, said the concessions were not the whole issue. "They've spent more money than that on barbed wire already," he said. Hormel is the most profitable company in the industry.

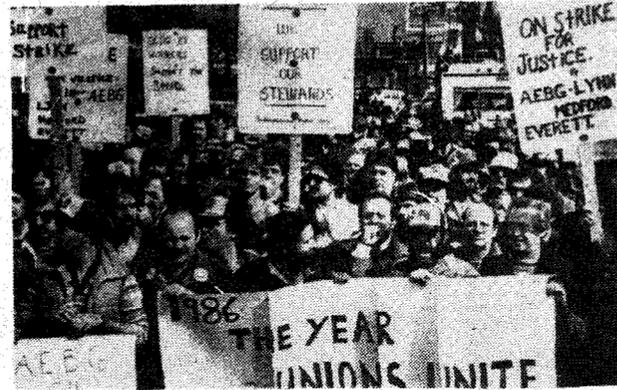
He told how in Ottumwa, Ia., in addition to the solidarity shown by the Hormel workers, store owners had removed Hormel products from the shelves and brought them to the union hall for workers to eat; and how hog farmers were not selling hogs to Hormel. When he said that Hormel had two new plants in South Africa, the crowd shouted "Amandla" and "Free Nelson Mandela."

—Steve Fletcher

month. Ever since the coal miners raised the question of "what kind of labor should human beings do?" in their 1949-50 strike against Automation, labor struggles in our post-World War II age have raised all kinds of questions. Right now, the TWA flight attendants' strike has openly raised the question of sexism, and that is why they are the ones who struck and not the TWA pilots or mechanics.

**A BATTLE FOR REPRESENTATION**

I have seen in my shop the despotic character of so-called American democracy through the relationship between management and one steward who is supported



Wildcatting GE workers in Lynn, Massachusetts.

by the rank-and-file. This steward kept bringing up the workers' grievances, so the boss started harassing and cursing him out every time he had to come up to the office. One day the steward got mad and answered the boss back using exactly the same language the boss used. He was fired and escorted out by five police cars.

The workers went down and protested to the union and forced the union to take the case to arbitration. After the arbitrator heard three witnesses state the boss abused the steward first, and after hearing the whole history of provocation leading up to the incident, his decision supported the company.

He wrote: "Under no circumstances is an employee justified in using such language, in the presence of other employees, against the President of the Company." (His capital letters.) In other words, it's OK if the master curses, but the slave may not talk back—especially in front of other slaves!

His second point was that, since the steward "admitted" having conflicts with top management, to return him to work would be to resume those conflicts, therefore he should remain fired! So a steward is not supposed to "have conflicts" with management, and it's his fault, not the company's abuses against the workers! Well, like I said, I would love to hear from those GE workers all that's involved in their wildcat.

**Ohio farmworker victory**

*Detroit, Mich.*—The boycott of Campbell's Soup Co. is over. The seven-year-long strike and boycott by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) against Campbell's and farms under contract to it ended with the announcement Feb. 21 that a unique three-way labor agreement has been signed by Campbell's, FLOC and tomato and cucumber growers.

Now farmworkers who come to work this spring in the tomato fields of northwest Ohio and the pickle cucumber fields of eastern Michigan will receive a decent wage, medical insurance and a process for redress of grievances. The Dunlop Commission, set-up by the signers last year to resolve strike issues, will investigate pesticide protection and other matters to be covered in the contract. Campbell's assumes the financial burden of the agreement.

The boycott was called by FLOC in 1978. "Sharecropping" laws passed during the strike in Michigan and Ohio effectively released farms under contract to Campbell's from responsibility for housing, child labor regulations, workman's compensation and safety in the field.

Growers ushered in profound changes in the tomato canning industry in an effort to choke the strike, saving migrant employment in northwest Ohio for good. In 1979, Campbell's stipulated in its agreement with farmers from whom it purchased tomato crops that they must utilize mechanical harvesters, though many farmers still depended on farmworkers. In 1980 Campbell's dropped the stipulation after FLOC exposed it. Probably 6,000 jobs, out of 9,000 to 12,000, have been lost in the industry since 1978.

Farmworkers will take the organizing campaign to a four-state area that includes Illinois, where five major canneries are located. Possibly 5,000 more migrant workers could organize in the union in that region.

FLOC must be vigilant in getting renewal of the new Campbell's agreement in two years. By getting the word out to other farmworkers about the victory, an agreement with the H.J. Heinz Co. may be possible without a strike and boycott. FLOC asks supporters to write Heinz to cooperate with FLOC. Letters can be sent to Anthony J.F. O'Reilly, President, H.J. Heinz Co., 600 Grant, 60th Floor, Pittsburgh, PA 15219.

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## ESSAY ARTICLE

by Peter Wermuth

ALL OF LATIN AMERICA is experiencing new freedom struggles, from Chile to Argentina, from Mexico to Nicaragua. It is this which prompts Reagan to engage in such a vicious war to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution. To fully oppose Reagan, we must connect our solidarity struggles to the second America here at home, by projecting the highpoints of mass creativity and social revolution in Latin America. There is no better place to begin than by digging into the dialectics of revolution in Bolivia, for nowhere have those freedom struggles been as intense.

In the past six months massive worker and peasant strikes have unfolded in response to the austerity program of the government of Victor Paz Estenssoro—the very same Victor Paz who led the Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario (MNR) to power in the 1952 Bolivian Revolution. To grasp the full significance of today's revolts, as well as to probe the challenge they pose to the thinking of the Left everywhere, we need to see what was born in that 1952 Revolution that was new and which continues to have ramifications today.

### MINER AND PEASANT

The central force in the April 1952 Revolution were the tin miners, who seized the mines, set up armed militias and forced the new government led by the MNR to recognize many of their demands. While their role is legion, it is often overlooked that, because miners and peasants are not two distinct groups in Bolivia, but people with a shared cultural and social identity, the miners' militancy soon spilled over into rural areas.

Thus, soon after the April 1952 insurrection, miners went to the rural areas to help peasants form their own rural unions, the *sindicatos*. Within six months over 1,200 formed, with 200,000 members. This emergence of peasant activism soon developed into major land seizures in the Cochabamba Valley, as peasants chose not to wait until the MNR fulfilled its vague promises of agrarian reform. The new that was born in the Bolivian Revolution was the birth of an interrelated worker-peasant movement on a scale unknown in the history of prior Latin American revolutions.

AS THE PARTY REPRESENTING the interests of the Bolivian bourgeoisie, the MNR tried to contain these revolts by projecting an ideology of popular frontism, rooted in its argument that it was necessary to have a prolonged stage of capitalism in Bolivia before the masses would "be ready" for socialism. It thus opposed demands for nationalization of the mines without compensation and agreed to "worker control" of the mines after they were nationalized by watering it down to mean individual representation of union leaders in the new mining corporation, as against direct control of production by the rank and file. As for the peasantry, the MNR lacked a program for land reform upon coming to power, and didn't enact one until August 1953—15 months after the revolution! When it was enacted, the agrarian reform was used to sever the worker-peasant links, as the MNR gained control over the peasant unions and restricted their concerns to local issues, in time transforming them into agencies of the state.

What enabled the MNR to dismantle the worker-peasant alliance was not force of arms as much as the power of its popular frontist ideology. For in arguing for an "alliance of all classes" under its bourgeois control it found ready adherents in the Stalinists, who followed the MNR uncritically, given their adherence to the Communist dogma that an extended period of capitalism is needed before an "underdeveloped" nation can attain socialism.

### THE ROLE OF TROTSKYISM

What was a far stronger force was the Trotskyist Partido Obrero Revolucionario (POR), which advocated "revolution in permanence" to push the national revolution to full social revolution and called for a worker-peasant alliance in its 1946 Pulacayo Thesis, but all of this was just rhetoric, never spelled out concretely. Despite its base of support in the mining communities and in some of the rural *sindicatos*, the POR failed to critique the MNR's effort to unravel the worker-peasant alliance in 1952-53. In typical reformist non-revolutionary action the POR called for a "radicalization of the proposed reforms" through 1953. It broke openly with the MNR only in 1954, long after the MNR had established itself in power and after the peak of mass revolt was passed.

The leader of the POR, Guillermo Lora, later explained the POR's failure to break with the MNR in the critical years 1952-53 as "due to its organizational weakness." Far from such a quantitative explanation being the truth, the real reason for the POR's actions was its adherence to Trotsky's view that "agrarian backwardness always goes hand in hand with the absence of national consciousness." Caught in such old categories as considering workers capable of attaining only trade union consciousness through their own initiative and peasants forever being incapable of reaching national consciousness, the POR failed to see the revolutionary force and reason of the worker-peasant relation, not to mention that it greatly underestimated the threat of the MNR to the whole revolutionary process.

What does not seem to have concerned Lora is that

## 1952 and today

# Bolivia's persistent revolution



Mass demonstration by peasant union in Bolivia in late 1970s

the Bolivian Revolution created a compulsion for new categories, new ways of thinking, to catch such new realities as integrated, spontaneous worker-peasant struggles. Such a compulsion was in fact created by all the post-World War II era freedom struggles; the 1953 East German revolt and 1956 Hungarian Revolution (with its slogan "Bread and Freedom"), as well as the miners' general strike of 1949-50 in the U.S., created such a hunger for new ideas as to pry from the archives such heretofore ignored writings as Marx's *Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844*.

That this hunger for new ideas was heard within Latin America was shown in the work of the Argentinian Marxist Silvio Frondizi, who in 1952—the very year of the Bolivian Revolution—began translating and commenting upon Marx's *Humanist Essays*, which he saw as inseparable from the later works such as *Capital*.<sup>\*</sup> One thing that attracted Frondizi to the humanist dimension of Marx's Marxism was Marx's insistence that the bourgeois-national revolution had to be pushed to full social revolution through a worker-peasant alliance. As Marx put it in a famous letter to Engels, "the whole matter in Germany will depend upon a sort of second edition of the peasant wars. Then the thing will be excellent."

Though in the abstract the principle of worker-peasant unity was not new to the Left, the publication of Marx's *Humanist Essays*, as well as the *Grundrisse*, revealed a dimension that all too many had ignored. For Marx argued that an underdeveloped nation could reach socialism provided there was both revolutionary action and revolutionary thought, thought reaching the level of a philosophy of revolution that captures and develops what is new in the spontaneous movement. As he wrote in 1843 concerning Germany (then considered a backward country), "In Germany no kind of bondage can be broken without breaking with every kind of bondage...The head of this emancipation is philosophy, its heart is the proletariat. Philosophy cannot be made a reality without the abolition of the proletariat, the proletariat cannot be abolished without philosophy being made a reality."

IN THE BOLIVIA OF 1952, the need for a worker-peasant alliance to drive the revolution on to full social revolution was no longer theory—it was fact. But neither the POR nor any other tendency forged the new theoretical concepts that could develop that reality of a worker-peasant alliance as a new pathway to revolution. The task of re-creating Marx's Humanism for the new reality, whether on worker-peasant or theory-practice, was not achieved, preventing the development of a viable Left that could challenge the MNR's destruction of the revolution.

The new that was born with the 1952 revolution, however, was not something that either the "populism" of the MNR or the repression of the succeeding military dictatorships could crush. The worker-peasant inter-relationship continues to be re-born within Bolivia, from the 1970s to today.

### BOLIVIA IN THE 1970s

1971 was marked by the entrance of the Victor Paz wing of the MNR into the government of dictator Hugo Banzer, which showed that the Bolivian bourgeoisie had lost the ability to cover over its real class allegiance with the popular frontism that fooled the Left in 1952. The period was also marked by intense freedom ferment

by students, women, workers, peasants. One of the most exciting developments was the rise of the Katarista movement, for this Indian consciousness movement created the link of rural and urban struggle that first emerged in the 1950s.

The Katarista movement was formed by Aymara speaking residents of La Paz who emigrated to the capital from the countryside following the 1952 revolution. By 1971, cultural centers and political organizations based on Indian consciousness emerged in the major cities, and then spread to rural areas. In such writings as the *Tiawanaku Manifesto*, the movement declared its need for peasants to keep their organizations totally independent of the state and for them to "take an overall view of the country as a whole."

By 1974 the rural-urban links opened up by the Kataristas manifested themselves in mobilizations against the Banzer dictatorship. They reached a peak in December 1977, when a group of miners' wives went on hunger strike in a protest demanding freedom for political prisoners. Within weeks, over 2,000 around the country joined in supporting hunger strikes, and the peasants took action to support them in the countryside.

AS IN THE 1952 revolution, workers and mine traveled to rural areas to help peasants form *sindicatos* and seize land. These contacts produced an explosive revolt, which climaxed during the November 1979 Natusch Busch coup. At this point, however, the leadership of the Confederation of Bolivian Workers held back its support from the peasants, arguing that "time was not ripe" for anti-government agitation. A crucial opportunity for worker-peasant struggles to shift the balance of the forces in the country in favor of social revolution was thus lost.

The new which has again and again emerged in Bolivia—new worker-peasant relations—showed that the 1970s, like the 1950s, continued to test all tendencies to whether they could match in thought what the masses had achieved in practice.

### THE TEST FOR TODAY

One writer who has taken this challenge seriously is June Nash, who argues in *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines* that the Bolivian masses have so shaped their new class, national and social consciousness at each stage of their struggle as to demand we dispense with the dogma that workers can attain only trade union consciousness through their own initiative. She says "We must replace tired dualities and stereotyped categories with an analysis which views history as a process of unfolding potential."

But Nash limits the impact of her own observation when she says this mass consciousness is born from conditions of dependency and cultural factors unique to Bolivia. By not seeing the new unleashed in the Bolivian Revolution as one manifestation of how total has been the passion for freedom of post-World War II freedom struggles, she feels under no compulsion to develop new theoretical categories beyond those of post-Marxism. Despite her appreciation for spontaneity, she does not offer to spontaneity a theory that can enable the newness of our age's unfinished revolutions to be captured and developed.

As against this failure to break from the confines of post-Marxism\*\*, Raya Dunayevskaya in her new book *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* situates women's liberation in the nature of our era, showing how the new

(continued on page 5)

<sup>\*</sup>For more on Frondizi, see the exchange of letters between him and Raya Dunayevskaya in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, pp. 163-171, which illuminates the whole problematic of concretizing Marx's Humanism for Latin America.

<sup>\*\*</sup>For more on the category of post-Marxism as pejorative, see Dunayevskaya, Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*.

# El Salvador labor unions fight repression

*Editor's note: We have received these first-hand reports of union struggles in El Salvador. For reasons of space, we could only print excerpts below. The full reports are available from Charles Kernaghan, 521 East 6th St. #3, New York NY 10009.*

On November 8, 1985, several heavily armed men in civilian clothing burst into the home of Humberto Centeno, assaulting and kidnapping him and his two sons Jose and Jaime. With their thumbs tied together behind their backs and with bags placed over their heads, they were thrown into the back of a pickup, covered with blankets, and taken to an interrogation center.

Mr. Centeno is the Secretary for National and International Affairs of the Salvadoran Telecommunication Workers Union (ASTTEL). That same day, as news of the arrest spread, the entire union went out on strike. The work stoppage action would be kept up for the next 19 days. This was the first public strike in El Salvador over human rights abuses.

The ASTTEL union has concluded that the arrests and the continued imprisonment of the sons are an effort to blackmail ASTTEL. On Nov. 29, the union members returned to work. Colonel Vides Casanova, director of ANTEL, the telecommunications monopoly, and brother of the Minister of Defense, promised there would be no reprisals. Despite this, three activists from the International Section were arrested, held for 48 hours, tortured and forced to sign confessions in which they state their support for the strike and their supposed link to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Then on Jan. 10, 1986, ANTEL fired Rafael Sanchez, ASTTEL's general secretary, for being absent from work Jan. 8 and 9, when he actually had written permission from his supervisor to attend the March for Dialog and Peace, of which he was one of the organizers. FMLN literature was delivered to his home, which the union suspects as an attempt to "plant" incriminating evidence for later on. Management put up his picture at work and denounced him as a guerrilla. The situation for Sanchez was becoming dangerous, and the pathetic plot was all too familiar. First there was the week-long propaganda, then a union member gets fired, and the next step was usually an arrest by the security forces or the person disappeared at the hands of the death squads.

But now the union fought back. In the newspapers it addressed and refuted all of the charges put forth by the ANTEL management. Company security forces

have now occupied the union's offices, confiscated its records, torn down any literature posted at work and barred the union from holding any meetings. They are transferring union activists to other areas.

ASTTEL is now going to the courts to initiate the legal procedures leading up to a strike. This could take a year or two. It is noteworthy that there have only been four legal strikes in the history of El Salvador, suggesting that the legal path is not an avenue of great promise. More probably the union will be forced to dissolve and again go underground.

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Early on the morning of Jan. 6, 1986, we met with the Executive Board members of SITAS, an agricultural workers union of 3,000 members. If it is dangerous to organize in the cities, it is even more so for the campesinos in the countryside.

The camp people, as they are generally referred to and who include migratory as well as sedentary workers, earn 5.20 colonas a day (less than \$1) and have not received a single wage increase in the last 11 years.

SITAS was formed on Nov. 29, 1984. It was the loosening of restrictions growing out of Duarte's election campaign that allowed SITAS and other unions to emerge. And Duarte promised much. Part of his campaign included a social pact with labor, an acknowledgement of labor's support. But once the image was created, several of the labor people who signed this social pact have been thrown into prison.

SITAS has been waiting 14 months to be officially recognized. In effect the government has said NO! to the first campesino union in the history of El Salvador. Hence the government is not even honoring its own 1983 constitution, and instead continues to ap-

## N. Ireland rightist terror

Northern Ireland's ultra right-wing "loyalists" staged their idea of a "general strike" March 3, demanding that British Prime Minister Thatcher renounce the Anglo-Irish Accord signed last November, which supposedly gives the Irish government a "consultative" voice in the affairs of Ulster. (See N&L, Jan-Feb. 1986.) The Belfast "strike" turned out to be a series of pogrom-type assaults on Catholics, including the burning of a factory where 200 Catholic women were working, and the maiming of two teen-age youths. Throughout the day, the police (R.U.C.) stood by while right-wing mobs attacked those who refused to repeat "loyalist" slogans. The R.U.C. remains a nearly all-Protestant sectarian army. Only two weeks earlier, in cooperation with undercover British occupation troops, they murdered an unarmed 20-year-old liberation activist.

The events of the past month in Northern Ireland underline the fact that 70 years after the historic Irish Easter Week rising against British imperial rule, both the revolutionary vision of that daring struggle and the consequences of the counter-revolutionary British partition of Ireland live on.

Revolutionary resistance to neo-fascism in Ulster, and to the British rule which nurtured it, is rooted in the spirit of those who, in the midst of World War I, launched a struggle for Irish national liberation. As Peter Mallory put it in N&L on the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Easter Rising: "James Connolly, a man of socialist convictions, led the Irish Citizen Army in a life and death struggle to free Ireland from the hands of British imperialism...While he did not live to see it, the struggle that he initiated finally led to the independence of the southern part of Ireland, and the Irish have never ceased to struggle against the partition of their country into two parts."

Today the social conditions in both parts of that partitioned island are so explosive that Ronald Reagan rushed to announce \$250 million in U.S. economic aid to be shared between the Republic and Northern Ireland as soon as the Anglo-Irish Accord was signed. Britain's Thatcher, Ireland's Fitzgerald and Reagan all hear the voices of Connolly's descendants demanding full liberation. At the same time, this trio is re-defining its relationship—especially Thatcher's—to Ulster's neo-fascists. Seventy years after the Easter Rising, there is ferment throughout Ireland, North and South, but Ireland's liberation remains to be realized. —Michael Connolly

ply an invalid 1962 draconian labor code that forbids camp unions.

The government has attacked SITAS as "Communist inspired" and implies that it originated in Managua and Havana. In November 1985 four camp organizers were murdered. In December another union farmworker was killed.

It was stirring—even with all the death threats raining down on their own lives—when this SITAS leadership would not so much as bend to this new wave of repression. Everywhere they could they applied pressure to defend the livelihood and the very lives of their workers. It had brought them to the legislature, the courts and the ministries. It had aligned them with other more powerful union federations (the First of May Committee). It had brought them into contact with the students, with the Mothers of the Disappeared, with the Christian base communities, with refugees, and with the ever-growing number of slum dwellers.

## EDITORIAL

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and by Reagan himself against all opponents have had their desired effect, turning the focus of Congressional debate into marginal arguments over the aid's timing and conditions. So emboldened has Reagan become that he now admits plans to formally send U.S. "military advisers" to the contras.

What has helped make him so brazen is the "bi-partisan applause" for his handling of upheavals in the Philippines and in Haiti. The hope that his sudden, timely support for the removal of Marcos and Duvalier—right-wing dictators who had long served as loyal mouthpieces for U.S. imperial interests, but who were on the verge of ouster by their own masses—may have staved off full social revolution has been made into a political category by the Reagan administration. In seeking to control "what happens after" the overthrow of the old, even before the overthrow is completed, Reagan's new "democratic revolution" is revealed to be the other side of the coin of "contra aid." His chief of staff, Donald Regan, admitted as much when he characterized it as "part of our overall strategy for resisting destabilizing forces on a regional basis."

In Latin America today, as in the Philippines, the "destabilizing forces" do not emanate from the global interests of that other nuclear superpower, Russia, but from the deep economic crisis in the Third World and from the profound desire of the masses for a new society. Whether one looks at Bolivia or El Salvador, Peru or Mexico, ongoing freedom struggles give both U.S. imperialism and native capitalist rulers cause for worry.

### THE LATIN AMERICAN MASSES

The "destabilizing forces" in 1986 are objective as well as subjective, and begin with the crushing foreign debt burden borne by the Latin American masses—and its ramifications within the borders of the U.S. Between 1975 and 1982 the debt jumped from \$75 billion to \$315 billion; in Mexico alone today it is approaching \$100 billion. Virtually no Latin American economy has been able to grow in the last decade under those conditions. In Peru and in Mexico—to name two lands in crisis—real wages have fallen below the levels of 1957, and unemployment has soared.

Thus, across the borders of Texas and California over one million refugees will enter this year, seeking jobs. At the same time, thousands from El Salvador and Guatemala will seek sanctuary from U.S.-supported terror in churches and with solidarity organizations. The Latino dimension is growing within the U.S.

In this way, economic questions are revealed to be human questions, continuing dialogues between Latin Americans who have experienced first-hand both vicious exploitation and Third World revolutions, and North Americans from the "other America" at home—of Black ghettos and concessions contracts, of youth protests and women's liberation demonstrations. It is this human dialogue that the Reagan administration is seeking to destroy with its "contra aid" and with its prosecution of sanctuary activists. And it is this human dialogue that we are seeking to deepen, to not only assure that Reagan's fake "democratic revolution" doesn't get substituted for a full social transformation, but to so reorganize our thinking throughout the hemisphere that "what happens after" the overthrow of the old will be a new beginning in ideas and in life.

The latest events in Libya make all Latin America wonder whether Nicaragua is next on Reagan's hit list. Our first task in deepening our dialogue with the Latin American masses begins with staying Reagan's hand before an attack begins. —March 25, 1986

## ESSAY ARTICLE

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Questions of this force of revolution compelled a return to and re-creation of Marx's Humanism for this historic period in the development of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. Dunayevskaya's work, which singles out the view of women's liberation by emphasizing the historic responsibility of theoreticians to achieve continuity with Marx's Humanism on the level of the new realities of our era, is a context for grappling not just with women's liberation, but with all forces of revolution, in whatever and they happen to emerge. For only through such a new unity of theory and practice, as a new beginning, is it possible to concretize the Reason of the masses as the path to social revolution.

In the 1980s the urgency for returning to Marx's Humanism on the ground of the unique contributions of Marxist-Humanism has become most concrete for the ongoing revolts within Bolivia. For in August of 1985, Victor Paz—the same man who led the MNR to power in the 1952 revolution—returned to power, whereupon he forged an alliance with Banzer (now out of power, at least temporarily) to impose an anti-worker, anti-peasant austerity plan.

No sooner did he do so, than he was met with a month-long general strike by the miners, which was in turn joined by peasants blocking roads, seizing land and attacking the government. The persistence of some of the most militant mass struggles in this hemisphere, and the creative ways in which the worker-peasant relation is constantly reborn, are once again testing the Left.

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660 S. Bonnie Brae
- NEW YORK: Mondays, 7:00 P.M.  
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## SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY VS. HUMAN NEEDS

As a graduate student in philosophy, I found Eugene Walker's March article on technology and human needs excellent and deeply thought-out. Technology, like science, is basically non-political, non-moral. It is a "tool." It is up to us what we do with it, whether we use it morally, progressively, or whether we use it for commercial greed and for destruction. What should be stressed, insofar as the shuttle, Bhopal and Dalkan tragedies go, is that they were examples of the worst kind of capitalism, commercialism — and inhumanity.

Graduate student  
Yardley, Penna.

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Angela Terrano's "Space shuttle is still capital vs. labor" (N&L, March 1986) is a forceful statement of the truth. I work in a plant that produces sterile medical packaging materials, where quality control (QC) should be paramount. High tech has been put at the service of QC, but to what end? The QC reports now are computerized with daily print-outs, "objective" as our foreman told us, so that he can use them as a basis to discipline machine operators. Technology in a class society certainly is not neutral!

Paperworker  
Philadelphia

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Today I have read in the newspapers that they are bringing wounded soldiers from Iran for medical treatment. Wounded means that they have been affected by chemical weapons. This is the world we are living in; we sell arms and afterwards we heal those they have wounded!

Correspondent  
Spain

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I've not seen the work on Marx's Math Mss., but I've read the letters in N&L. To be Russell-like for a moment: there is a finite set of meta-languages and math is only one of them. If we have a language of the mathematical syllogism, could there not be a language of the other categories? Hegel is rather vague on that syllogism. I think he calls it qualitative, then he calls it quantitative... Have you noticed how simplistic "marxist" formulations always have that arithmetical form about them? As in "Soviets plus electrification="? Language, like our concept of time, is historical.

Bob T.  
Newcastle, England

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I'm glad to see discussion finally opening up on the question of science and capitalism, but felt that Walker's article missed the whole point on high tech. What Walker has done is reduce the opposition to science to an opposition to "scientism." This is like making a distinction between "good" capitalists and "bad" capitalists, making the question an enclave within the movement for total freedom. Yes I am opposed to science "per se" "as such." The very attitude of empiricism is alienated and necessarily leads to the extreme of "scientism." It is not just that science and technology have become "fetishized."

Marxist-Humanist  
U.C. Berkeley

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There is no such thing as "science...per se," least of all the science which Walker wrote "helped to give birth to the modern world" before it got "reduced to scientism." Its role from the beginning in what Marx called the "process of separation" of knowledge from labor was a consequence of the scientific method itself. Science is not only a recognition of nature speaking for itself but is first and foremost a human activity. It is from that absolute beginning of mental and manual human activity that there comes an intermerging of humanity with nature. Isn't that what Marx meant when he criticized other materialists like Feuerbach for failing to "conceive of human activity itself as objective activity"?

Though the writer quoted Marx's statement that "to have one basis for science and another for life is apriori a lie," he set up a duality between changing science and changing class relations. This lets scientists off the hook because social responsibility no longer has to flow concretely out of the method that informs their activity. Marx's criticism of science from his beginnings in 1844 through his Mathematical Manuscripts does not separate the need to transform science from labor's revolutionary dimension.

Ron Brokmeyer  
California

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Eugene Walker replies: Ron Brokmeyer and Marxist-Humanist, Berkeley attribute to me a separation of science from class society that is the very opposite of the views expressed in the lead article last issue. Neither science nor technology have any powers outside of class society. Rather, the heart of the question is the complex interaction of science with/within a class-dominated society wherein the class aims of the ruling powers determine the thrust of science, and science, transformed into scientism, becomes in turn a power to dominate and degrade men and women, opening the door to the possibility of the destruction of all of humanity.

I reject the notion that "science per se" is empiricism, that there is a "scientific method itself" which has its own role. Such statements truly give science a power it does not have outside of class society, and reinforce the very barrier between science and freely associated human labor that both writers want to destroy. Marx's statement on "one basis for life and another for science" is the truth of today's world. But the task remains to elucidate the specificity of these worlds and the process whereby we breakdown this division.



FRANTZ FANON,  
SOWETO, &  
AMERICAN  
BLACK THOUGHT

The appendix by Ngugi wa Thiong'o on the question of language in the new edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought is very cogent. Take the recent conference on French language, where one speaker is reported to have said that French can only be preserved by becoming the language of technology. The very next speaker, from the French Pacific, complained (and not in French) that French technology—i.e. atom bomb testing—is exactly what is destroying them!

Black writer  
Bay Area

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The 1978 edition caught the highpoints both in Biko and Soweto, but didn't stop there. The 1986 edition relates these highpoints to Marx and his sensitivity to language, and lets us see a new illumination of Marxist-Humanism's relation with the Black dimension all the way back to the 1920s. The new between 1978 and 1986 is not only what has happened in the objective events but what Marxist-Humanism has developed.

Revolutionary journalist  
Los Angeles

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The view of Steve Biko seen in Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought is truly unique. I believe only Marxist-Humanism has taken seriously what he had to say. The new edition is new not only because we are in a new situation in the eight years since the first edition, but because we are more conscious since Grenada of the mortal danger in the narrow anti-imperialism that does not sense the enemy inside the revolution itself. The

## Readers' Views

pamphlet now becomes urgent to discuss with Haitian revolutionaries.

Revolutionary  
from London

## LABOR—MAKING A STAND

Many comparisons have been made to the situation of the Polish workers and the P-9 strikers — who are, I think now translating "Solidarnosc" into American terms. As rank and file workers, it is the job of all P-9 supporters to give more than money and food and to do more than support the boycott. We have to build the communications network needed to get to Austin in the numbers our embattled sisters and brothers are hoping for. It's time to make a stand even if it will embarrass a few hallowed union executives.

P-9 supporter  
Minnesota

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During the Detroit labor rally for workers on strike against Hormel, I met one of the strikers who had traveled from Austin, Minn. When he told me about the "Adopt a P-9 Family Fund" I showed him a copy of A 1980s View: The Coal Miners General Strike of 1949-50 and The Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. and told him the story of the direct autoworkers-to-coal miners relief caravan and of how letters asking for correspondence back from the strikers were sent along with the food and clothing to West Virginia. He said, "I'm going to take it back with me. We'll read it for ideas about what we can do!" and pulled \$2 from his wallet over my objections that I'd be glad to make it our gift.

Labor activist  
Detroit

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It hurts me as a worker to see what is happening with the TWA strike. The flight attendants are starting by agreeing to 15% givebacks — but even that is not enough for management! It reminds me of what Marx said, that even if the workers lived on air and were paid nothing, that would not satisfy the capitalists.

Felix Martin  
Los Angeles

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There is something new happening in 1986, with workers on strike all over even if there are no great victories. And it is really something new to find out that Black 3M workers in South Africa just demonstrated in sympathy with 3M workers in Freehold, New Jersey who were being threatened with having their plant shut down and their work sent out of the country. I think the South African workers were telling the rulers: "You're not going to use us for slaves." That must be what Raya Dunayevskaya meant when she said in her book *Philosophy and Revolution* "the dialectics of liberation is not pragmatic or only Black much less narrowly nationalist. It is global as well as revolutionary."

US Auto Radiator worker  
Detroit

## CANADIAN INDIAN STRUGGLE

Here's a further note on Shainape Shcapwe's article about the human blockade the Canadian Indian Haida people carried out in their fight for a land claim settlement here and the arrests of a number of elders that followed. The British Columbia government has now chosen to upgrade the charges against some of the younger members of the Haida Band, thereby increasing pressure while avoiding the criticism that would have followed if the tribal elders had been further persecuted. The upgrading will, of course, permit the imposition of more severe penalties. That struggle continues.

Lefty  
Vancouver, B.C.

## YOUTH—MAKING THEMSELVES HEARD

I was one of several thousand who gathered here on March 1 to send off 1,200 marchers on the intended nine-month Pro-Peace March to Washington, D.C. — which has now been stopped for lack of money for food for the marchers. It is clear that the marchers themselves had little to do with any decision-making about the march, or with the lavish send-off, complete with a full array of stars and local politicians.

Regardless of what happens to the march now, what was impressive was the number of youth for whom this was their first protest. One youth from Georgia had been building homes for the poor and realized the toll militarism is taking on the American people. A Black youth from the Midwest had been involved in drug rehabilitation and now wanted to stop the arms race. You could hear these youth talking about everything from the farm crisis, to the civil rights movement, to previous peace movements, to the plight of the homeless. I'm confident they will find another way to make themselves heard.

Cyrus Noveen  
Los Angeles

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At a meeting of students for divestment of the University of Utah's holdings with companies that do business with apartheid South Africa, the main speaker emphasized that divestment could put pressure on the government in South Africa and help avoid a bloodbath. One angry young Black woman challenged him, saying divestment wasn't enough because a bloodbath was already going on, and more would be needed to overcome apartheid which wasn't about peacefully surrender. Her anger was intensified because she herself is fighting an anti-discrimination suit against the racism here.

Correspondent  
Utah

## A MEMORIAL FUND FOR PEACE

Because of a father's love for his daughter, a lifelong socialist and peace activist, who died last summer, and because of their mutual desire for peace, a fund in her memory has been created for use by The Peace Center. Contributions are tax deductible and may be sent to June Gilhart Memorial Fund, Mt. Diablo Unitarian Church Peace Center, 65 Eckley Lane, Walnut Creek, California, 94596. Please let your readers know.

Walter Paine  
Berkeley

## RETROSPECTIVE/PERSPECTIVE

I have read several of Dunayevskaya's works, including *Dialectics of Liberation*, which I found somewhere in a shop in Amsterdam... When I was preparing a Lenin study I met a few eyewitnesses of the Russian revolution in Paris, people who knew Lenin and Trotsky. Dunayevskaya has really gone beyond looking back, connecting a penetrating analysis of Marx and Lenin with a revolutionary perspective for our time.

Correspondent  
Holland

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The three parts of the "Thirty Years of News & Letters: a Retrospective/Perspective" each seemed to have an important but different kind of "focus"; and what becomes clear from the whole is what Marxist-Humanism means — as philosophy and as Perspective. That was the ground that gave birth to News & Letters and has continued as the ground ever since. It was good to see the announcement that the full text will be available soon in pamphlet form.

Secretary  
Chicago

REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION: THE PHILIPPINES, HAITI

Thank you for your publications. It is a timely endeavor since we are still in the process of establishing our own theoretical development as we go on to struggle for our freedom.

Student The Philippines

Soweto and American Black Thought. Both the appendix on Negritude by Depestre and the appendix on the counter-revolution in Grenada by Dunayevskaya take up the relation of organization to the masses.

N&L Committee-member Bay Area

Editor's Note: The video-tape of Raya Dunayevskaya's Workshop/Class on "Current World Events and the Dialectic Method" is available for rent or purchase from N&L. Write for information.



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Please help us get the word around that our Directory of Women's Media is available at cost (\$12 a copy), since we volunteer all of our time at no salary as our contribution to the key role that women's media play for the women's movement.

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THE HEAD-FIXERS

I have to let off some steam over the MOVE situation in Philadelphia, and how the so-called "liberal" media types (thought police) are attempting to direct the views of the area into a pro-Goode mood over the May 13, 1985 events, blaming the victims for that act of genocide.

totally pro-Goode. Only columnist Chuck Setone has been unbiased and concerned about justice. The whole thing, otherwise, reminds me of the PR job done for J.P. Rockefeller following the Ludlow massacre.

New correspondent Pennsylvania

I recently read an article (in a special, memorial "Sit-Down Edition" of the UAW Local 659 Searchlight) by Genora Johnson, the leader of the Women's Emergency Brigade of 1937. It was about "the Head Fixing industry" (first called that by John Keracher)—which the article called "the most important industry in the U.S....composed of major newspapers, radio, television, magazines, and buttressed by key personalities in academia, politics and labor."

Observer Chicago



REVOLUTIONARY JOURNALISM

The in-person reports that come directly from South Africa, from the Philippines, from the picket lines here—directly from everywhere—demonstrate that N&L, far from being a sterile look at the theories of freedom, is about people—people speaking for themselves.

Health care worker Salt Lake City

ble reading N&L that I don't honestly think workers read anything more than the specific short workplace articles you write for their benefit.

Reader Oak Park, Illinois

N&L is one of the few labor-oriented newspapers that addresses pertinent issues in such a way that the average worker can comprehend them. Most left-wing periodicals are either written for some mythical American radical group or are so unsophisticated that racism, sexism, and anti-gay problems are discussed in an idealistic fashion.

Student Oregon

I'm giving \$20 on the Appeal to expand News & Letters to a biweekly. Part of it is for a copy of Indignant Heart: A Black Workers Journal because I believe the working class can't do a damn thing without the inspiration of Black workers in this country!

Old socialist Pontiac, Michigan

HAVE YOU SENT IN YOUR CONTRIBUTION?

The urgency of the fight against Reaganism demands that N&L become a bi-weekly! Can you help us raise the funds we need to expand our work? We need your help!

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Marx's "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies
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# Lesotho coup, Savimbi and Reagan

Ronald Reagan's rolling out the red carpet for Jonas Savimbi, that Angolan mercenary leader supported by South Africa, may appear to have no connection with the coup in tiny, faraway Lesotho. The truth, however, is that what characterizes apartheid South Africa—the visage of Hitler—pervades all capitalist regimes in the post-World War II world, and is inseparable from the five years of rule by Ronald Reagan. The history of the Reagan administration proves an unbroken continuity of Ronald Reagan's retrogressionism motivated by his vision of the "final" war for which he keeps the U.S. nuclearly armed and reaching for the skies. This threat to humanity's very survival does not stop Reagan.

## "CONSTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT"

Here is the record of Reagan's relationship with apartheid South Africa: He no sooner got into the White House (1981), than he quietly invited the chief of staff for intelligence of the South African Defense Forces to visit the United States. Two months later this was followed by an open official visit by South Africa's Foreign Minister. No more than three months were needed to reveal what strategic "philosophy" Reagan devised as he pontificated on what he called "constructive engagement." The following year the Administration worked mightily to get the IMF (International Monetary Fund) to approve a loan of \$1.1 billion to prop up South Africa's apartheid economy.

Reagan's "constructive engagement" these years led him to send a high official to Austria to meet Botha's Foreign Minister and announce its "success" by prematurely "predicting" that everyone will soon witness Botha's "reformism" in the address he was

soon to deliver. Instead, that address further expanded Botha's "apartheid" with a State of Emergency martial law, as he took time out to slap Reagan's face by wondering at the gall of the U.S. for "interfering" in South Africa's "internal affairs."

Nothing, however, neither the slap in the face, nor the undeclared civil war of that savage, armed regime against the unarmed Black majority, would turn Reagan away from his so-called "constructive engagement."

On the contrary. No sooner had apartheid South Africa engineered the coup in Lesotho, and lifted its embargo just as soon as the new Lesotho puppet head of state put all African National Congress refugees on a plane out of Lesotho, than the red carpet was rolled out for Jonas Savimbi who has been South Africa's stalking horse in the whole of southern Africa.

## REAGAN'S ANTI-COMMUNISM, BOTHA'S STALKING HORSE

While no one doubts either who Savimbi is or that South Africa engineered the coup in Lesotho, few in the United States see the connection of the two with the Reagan Administration, which is preparing to aid that mercenary, unacceptable creature. With Savimbi's invitation to the White House and his speech to the Heritage Foundation, the lobbying for that aid has already begun.

Instead of being under the illusion that Congress will not vote for military support to the likes of Savimbi and renaming that mercenary "a freedom fighter," just remember Congress' repeal of the Clark Amendment forbidding military aid without consent of Congress. This was soon followed by renaming

military aid "humanitarian aid" in the case of Nicaragua. All a mercenary army has to do to get aid from the Reagan Administration, be it in Latin America or Southern Africa, in the Middle East or Asia, is to say they are "anti-Communist."

In a word, Reagan's close relationship to apartheid South Africa has priority over all else. Be it Savimbi who is trying to overthrow the Angolan government, or the other mercenaries who are aiming at the same barbaric overthrow of the legitimate, revolutionary government of Mozambique, or the Lesotho coup, Reagan is ready with his "anti-Communist" rhetoric. And who pray, were the "Communists" in Lesotho?

—Raya Dunayevskaya

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

*For if the word has the potency to revive and make us free, it has also the power to blind, imprison and destroy.*

—Ralph Ellison

What is the role of language in this age of high technology? In America, in Africa, in the Caribbean, the language that Black people speak and write illuminates relations with white society, is a measure of domination and of revolt.

Teachers in the Black community of East Oakland, California, have responded to this question of hi-tech by inventing a motivational gimmick called "cash English." The jamming together of the words cash and English was thought to be the proverbial carrot that would lead Black ghetto students to become proficient in speaking and writing standard English, thus opening the door to jobs in hi-tech industries.

### REASON IN DUNBAR'S BLACK ENGLISH

The first assignment given to these students was the "translating" of one of Paul Laurence Dunbar's Black dialect poems into standard English. Now it is not a difficult task to "translate" Dunbar's poem into "standard cash English." But the "translation" is more than substitution of one syntax and grammar for another. It is also the act of destroying Dunbar's reason for writing his poems in the Black English idiom of his time and, as well, hides a good deal of American Black history.

Dunbar's original contribution to American Black literature was his poetic genius in catching, in the ordinary speech of a dispossessed generation of Blacks, the richness of their humanity, their intelligence, their passion. He did this at a time when the Black English idiom had been appropriated by a host of white racist ideologues and writers of "coon songs" for blackface minstrels for the purpose of literally building a national culture around the concept of Black inferiority.

What Dunbar did was to rescue the Black English idiom from the hands of its dehumanizers by revealing, in his poetry, that it was a beautiful expression of Black subjectivity in the post-Reconstruction era of American history.

Now it's apparent that standard English is going through its own process of dehumanization as it becomes interchangeable with "cash," that supreme commodity of capitalism. Here, standard English is fetishized, that is, its fundamental essence as an expression of human consciousness and human social relationships in a society is hidden.

I am not saying here that Black students should reject, in toto, standard English, but recognize that every language is imbued with the dominant thoughts and ideas of its culture.

### NEGRITUDE AND ITS CRITIQUE

Thus, the radical negritude poet Leon Damas began a revolt in the French language by fracturing its syntax and grammar so that the pigment of Black could show through. It was in the realm of language that negritude poets began their revolt against French colonialism.

Frantz Fanon, though unlike the negritude poets who often confined their revolt solely to the question of language, did write in his *Black Skin, White Masks* in France's colonies; how it separated the Black colonial intellectuals from the Black masses by provid-

## Language of bondage & revolt

ing the "cultural gauge" by which these intellectuals could measure their superiority vis-a-vis the masses. Fanon wrote that to "speak" a language "meant above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization..."

Today in neo-colonial Africa language remains a concrete political issue. The choice of language designates one's class, one's political philosophy as well as the line of demarcation that separates revolution from counter-revolution. Because of the political potency of language, we have included in the new expanded edition of *Frantz Fanon, Soweto & American Black Thought* an appendix on "The Politics of Language in African Literature" by the Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o.

Ngugi writes that the battle between the opposing forces in Africa, imperialism and its neo-colonial allies on one hand and, on the other hand, the masses of peasants and workers, makes "the choice of language and the use to which language is put...central to a people's definition of itself in relation to its natural and social environment...Hence, language has always been at the heart of the two contending social forces in the Africa of the twentieth century."

## "This is not South Africa"

*Los Angeles, Calif.*—"This is not South Africa," Los Angeles Trade Tech student Ron Webster said, just before four campus security officers grabbed him, pinned him to the ground, and started to beat on him, and Capt. Richard Devlin applied the choke-hold restraint.

Webster, President of the Black Student Union at Trade Tech and known for his outspoken views, was one of a group of 300 community college students who had come out to the March 5 Board of Trustees meeting to protest proposed budget policies that include the layoff of 143 tenured faculty and cutbacks in courses, programs and services.

Webster was yelling for help. An instructor from Los Angeles City College (L.A.C.C.), Henry Ealy, rushed over. "If a faculty member had not been present," Ealy later said, "there's the distinct possibility Webster would have been killed. The chokehold constitutes use of deadly force. I was near enough to smell the vomit out of Ron Webster's mouth. I saw Devlin's neck quivering and his eyes shining; I haven't seen that type of racist rage since I left Louisiana 25 years ago."

The Los Angeles Police Dept. arrived with their paddy wagon. Ron Webster was taken to jail, booked on charges of "challenging to fight at school," and held without bail.

At a protest demonstration the next week at L.A.C.C., students linked the issues of faculty and program cutbacks, and campus security buildup. "They are trying to control our minds, experiment with our minds," one student said. The cutbacks are due to affect the instructors who brought Black Studies to L.A.C.C. over ten years ago, while the use of deadly force by security officers stands as a threat and intimidation to those who choose to speak out.

But the students are not intimidated, and are planning more actions.

—Michelle Landau

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by Lou Turner and John Alan

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by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner, and John Alan

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Dedicated to the Memory of Steve Biko and Charles Denby, Black worker-editor of News & Letters (1955-1983).



"The struggle for freedom does not give back to the national culture its former value and shapes... This new humanism cannot do otherwise than define a new humanism both for itself and for others."

—Frantz Fanon

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## Jobs! not handouts

*Los Angeles, Calif.*—"We don't want no G.R. (General Relief) but a J.O.B. (Job)": that was the message from 500 people, mostly homeless Black and Latinos, who came out on Feb. 25 to protest the L.A. County Board of Supervisors' G.R. policies which include a 60-day denial of benefits to those who fail to comply exactly with a long set of bureaucratic rules, and a monthly G.R. allotment set at \$228.

These policies result in an average of 4,000 homeless people every night in Los Angeles. The \$228 a month is not enough to pay for an average Skid Row hotel of \$240 a month, much less to be able to afford food or clothing.

At the Feb. 25 meeting, not only did the Supervisors table the discussion (and they later voted to retain their policies), but the organizers of the protest, the Homeless Organizing Team, showed that they were part of the problem as well. They controlled and herded the people around like sheep, and allowed no creative expression by the homeless themselves and their supporters. We were all told to keep quiet, and at the end of the meeting we were all forced to go out one main door, as if the organizers were doing the job of the police by securing the building.

Homelessness is the future of all working people under capitalism, which Marx foresaw as an inhuman existence. He saw the revolt against that existence, saying that the "permanent army of the unemployed" will be the "gravediggers" of capitalist society.

Today even the capitalist statistics show a future of permanent unemployment and homelessness. The Reagan administration claims seven million jobs were created in the past five years, but these are all low-wage, non-union, dead-end service positions.

What future does that give American workers? I work six and seven days a week, eight or more hours a day. While some of us are overworked, others are unemployed. It has been 100 years since we began the struggle for the eight-hour day. We need a new movement for a three- or four-hour day against capitalist overproduction. We need a new human society which can provide for us as human beings.

—Eugene Ford

# THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U. S.

THE MARCH 21, 1985 lecture, "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts," that the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs sponsored, was the occasion at which I handed in new material for the years 1981-85, and promised to bring the Collection up through the end of 1985. In the process of my working on Marxist-Humanist Perspectives for 1985-86, the Marxist-Humanist archivist, Michael Connolly, informed me of newly discovered materials dating back to the mid-1920s. When I looked at the U.S. Congressional "Red Files" on the founding convention of the American Negro Labor Congress, the vivid memory of my arrival in the U.S. during the Palmer Raids against "Reds" and Negroes in the post-World War I period came back to me. That was not because my memory instantly recalled what happened over a half century ago.

No, the spur to the remembrance of things past was the present, Reagan's ongoing retrogressionism and his super-patriotic fanaticism of calling each revolutionary national independence movement "Communist," as he does all dissidents at home. Counter-revolutions have a way of repeating themselves during world crises, whether in the Palmer Raids in the 1920s, or in the rise of McCarthyism in the post-World War II period following the 1949 revolution in China and the creation of apartheid South Africa. The struggle now makes it imperative to trace the absolute opposite of the counter-revolution—the revolutions in thought as well as in fact. Our epoch is crucial, not alone because that challenge is the task of this generation, but because in those three decades of the post-World War II world there arose a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory.

That movement challenged the theoreticians to work out so new a relationship of practice to theory as to have that unity achieve a totally new stage. To get a feeling for the revolutionary opposition in the 1920s, see Section I, Part A, especially the documents on the Negro Champion, the organ of the American Negro Labor Congress, on which I worked. Thus, America's Black Dimension, far from being broken by the post-World War I riots against them, gave rise, at one and the same time, to both the largest mass movement of Blacks ever in the U.S., Garveyism, and to the American Negro Labor Congress, which expressed the Russian Revolution in its internationalism.

"Black/Red" was also pivotal in the labor struggles of the 1930s, which transformed the industrial face of the nation with the creation of the CIO. Before the CIO, however, the labor struggles reached their highest point in the San Francisco general strike of 1934. While San Francisco had always been a union town, the strike posed not just a union question or a strike in a single industry—the longshoremen—but a political, revolutionary, general strike in which I was very active. I was then the organizer of the Spartacus Youth Club in Los Angeles. In order to show that these types of revolutionary strikes, far from being "foreign," as the Hearst papers were screaming, were very American, I wrote an article for the Young Spartacus (June, 1934) which went back to the railroad strikes of the 1870s, concentrating on the very first general strike in St. Louis—1877—when "the strikers took possession of the city and ruled for an entire week."

The Depression certainly shook up America, and the strike struggles of the 1930s created both industrial unionism and introduced new paths in cognition itself. Far from pragmatism and American thought being one and the same, Marxian dialectics was very much on the American scene and was reflected in the multifaceted discussions engaged in by workers as well as intellectuals. I experienced this when I was conducting classes in Los Angeles on Marxism for youth. I then returned to the Midwest, East and finally to Washington, D.C. (Hitchhiking was the main mode of transportation in those years).

BY 1936, WHEN I was living in Washington, D.C., I became active in support of sharecroppers' struggles in the South. Interracial relationships became a key question during the Depression. In Washington, D.C., for example, which was still a "Jim Crow" town except for streetcars, Ralph Bunche—then chairman of the Division of Social Sciences at Howard University—was instrumental in establishing, with the Communists, a new National Negro Congress, and helped the socialists, who had organized the Southern Tenant Farmers Union, to establish the Washington Committee to Aid Agricultural Workers as a support group for the 1936 Arkansas sharecroppers' strike. (See my "Two forgotten pages of Ralph Bunche's life story," *News & Letters*, March, 1972.) I was a member of this committee, which included Carter G. Woodson, founder of the *Journal of Negro History*, and Prof. Dorsey, a political economist at Howard, who was to become the Washington chairman of the International Defense Committee for Leon Trotsky in 1937. The Black Dimension here opened the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa for me, especially since Nnamdi Azikwe was then in the U.S. writing his *Renascent Africa*.

## Introduction/Overview to Volume XII of The Marxist-Humanist Archives

# Retrospective and Perspective—The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, 1924-1986

Along with these new findings from the 1920s and 1930s first being introduced into the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, I want to add also to the section on my work as Russian secretary to Leon Trotsky in 1937-38. The three pieces I translated on the Spanish Revolution, and Leon Trotsky's letter of Jan. 5, 1938, to Shachtman, which informed Shachtman that I was translating part of Trotsky's work, *How the Revolution Armed Itself*, were all part of making the 1917 Russian Revolution so relevant to the 1937 Spanish Revolution that Trotskyists should become both active participants and theoreticians. In a word, what the Trotsky letter doesn't say is that it was done for the Spanish revolutionaries so that they could have the 1917 ground for the 1937 Revolution.

The same type of ground for current (1937) activity in South Africa was attempted by Trotsky in his introduction to the South African publication of Marx's *Communist Manifesto* on the 90th anniversary of its writing.

was, however, not the Trotskyists but the meeting with a Camerounian who told me of the revolution they had when the Germans left and the "Free French" were going to return. (See my 1947 letters, # 661.)

When I completed the translation of Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's "Science of Logic"* in 1949, I looked for a publisher for it, knocking on many doors and meeting with the Columbia University Russian Department, but publication had to wait until 1957 with my *Marxism and Freedom*. The many letters in this period disclose the relationship of philosophy and economics—specifically of Hegel's *Science of Logic* to Marx's *Capital*—and connect those studies to the letters I wrote to miners on the general strike in 1950. These reveal that I was changing the form of my work on state-capitalism and Marxism to what became *Marxism and Freedom*. (See Section III for the letters of this period.)

It all resulted in the break-up of the state-capitalist tendency known as "Johnson-Forest," and the critique of all post-Marx Marxists. I called for a re-organization of Marxist groupings, and the theoretical work that resulted in 1957-58, *Marxism and Freedom*, spelled its aim out as re-establishing Marxism in its original form, which Marx called a "thorough-going Naturalism or Humanism." That period saw my first attempt to make an outline of what would become the Marxist-Humanist Archives. (See # 9357.)

The whole question of the relationship of any ongoing event with the past, with the very concept of Archives, depends on the two opposite words—continuity and discontinuity. Whereas only great divides in epochs, in cognition, in personality, are crucial, and may relate to turning points in history, no discontinuity can really achieve that type of new epochal "moment" unless it has established continuity with the historic course of human development.

Naturally, the significance of Archives for any Marxist-Humanist has, as ground, what we learned from Marx's Archives, especially from the writings in his last decade, and especially the *Ethnological Notebooks* which were first transcribed in 1972. That work cast a totally new illumination both on Marx's multi-linearism as it relates to his studies of pre-capitalism and indeed on the whole course of human development. These Notebooks so integrally related the "new moments" of Marx's last decade that it made it possible to grasp Marx's Marxism as a totality. In a word, the new moments of his last decade, and the very first writings of his break from capitalism and his founding of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution in 1843-44, were one continuous development of what Marx called a "New Humanism." This is the reason why we considered the 1880s a "trail to the 1980s." Put differently, neither the first nor the last of Marx's new moments were a question of something that happened in the 19th century, but became an imperative for our age.

TO RETURN TO 1958, that was the year DeGaulle came to power in France and I saw, at one and the same time, a new form of fascism and the imperative need for new international relations of those who opposed both poles of capitalism—U.S. and Russia—whether they held fully to the theory of state-capitalism or not. A correspondence developed with Battaglia Comunista in Italy (Onorato Damen); Munis, a Spanish exile; Chaulieu and Vega, as well as Jean Malaquais in France; and Harry McShane in Britain. An International Conference was held in Milan, Italy, in November 1959, and I made a trip to Europe to attend and hold other discussions. I had in my hand for the trip *Marxism and Freedom* as well as our new pamphlet, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, and I insisted that all those who attended had to focus on the new revolutions in the Third World. I asked that the African comrades be invited. (I continued corresponding with Africans until I went to Africa in 1962, and they helped map my trip to Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, and the Gambia.)

The European International Conference itself, while not grounded in philosophy, Marxist-Humanist or otherwise, and not agreeing with my analysis of the very new African Revolutions, did approve my motion to continue discussion on a regular basis in the Italian journal, *Prometeo*. Out of this trip, a Marxist-Humanist group was established in Britain, headed by Harry McShane.

The pivotal points of my address to the International Conference were further developed in the 1960 Thesis, "The World Crisis and the Theoretic Void," which was published in Italian and French in *Prometeo*, the publication of the International Center of Correspondence. (Onorato Damen had introduced me to the publisher La Nuova Italia, which published the Italian edition of *Marxism and Freedom*.) That special section of *Prometeo* continued to publish my articles, which included my critique of Luxemburg's *Accumulation of Capital*, as well as one on the Cuban Missile Crisis.

(continued next month)

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• The Guide to the Collection prepared by News & Letters is available for \$2. Please write to: News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL, 60605.

On the other hand, the shock of the Hitler-Stalin Pact in 1939, followed by the outbreak of World War II and Trotsky's call for the defense of Russia, signalled the beginning of the end of world Trotskyism. The many tendencies that sprang up within Trotskyism questioned the very nature of the Russian state and the Russian economy, rather than just the political bureaucratization that Stalin introduced and that Trotsky had fought.

I plunged into the study of all the Russian Five-Year Plans. (The most valuable research work was done in the Slavic Division of the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and Hoover Institute in California.) What the new additions to documents on the theory of state-capitalism reveal is that, at the same time I was engaged in research on the Russian economy of 1928-39, I was translating for myself philosophic works of Marx, those that were listed by Ryazanov as "Preparatory Works for The Holy Family" and which we now know as the famous *Humanist Essays*, as well as Lenin's *Abstract of Hegel's "Science of Logic"*. My translations have now been found in their very first form. (See #8845.) In a word, the relationship between philosophy and economics was intensified. Indeed, by the 1940s I saw philosophy as inherent in new revolutionary forces—labor, Black, women, youth.

Thus the studies in state-capitalism were integral to the intensified activities in the 1940s with, once again, the Black Dimension being pivotal. See especially the documents on my debate with Coolidge (Ernest Rice McKinney), # 9008. The Schomburg Collection was the place where I did much of my research on Black America, which was reflected in my 1948 article, "Maintain the Schomburg Collection!"

IN 1947 THE Fourth International allowed me to present the theory of state-capitalism at their world conference in France. I debated Ernest Mandel (German) there. What is most memorable from the trip

# Can Haiti's revolt deepen?

(continued from page 1)

the countryside in a national literacy campaign. They have been circulating a list of demands including reduction of taxes, political and trade union freedoms, and doubling of the minimum wage.

Workers are taking to the streets, demanding wages, but most importantly, "dechoukaj" (uprooting) of the Macoutes in management. In Port-au-Prince, strikes first hit the Haitian American Sugar Company (HASCO) mill until police intervened, and then spread to the customs bureau, bus drivers, and factories. About 250 U.S. firms, attracted by wages of \$2.50 per day, employ 60,000 workers, including virtually all production of Cabbage Patch dolls (Coleco) and baseballs used in the U.S.

The peasantry has been a fundamental force in the movement. In southwest Haiti, a key city in the overthrow was Jeremie, where the government was derisively called "the republic of Port-au-Prince." There, weeks before Feb. 7, the masses had neutralized the local Tontons Macoute, especially in the small villages: attacking them, burning their houses, causing many to flee the area. In northern Haiti as well, but also far from the capital, the movement had emerged from deep within the masses. One leader who has since come forward is 24-year-old Jean Tatoun, an illiterate man who led a guerrilla band of six people in the Gonaives region which helped drive out the Macoutes.

The truth is that, ever since the 1804 revolution, the peasantry has kept some of its own communal forms, its own language (Creole), and its own African-influenced culture, by no means limited only to "voodoo".

Under Francois Duvalier, beginning in 1957, that peasantry became the most oppressed in its history, as his 15,000 Tontons Macoute and 300,000 informers for the first time allowed the despotic central government to reach into every village, giving the lie to Duvalier's claim to be ruling on behalf of the Black masses. Papa Doc still could not stop peasants in the 1960s from burning HASCO cane fields, and attacking the houses of his Tontons Macoute. But none of the guerrilla invasions in the 1960s managed to sink roots, resulting in martyrdom of young revolutionaries.

Under Jean-Claude Duvalier ("Baby Doc"), yet another shock to the already starving peasantry came in 1983-84 when U.S. agricultural "advisers" slaughtered all of Haiti's 400,000 black pigs, while offering promises to replace them—by 1990! This was done with the regime's approval in order to protect U.S. agriculture from a remote swine fever threat. At one stroke peasants were deprived of their life savings, their health and old-age insurance, and a very important part of their indigenous religion. The black pig was all that to the peasant, who did not use banks. The species had survived 500 years. The "free" replacements and \$40 "compensation" the U.S. offered of course went not to the peasant, but to Jean-Claude Duvalier and his cronies. It was the end for him.

## OPERATION DECHOUKAJ (UPROOTING)

The revolutionary overthrow of Duvalier in 1986 was indigenous, was internal, was deeply rooted in the masses. It was outside the capital too. An exiled revolutionary told us:

"In some areas, such as Gonaives, student and intellectual circles have existed underground for some time. This is what the mass revolt revealed when the masses began to dechouke (uproot) the Macoutes. Because even suspicion of reading Marxist literature is grounds for imprisonment and even death under Haitian law—and that law has not been abolished by the new regime—students and intellectuals had to be so secretive that a dozen discussion circles existed without any knowledge of each other's existence. They only surfaced when the mass revolt struck.

"In one instance, a copy of Lenin's *State and Revolution* was passed around through so many hands for reading and studying that when it returned to its original owner the copy was completely unreadable due to all the markings and wear it had undergone."

Today residents of Gonaives, the center of revolt in both 1984 and 1986, proudly wear the T-shirt: "Gonaives, Pivot City of the Revolution—Operation Dechouke (Uproot) May 23, 1984-February 7, 1986."

As André Charlier wrote in an article on "Operation Dechoukaj in Gonaives," the distribution of leaflets by the thousands began in 1984 and continued into 1985: "People are stressing the surprising effectiveness of mass organizations without General Secretaries, without Central Committees...without hierarchy or visible structure: the political police finds no one to arrest, because they cannot arrest the whole population" (*Haiti-Observateur*, 3/7/86). Leaflets were being photocopied clandestinely in government offices by low-level employees, and being distributed

by people such as Charlier's niece and nephew, five and seven years old!

A split within the rulers also undermined the regime. Jean-Claude had allowed the Army and the old elite a greater share of power in recent years. Today Reagan is



Demonstrators in Gonaives

trying to install in power a refurbished version of the U.S.-trained Army and the old elite, to whom the U.S. turned over power after the 1915-34 American occupation. That tiny French-speaking elite had been unable to solve the problems of the 1950s. Today the crisis is much deeper.

## HAITIAN REVOLT INDIGENOUS

In response to all of this mass creativity, some on the Left also serve up the same old answers such as Communist Party leader Gérard Pierre-Charles, who claimed that the movement "lacks a fundamental element, a political-military vanguard that can take power." But he was in Nicaragua, not Haiti. At the same time, the CP's "minimum" program calls once again for tailending the bourgeois parties, as in the 1950s.

Other Left exiles recognized something totally new had occurred that was indigenous, and deeply rooted in the peasantry. They freely admitted that the Left had no roots there and that they too were surprised at how events had turned out, with new forms of organization unfamiliar to them. They pointed out that even before Duvalier, the Haitian Left had thought liberation would come from impulses from outside Haiti, such as Cuba or Europe.

Haiti's Black revolt in 1986 has had a profound effect on Black America, as seen in the participation of African-Americans at Haitian demonstrations in Miami and New York, deepening what began in 1980 with the solidarity of U.S. Blacks with the "boat people."

Because Reagan correctly sees Haiti as the Caribbean Black masses' answer to his Grenada invasion, he is sharpening his knives to make sure "dechoukaj" (uprooting) leaves the bourgeois neo-colonial system intact.

The period ahead will show whether Reagan will be able to choke off full revolution. To be sure, that is not fully in his hands. Much depends on the creativity of the Haitian masses, and on whether revolutionary elements of the Left can match that creativity by helping the Haitian masses to fully unfold a humanist banner which would transform Haitian society by a total, social dechoukaj.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

herent in the present.

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

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

## BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

At NYU the first response came in the form of a discussion of the Marxist-Humanist method of grasping a new stage of cognition when philosophy and revolution are not separated, and how the theoretical expression of that new stage of cognition keeps coming alive for each generation of revolutionaries to work out anew. What was concrete here was the Marxist-Humanist articulation of the affinity that Steve Biko in South Africa saw between his Black Consciousness movement, the thought of Frantz Fanon and American Black thought.

This was shown graphically in the "Fanon book" with our dual dedication of this new edition to the memory of Biko and Charles Denby, the Black worker-editor of *News & Letters*, who had ended his autobiography *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* with the relationship of Biko to Fanon and Black America. There continued the most critical tracing of that new stage of thought from the first 1978 edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought* through the 1980s. This too was graphically illustrated with a photograph of Black mass protests in Miami's Liberty City and the very latest developments in South Africa with the formation of COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) with a picture sent to us from South Africa of its inaugural congress.

At Columbia a very different response to the need for philosophy and the reorganization of Black thought emerged. It came in the form of a sharp battle of ideas. The attraction of cultural nationalism as the Black alternative to American white racism exerted its own pull on Black thought. In opposition to Euro-American values it presumably poses the moral superiority of an African cultural past. In place of the Great White Lie, as Fanon concluded, it substitutes the Great Black Myth. Expressed in its sharpest terms the question debated was whether in gaining a "mind of one's own" the task is to uproot the existing exploitative reality or co-exist with that racist reality in a Black cultural enclave.

## NEW OPENING IN HAITI

Just how limited that "alternative" is, became apparent in discussions with Haitian intellectuals and activists about the present situation in their native land. There, the cultural nationalism of Duvalierism was what the Haitian masses were revolting against. Indeed, so sharp is the dialectic of the struggle to oppose the truncated negritude of Duvalierism that they have given their own Creole expression to their revolutionary activity — dechouke (to uproot). Not only have they rediscovered the revolutionary dimension of their own history and culture and in the process created altogether new methods, but they have by their spontaneity and reason challenged all tendencies in the Haitian Left to eschew its truncated Marxism and work out a Marxism that is indigenous to Haiti.

As Haitian intellectuals I spoke with made clear, the view that the impetus for change in Haiti could only come from the outside has been swept away by the mass toppling of the Duvalier regime and by the determination to dechouke Duvalierism.

However, can this clearing the ground of Duvalierism also open a theoretical clearing, one which may provide Haiti the best opportunity to work out a philosophy of revolution? This is as much a task for Black thought in the U.S. as it is for the Caribbean and Africa. It is this which makes it imperative to continue the dialogue begun around the new expanded edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto & American Black Thought*.

Please send a contribution to help  
News & Letters become a bi-weekly.

**YOUTH**

**Freedom dialogue with Central American youth**

by Ida Fuller

Central America, not as geography but as revolution and counter-revolution, as freedom ideas and as jingoistic patriotism, has been a crucial dimension in the 1980s. For the youth of Central America it has been a question of life and death. For youth in the United States, living under the Reagan presidency, it has been the constant threat of "another Vietnam," of being sent to fight. Already thousands of U.S. youth take part in never-ending military "exercises" in Honduras. And Reagan is now talking about sending "advisers" to the counter-revolutionary contras attacking Nicaragua.

Isn't it time that we as U.S. youth learn about what is happening to the youth of Central America, what kind of a life they face, and see whether we can create a new relationship with them, rather than threatening to invade their lands? Recently I had a chance to talk with some Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees living in Chicago, protected by the sanctuary movement.

**CENTRAL AMERICAN REFUGEES SPEAK**

Emilio, a young Salvadoran peasant who had fled the country because "I did not want to serve in the military and murder my brothers and sisters," told me of the resistance of many Salvadoran youth to forced conscription and army raids of classrooms to take draftees.

Youth run away despite utter starvation and a law which rules that a 14-year-old refusing to serve can be considered a "deserter" and shot. "Many of these youth had fled to Nicaragua. When the revolution began, they not only fought for it, but began to say: 'We are Nicaraguans too.'"

Gladis, another Salvadoran youth, when asked what she thought of the slogan of South African students, "Freedom Now, Degrees Later," told us of her real education: At age 12 she had joined an organization of poor people in the shantytowns and travelled in a bus, giving speeches in the ghettos of San Salvador. At the same time, "I was forced to learn embalming because of the increasing number of people who were killed by the army every day." As a 16-year-old, and already a long-time participant in labor and student strikes, she was forced by army death threats to leave El Salvador. Both were "determined to return to El Salvador when the revolution begins."

Jose and Andrea, Guatemalans who had different experiences, revealed another dimension of the freedom movements in Central America. Jose, an activist who had been jailed for helping to form a peasant union spoke of the attempts to create organizations of Indian peasants and students. "Most university students in Guatemala today avidly read Marx for this reason." Andrea, who had fought a police kidnapping of her husband, expressed the thoughts of many "mothers of the disappeared" when she said, "This experience has made us even more determined to fight." They were all hungering for a Second America to solidarize with them.

**WAYS TO SOLIDARIZE**

The sanctuary movement has been the most concrete solidarity — providing shelter and support for refugees fleeing from threats, torture and death in El Salvador and Guatemala. And it is this movement that the Reagan administration has chosen to attack with a series of trials, accusing those who help the refugees of violating

**Protest surveillance**

*Ann Arbor, Mich.*—Hardhats, video equipment, cameras and radios have rapidly become part of standard operating procedure for Ann Arbor police working with the University of Michigan as they attempt to put a lid on political protest by students. The University called them in March to protect Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory weapons developers from the threat of public scrutiny.

A small group protesting campus recruitment by Livermore were kept under constant surveillance by video cameras and were denied entrance to the building in which recruitment was taking place. They were followed closely by police cars as they moved around campus, and one woman was even accompanied by police officers as she rode an elevator to visit friends afterwards.

Those of us who object to use of the U of M campus as a free forum for government figures and institutions were first filmed by police at an "Unwelcome Bush" demonstration when the Vice-President made an appearance in Ann Arbor last October.

The next appearance of the police in full force with riot gear and cameras was during demonstrations against the CIA recruitment on campus in November. The video-tapes were used as evidence in the trial of 26 persons arrested in this non-violent protest.

Though discussion of their freedom of speech was strictly prohibited from their defense, two juries found the protection of these freedoms more defensible than the University's right to squelch dissent at any cost. Among the three groups charged, two went to trial with one acquittal and one hung jury. The last group had charges against it dropped, as prospects for successful prosecution looked dim.

—U of M student

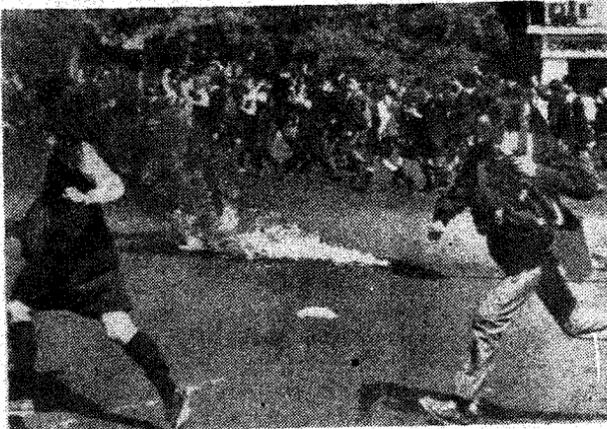
U.S. immigration laws.

The latest trial is that of 11 sanctuary activists now going on in Tucson. Three North American activists and a Salvadoran refugee have now refused to testify and have been put under house arrest until the end of the trial, by Judge Earl Carroll. And those refugees who have been forced with threats of deportation to appear in court, have made that threat public at the beginning of their testimony.

While the Reagan courts are now trying to call a retrial for another sanctuary activist, Stacey Merkt, an increasing number of churches and cities are offering sanctuary to Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees, everywhere from South Texas to Detroit, Phoenix to Seattle, Los Angeles to New York and Chicago.

We as U.S. youth need to find ways to solidarize with Central American youth. The sanctuary movement is one way, not only because the refugees need our support, but because we have much to learn from listening to their stories, their ideas for a very new and different Central America. It can be the beginning of a real freedom dialogue between youth in North America and youth in Central America.

**Youth in Revolt**



Students protest military dictatorship in Santiago, Chile, Mar. 13. At least 10 were arrested as police struck with water cannons.

Black students are protesting harassment of Blacks by campus police at the Univ. of Texas in Austin. Met with insensitivity from the administration, they broadened their critique to point out campus buildings named after KKK members and another named after "a former UT president who vowed never to admit a Black to this school," as well as a statue of Jefferson Davis.

In Atteridgeville, South Africa, 30,000 Black youths boycotted high schools Feb. 13 to commemorate the death there of 15-year-old Emma Satheke under the wheels of a police truck two years ago. That event had sparked the ongoing South African youth revolt.

In the first sizable anti-apartheid demonstration in Israel, several dozen students and teachers at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem shouted down the South African Ambassador when he tried to speak there in February. They called for an end to apartheid and for the release of Nelson Mandela.

In its latest effort to squelch dissent, the Israeli military administration of the occupied West Bank has sharply increased arrests of Palestinian students. At least 24, many of them elected student government officers, are being held indefinitely without charges.

Half of the students at Washington High in Long Beach, Calif., went on strike to protest the addition of a half hour to the school day. "All they're doing is keeping us in, not raising the quality of education," said one student. Further north at Burbank High, 1,000 students stayed out to honor a picket line of striking teachers.

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**Utah right wing attacks shanties, freedom ideas**

*Salt Lake City, Utah*—Here at the University of Utah, students have initiated efforts, modeled after those at Dartmouth College, to get the University to divest from its investment in apartheid South Africa. The violent right-wing attack on these efforts is also strikingly similar to the vigilantism at Dartmouth.

In the middle of the night, someone threw a Molotov cocktail at the shanties students had erected on campus. Luckily, they missed their mark and the students sleeping in the shanties were not harmed. But this was not the first attack. Shortly after the first shanty was erected, two Afrikaners kicked it down during the night.

Students, undaunted, quickly rebuilt the shanty and have gone on to set up a second one nearby. They plan to erect one more each week, in order to force the University to confront them and its own holdings in South Africa.

Three thousand students have signed a divestment petition. Student "leaders" have reacted to this issue with cynical realpolitik games. The outgoing student body president voted with the majority at a University meeting not to divest, against the overwhelming support for divestment at the prior student government meeting.

The incoming student body president and vice-president strongly supported divestment during their campaign and donated the wood from their campaign for shanty construction, but since their election they have backed down and said they need to "study" the divestment issue more. When I suggested we impeach them, a prominent leftist and anti-apartheid activist told me no, we could only try to elect a "progressive" next year. But two days later a group which included former supporters of the electees and students not active in the anti-apartheid struggle initiated recall procedures.

That the right-wing attack is directed against freedom ideas and not just shanties can be seen by the presence of "Accuracy in Academia" (AIA) here. Though their spy network operates under strict secrecy, a campus newspaper reporter has learned that their attack is focused against the economics department. And they have had some success, as the immediate response of leftist instructors was to "be careful" about what they say. But AIA aside, the truth is that the College of Business dictates what books can be used and what can be taught in economics classes in which "its" students are enrolled.

The question is, as Ida Fuller clearly put it in the March, 1986, N&L, "What are American youth going to do about these attacks?" The non-answers of students who talk about "being careful" and running a "progressive" for student government next year come from their elitist pessimism. Ida Fuller's question persists; it is our task to work out the answer together.

—Student activist

**Smith college: Divest now!**

*Northampton, Mass.*—The Smith College Senate Ethical Committee held a referendum calling for Smith to divest from companies doing business in South Africa within two years, and 73% of all students voted for the referendum. The Board of Trustees rejected that proposal outright. That is why we started the blockade which eventually turned into the occupation of College Hall.

About 250 women students held College Hall for five days, and went through a lot of different phases in trying to work out the best thing to do. We finally ended the occupation Sunday, March 2, when the Board of Trustees agreed to a dialogue with us. Then we held an all-day moratorium of classes on Thursday, March 6, and had speakers come to educate people about what is going on in South Africa.

We have gotten a lot of support from students at other campuses. We held three rallies for the five-college area of Smith, Mt. Holyoke, Amherst, Hampshire and the University of Massachusetts. We had statements sent to us from students at Brown, U.C. Berkeley, Boston University, Dartmouth and Brandeis, as well as from Harry Belafonte, Gloria Steinem and the Housekeepers Union at Smith. One Smith professor, Phil Green, said that in 20 years students have never made him feel this way about an issue.

The occupation was so well organized and that really made you feel glad you were part of it. The Senate Ethical Committee is now redesigning their proposal, and a dialogue is taking place between the committee and the Board of Trustees. Twenty people are on a fast. Although we're not blockading now, we're still sitting in at College Hall until they divest.

—Woman student

*Coming next month:  
In person report from Mexico*

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

**Manila, The Philippines**—The Feb. 23-26 political revolution was a historical event of paramount importance. For two decades the fascist dictatorship ruled over the entire country. It was finally broken down after years of continuous struggle and self-activity of progressive forces. With the establishment of the liberal democratic regime of Aquino the struggle for a truly democratic society is still on. It is still faced with the possibility of ruling class domination and consolidation of the political power of pro-imperialist and conservative forces.

The only political forces capable of ensuring the success of the February revolution and helping the Aquino government to truly liberalize and democratize its attitude are the cause-oriented groups. It is the task of the cause-oriented or progressive groups to consolidate their forces to outmaneuver the political arm of the pro-imperialist and conservative forces. Through channeling their efforts by organizing the spontaneous unorganized masses, the cause-oriented groups serve as the check and balance between Aquino and conservative forces.

The Aquino government is surrounded by different hegemonic blocs of the ruling class. These are four separate groups represented in the government and which helped Aquino to become president:

- Blocs headed by Cory Aquino and her church-based supporters, composing the presidential advisors of Cory.
- The United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO) led by Salvador Laurel, vice-president, prime minister and foreign affairs minister, is a former Marcos ally and traces its origin to a landowning oligarchy. UNIDO is prominent for vacillation in its political stance during the Marcos years.
- The new armed forces of the Philippines headed by Gen. Fidel Ramos and Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile.
- The PDP-Laban however maintains its openness to the progressive groups. These are relatively less conservative compared to that of the three factions within the ruling class.

The institutional church or the Catholic church

### S. Korea protest

Over 2,000 opponents of Chun Doo Hwan's military regime in South Korea took their campaign for direct elections to the streets of Seoul on March 11. They threatened to boycott indirect elections that Chun plans to use to handpick his successor in 1988. In February the government had put nearly 300 people under arrest, including 80 members of the National Assembly, and deployed thousands of police to prevent opposition party leaders from meeting to expand their petition drive for direct elections.

Despite university officials refusing students permission to participate in the drive, student support has been so widespread that riot police have been waiting with shields and armored trucks outside campuses throughout Seoul and storming student rallies, and have raided 14 bookstores near universities in mid-March, confiscating over 1,200 books. Defying the government's furious warnings and attacks, students, the liberal opposition, and a number of church leaders have joined to demand democratization.

### Russia's Congress

The meeting of the recently-concluded 27th Congress of the Russian Communist Party was anti-climactic. Everything approved there had been previously aired and solidified by Mikhail Gorbachev in various speeches, drafts and at assorted party meetings last fall.

The party Plan calls for a concentration of high-tech expenditures in production. Through increased automation, speed-up, Stakhanovism (and unemployment?), Russian workers are being told to march on, under labor "discipline," to fulfill the target of a fantastic 130-150% increase in labor "productivity" by the year 2000. Through this route, Gorbachev expects to squeeze and sweat the capital Russia needs to compete on the world market with no slack in militarization. The twin pole stars for the next Five-Year Plan are science and technology.

Russia is not exactly a technological "basket case." While the U.S. media-State Department outlets focused on the Congress as if it were a creaky

## In-person report: Philippines after Marcos

played a pivotal role in the February revolution as an ideological force. It has ensured its vested interests in the Aquino government. The Catholic church owns vast tracts of land and large financial assets. It also maintains its anti-Communist stance far from being influenced by theology of liberation which the "grass-roots" church (priests who are in contact with the masses) articulates.

Cory Aquino inherited the military coercive apparatus of Marcos, used to repress the masses. With a new image the military headed by Gen. Fidel Ramos, having close links with the Pentagon and Washington and a West Point graduate himself, announced in the early days of the Aquino government that the top priority of the new government is to fight "lawlessness" and contain or eradicate the insurgency movement staged by the NPA-CPP-NDF (New People's Army-Communist Party of the Philippines-National Democratic Front). Enrile, a former Marcos crony and a strategist of the martial law era, owns vast amounts of wealth accumulated during the Marcos years.

The first few days of Aquino's presidency were tested by the conservative stance of the military in the policy of releasing the political detainees. In line with Pres. Aquino's policy, more than 500 political

detainees were released including the alleged Chairman of the CPP, Jose Maria Sison, and other top leaders in the insurgency movement.

A ceasefire with the New People's Army had already been effected and the negotiations between the different factions with the Moro National Liberation Front and the Bangsa Moro Army had also been underway since last week.

The international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund-World Bank are preparing to play a role in the Philippine economy under the Aquino government. A \$30 billion debt has still to be negotiated by the Aquino government. The entry of foreign capital has been encouraged by the present administration in line with its economic policy of increasing the employment rate.

Meanwhile the present administration is reeling from the disastrous effects on the economy wrought by the massive spending of the Marcos government during the presidential elections and the wealth taken by Marcos and his cronies, estimated to be between \$5 billion to \$10 billion, more than enough to momentarily solve the budget deficit. Its impact however in the local economy is disastrous. More than 100,000 government workers are expected to be laid off.

A number of cause-oriented groups in Manila have now coalesced to form a single political group called LAKAS or Lakas ng Sambayanan (Power of the People) formerly Cory Aquino People's Power (CAPP). These groups supported Cory Aquino's bid for presidency. The new coalition took its first move against the new government by demanding the resignation of Jose Fernandez, re-appointed as governor of the Central Bank. It has also supported the call of Cory Aquino regarding the resignation of the 11 judges in the Supreme Court who were appointed by Marcos.

Bayan (Bagong Alyansa ng Bayan or New Alliance of the People), composed of above-ground Leftists who boycotted the election, was not a part of the coalition for the present. The political isolation of Bayan however did not deter its move in adopting a policy of critical support for the new government especially Cory Aquino and PDP-Laban. —Filipino activist



22,000 Filipino workers at Clark Air Force Base and Subic Naval Base are on strike over severance pay.

showcase for all the ills besetting a "centralized economy," shortly thereafter Russia allowed a world-televized broadcast of the launching of a mission in their own space war program, involving a crew of cosmonauts and an orbiting space station. Meanwhile, Russia's expenditures for housing, health, public transportation, education, nutrition and other human needs stand at the lowest point since the end of World War II.

Far from this 1986 Party Congress marking any fundamental shift in Russia's state-capitalist direction, it is a continuation of the Andropov ascendancy in 1982. The fact that the head of the KGB, the Russian secret police, became the head of Russia marked the final stage of state-capitalism's degeneracy. Gorbachev's rise to power came under Andropov.

The real significance of 1986 is that it marks the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. That is the true measure of liberation in Russia and East Europe.

### Unrest in Egypt

On Feb. 25, thousands of paramilitary police conscripts rioted near luxury hotels at the Giza pyramids, and in Heliopolis, Mubarak's wealthy home town, both of them just outside Cairo. In Heliopolis, Islamic fundamentalist and some slum youths joined the police conscripts. But industrial workers near Heliopolis did not come out, instead barricading themselves inside their factories for protection. In Tura, another Cairo suburb, rioters stormed a prison and freed prisoners, including some fundamentalists.

President Mubarak responded by using the army to arrest the police, and by replacing their top cop with an army man. At least 150 people were killed and 500 wounded in the biggest upheaval since the 1977 food riots. The police conscripts, drafted for three-year stints, live in miserable conditions and their work consists of repression of mass activity and guarding the powerful. The riots broke out when their terms were rumored to be extended for a year. These police, numbering over 300,000, were created by Sadat after 1977.

In mid-February, thousands of textile workers went on strike against govern-

ment-owned factories to demand implementation of promised paid holidays. Police attacked the strikers, arresting 111, and repressed the movement. The 111 face long prison terms for "having stopped production and excited public opinion."

Given the deep economic crisis and the recent setbacks to Mubarak—the Achille Lauro humiliation by Reagan and the suicide in jail of the mentally disturbed Suliman Khater (a border policeman who had killed seven Israeli tourists but who was made into a hero by the fundamentalists and the Left)—it was surprising to some that the February riots did not spread to the urban masses and workers. While deeply discontented, those masses evidently abstained from following the "leadership" of either the fundamentalists or the police, saving Mubarak's neck for the moment.

### French racism

The viciously racist vote in the French parliamentary elections not only gave the ultra-right National Front some 33 seats in the National Assembly, but demonstrated the full bankruptcy of the policies of the French "Socialist" Party. Abandoning almost any hint of socialism during its years in power, Francois Mitterrand's Socialists decided instead to see how well they could manage French capitalism "with a human face."

In deciding to compete with the French capitalists at their own game, the Socialists not only gave up on any pretense of socialism, but helped open the door for the emergence of the racist anti-immigration demagoguery of Jean-Marie Le Pen and his National Front. "Paris is a beautiful city, but there are too many blacks and Arabs now," mouthed one of his supporters. But the Socialists, though proclaiming their opposition to Le Pen's open racism, did not even dare to run one Arab candidate for the National Assembly in the south of France where the North African population is greatest and the racism the most intense. How far is this from the Jim Crow racism of the U.S. where, until the Black movement of the 1960s, no Blacks could run for office in the South?

Socialism as a genuine human alter-

native must begin by confronting the racism which is ever so pervasive in France today.

### Spain NATO vote

The vote in Spain in favor of remaining in NATO was certainly in part due to a promise that a yes vote would mean a reduction of the 12,500 U.S. troops in Spain and to a pledge of no nuclear weapons on Spanish soil. As well, it was tied to a wish not to defeat the Socialist Party (PSOE) of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez who had been voted into power in 1982 on a platform pledged to pulling Spain out of NATO, and has now reversed his position and supports a pro-NATO stance.

But all this cannot hide the defeat which this vote represented. It represents a set back for a movement which had called for Spain to be both anti-nuclear and independent of direct American military presence.

Spain is where the West European anti-nuclear movement has re-emerged. That is a central reason why West Germany's President Helmut Kohl put so much pressure on Spain to vote "yes" to NATO. The Spanish anti-nuclear war movement has a strong proletarian dimension which was expressed in many of the demonstrations the past few years against the government's shut-down of state-owned industries and the growing unemployment, now 22%.

Last year, when Reagan travelled to Spain after sanctifying the Nazi cemetery in Bitburg, he was confronted with the most massive and militant demonstrations of his European trip. We wrote in the June News & Letters: "Far from 'Spanish culture' being the reason for the massive anti-Reagan demonstration, not just on Bitburg, but on his support of counter-revolution in Nicaragua, it was a remembrance of what the Spanish Revolution represented that was the real reason for the massiveness of this outpouring." ("Political-Philosophic Notes on Reagan's Trip to Bitburg" by Raya Dunayevskaya.)

The massive protests the past months against NATO and against the U.S. military presence on Spanish soil—the largest demonstrations since Reagan's trip to Spain—did not translate into an electoral victory. But this hardly means the movement has ended.