

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 29 — No. 8

NOVEMBER, 1984

25c

## Labor's needed militancy



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Ford Motor Co. and the UAW top negotiators reached a tentative contract agreement on Oct. 14, the same day GM workers ratified their three-year contract by a slim majority. An article in the *Los Angeles Times* stated the auto contracts would give the nation's two leading auto makers three years of labor peace. But the Canadian GM workers already showed that everything is not "peaceful." Thirty-six thousand auto workers in nine Canadian plants went out on strike against the concessions contract, forcing GM back to the bargaining table.

Last month I discussed how the so-called job security program offers far less than it seems to promise (see "Worker control needed for real job security," in Oct. N&L). And not only does the 2¼% average raise not become part of the hourly wage level, so that medical benefits, workers compensation, and retirement remain unaffected, but it actually means 3½% for the skilled trades workers and only 1½% for production workers! The capitalists love to pit the higher-paid workers against the lower-paid.

### OPPOSITION WITHIN UAW

The fact that the contract was approved by such a slim majority shows that workers are thinking for themselves. The question now is, What is our ground when we oppose both the union bureaucrats and the company?

How could some workers who are against the union bureaucracy turn around and say that they are going to vote for that strike-breaker Ronald Reagan? I am thinking there are some white workers who think that way. After World War II, at GM South Gate, some of us were trying to force the company to hire Black workers — and some of our fellow white workers

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### Black World

## Black land crisis



by Lou Turner

Whether one takes the latest outcry over the shocking projection by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1982 study on "The Decline of Black Farming in America," that the number of Black-owned farms will, by the year 2000, be reduced to zero if the present decline continues, or takes the individual struggle of Tchula, Mississippi's Black mayor Eddie Carthan to hold on to his family farm against court foreclosure, the loss of Black-owned land today discloses the multiple crises besetting the Black South.

I was in Tchula, Mississippi on the invitation of Eddie Carthan the summer of 1982 and had a chance to talk with Black farmers in the area who had formed their own cooperative and had through it raised some \$230,000 in bail to gain the release of Eddie and his brother. Because Carthan was again under arrest at that time, his father showed me around their quite beautiful 500-acre farm.

Following the older Mr. Carthan's death last December, Eddie and his family now stand to lose the farm because they have been denied a loan by the Farmer's Home Administration (FHA) to pay off the debt in legal fees incurred during his lengthy trial. (For more information on the situation in Tchula and to contribute support write directly to Eddie Carthan, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, Miss. 39596)

### BLACK LAND, FROM LENIN TO TODAY

Because the new and specific stage of capitalist production in agriculture confronting Black farmers remains rooted in the economic survivals of the plantation system, we need to take a brief historical look at the de-

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## Philippine masses mount new protests against Marcos regime, U.S. bases



Manila ghetto dwellers march against Marcos

by Kevin A. Barry

On October 25, thousands of anti-Marcos demonstrators once again surged through the streets of Manila. The demonstration followed the release of reports by the five-member panel investigating the killing of the opposition leader, Benigno S. Aquino, on Aug. 23, 1983. One commission report directly implicated Marcos' dreaded supreme military and police commander, General Fabian Ver, in the plot to murder Aquino. Even this hand-picked commission of Marcos was forced to call the killing of Senator Aquino "the concretization of the horror that has been haunting this country for decades" which "confirmed our fears of what unchecked evil could be capable of doing." If ever there was an "evil empire," it was to be found in that hated dictator's nearly twenty-year reign over the 53 million Filipino people, backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism from Nixon to Ford to Carter, and especially by Ronald Reagan and Co.

The streets of Manila have been filled with hundreds of thousands since Aquino's murder. One million people attended his funeral in 1983 and marched right by the gates of the U.S. Embassy, which had closed for the day. A full year later the anniversary demonstration of Aug. 21, 1984 had some 500,000 marching, yet U.S. newspapers chose to bury the story on the back pages. The opposition to the Marcos regime has involved ever deeper layers of the Philippine population from youth and workers to women and to a growing guerrilla movement.

This Sept. 3,000 revolutionary youth and students tried to march right onto the Mendiola bridge next to Marcos' Presidential Palace, Malacanang. "We just want Mendiola, not Malacanang," quipped march leader Agapito "Butz" Aquino, brother of the martyred Senator, but police chief Narcisco Cabrero was not amused.

A stand-off lasted until dawn. Then Marcos' police moved in against the young people and a few opposition politicians armed only with lighted candles. The next week, at another demonstration eleven bodies of demonstrators were found scattered about Manila, all bearing stab wounds and marks of torture. Ninety-two youths were reported missing afterwards.

The Mendiola bridge has a long revolutionary history. In 1971 Left students fought pitched battles with Marcos' police before his 1972 martial law drove them deep underground. In Sept. 1983, students had also attempted to demonstrate on the bridge leading to the palace, resulting in deaths at the hands of police.

This past June some 30,000 Bataan workers, mainly women, paralyzed 90% of the firms in a solidarity strike in support of union leaders at Interasia Company who had been fired. The strikers set up barricades sealing off the whole "free enterprise" zone that Marcos had set up on Bataan in 1974. This "free enterprise" zone and supposedly "strike-free" zone is where U.S., Japanese and other foreign capital can reap obscene profits by paying women workers \$5 per day, yet forcing them to shape up (to report for possible work) six days a week. Sometimes they only get two days pay.

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# Women, not bishops, decide on abortion

By Terry Moon

Before the election the nation was subjected to the blather of Archbishop John J. O'Connor who, while helping that racist, sexist warmonger, Reagan, get re-elected by attacking Mondale/Ferraro on the question of abortion, at the same time could hypocritically claim to be anti-war, opposed to poverty, and against discrimination. Boston had to put up with the distortions of Archbishop Bernard F. Law who claimed that not raising the abortion question during the election would be the same as if the Abolitionists of the 1850s, "those great Protestant ministers who led the movement, had not been persistent in the face of great opposition."

Here in Chicago we have our own Joseph Cardinal Bernardin who tries to be "consistent" by linking opposition to abortion with opposition to nuclear arms and people living in poverty. Yet his own statements show that his "concern" is only because "credibility of our advocacy of every unborn child's right to life will be enhanced by a consistent concern for the plight of the homeless, the hungry and helpless in our nation, as well as the poor of the world." Of course it wasn't until recently that the Church even bothered about this kind of "credibility" and only because of the women's movement's critique of the anti-abortionists who care so passionately about life only while it is "unborn."

Archbishop Law says speaking out against abortion "is a risk one has to take." Just how much of a risk is it to throw a bomb into an abortion clinic in the middle of the night (19 clinics have been burned or bombed this year) or for some man to pontificate about what a woman should do with her body when he has the backing of the Catholic Church as well as the misogynist President of the United States?

What the issue of abortion is about is women's demand for control over our own bodies. This was made crystal clear by a very international conference held in Amsterdam, Holland, this past year called, "Population Control: No — Women Decide." There one could see concretely what the fight to control our bodies and minds means. A Portuguese woman spoke of the results of a restrictive abortion law passed by that so-called "socialist" government: about 2000 women die each year from illegal abortions. A Mexican woman explained that in some places 50% of the hospital beds are filled with women suffering the results of illegal abortions.

## MINORITY WOMEN'S STRUGGLE

The Conference was not limited to the question of abortion. A South African woman showed how abortion, racism and sterilization abuse are intertwined. Abortion is available to white women if they have slept with a Black. As for Black women—they fill 25% of the hospital beds due to illegal abortions. One in 200 dies, one in four is made sterile. A woman from Sri Lanka told of

how the minority Tamil women who work on the tea plantations are given 300 to 500 rupees to submit to sterilization. Women have many of the same problems in the U.S. as well.

Part of what I liked so much about the Conference was the second half of the title: "Women/Decide." That is what we have been saying for over 15 years. The desperation and determination women have to control our lives is revealed in those statistics of women who have undergone butcher abortions and ended up dead or mutilated in some hospital. It is revealed in that conference.

What all those anti-abortionists fear most is that the fight of women to control our bodies is a fight to be whole human beings. We are not bodies on the one hand that the church or state can control; and minds on the other—supposedly "free." We are whole persons and we will decide what we will do with our lives.

## Algeria — 1954, 1984



Nov. 1, 1984, marks the 30th anniversary of the opening of the Algerian national liberation struggle against French colonialism, in which women played a crucial role. Above, Algerian women participate in a general strike in October, 1961, in which 80 were killed.

In 1982, Algerian women again took to the streets in a successful battle against a "Family Code," which would have made it necessary for them to have male relatives act as their legal representatives in areas such as marriage, divorce and right to work. They have continued this struggle against second class citizenship, expressing feminist views and demanding basic human rights for women. Many, including a heroine of the struggle for national liberation, were recently arrested for fighting for their own liberation.

(Thanks to Women in Nigeria)

## Creativity of workers challenges academics

Detroit, Mich.—When the sixth annual North American Labor History Conference met in Detroit, Oct. 18-20, by far the most interesting session was the one at which three women labor historians spoke under the title, "Labor Faces Decline." While that was the official title for the session, one hardly came away with the gloomy picture much of the conference painted. As one speaker, Elaine Bernard from Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, put it, "Automation is part of the de-industrialization process and the greatest challenge the labor movement faces. Labor faces the challenge to transform itself, and I'm optimistic workers can do that."

The overall theme of the conference was "The Human Impact of De-Industrialization: History and Theory." The reason Elaine Bernard could project such a different view of the labor movement was based, she said, on what workers have been doing in British Columbia. She then went on to describe the five days of Feb. 1981, when telephone workers at B.C. Telephone occupied and ran most of the telephone exchanges in the province, during what she felt was one of the most creative strikes ever.

Bernard first traced the decade leading up to the strike, a decade which hailed the computer age for the telephone workers. At the cutting edge of the new technology, automation for them signalled increased de-skilling, loss of control over their work, massive layoffs, more supervisors, and a weakened union. "This," she said, "was in the minds of the workers when they went on strike."

She described the beginnings of the 536-day strike, when selective sit-ins led to selective lay-offs, and flying pickets led to court injunctions, up to the day when 26 maintenance workers threatened with suspension walked into a building and took over. The occupation immediately spread. Supervisors were told, "There is no work for you, you must go."

Workers raised signs saying, "Under new and better management" and "Now 100% Canadian-owned." At ongoing government hearings about rate hikes, workers won support from the public by showing that they were the experts, the ones that cared about the quality of telecommunica-

tions, and that automation had nothing to do with quality. A one-day general strike preceded their eventual victory.

What Elaine Bernard focused on was the creativity of the workers once they were in motion: "What was so tremendous is that in a long-term sense it poses a very different kind of labor action and a worker consciousness that demands a whole re-evaluation of labor/management relations. While telephone workers are at the leading edge of new technology, there is much that is present in other industry."

This session really came alive, as opposed to the defeatist attitudes in so much of the rest of the conference, because here we got a glimpse of how rank-and-file women workers, in fighting to win a measure of control over jobs threatened by automation, could alter the whole ground of discussions on "technological change." These telephone workers, in their occupation and in their appeal to workers in other industries, reasoned a lot more deeply than the "re-industrialization" plans of the academics. And I doubt it was an accident that a panel of four women were the ones to present their vision to the conference.

—Laurie Cashdan

## News & Letters

Vol. 29 No. 8 November, 1984

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

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News & Letters is printed in a union shop.



## women-worldwide

The seven-year-old international boycott of Nestle's products ended Oct. 4, after the company adopted international marketing standards on baby foods. The boycott began in reaction to the company's hard-sell promotional campaign of baby formula, which had been linked to malnutrition and death of infants in many Third World countries.

Asian women textile workers struck Kewal Bros., Birmingham, England last May when three workers were fired for union activity while the Transport & General Workers' Union was negotiating a pay raise. In August their pickets were supported by striking miners. They feel their struggle will affect conditions for the 20,000 Asian women textile workers in England. Send donations to: Kewal Bros. Strike Fund, c/o Shahid Udhem Singh Centre, 60 Soho Rd., Handsworth, Birmingham, England B 20.

—Information from Outwrite

On Oct. 9 in Detroit, 150 people held a protest vigil at the abandoned house where 13-year-old Tiffany Stewart was raped and murdered. The vigil, sponsored by ACORN, criticized Mayor Young's administration for failing to sell, repair, or demolish the many vacant houses there. Last year Detroit women had organized themselves to combat over 50 schoolgirl rapes in a four-month period.

German designer Karl Lagerfeld's description of his new fashion collection as "shaped to be raped" created a storm of protest at shows in Milan last month. Carla Fendi, one of five sisters who owns the label Lagerfeld designs for, described it as a "terrible misunderstanding," since, in Italy, "men may say of a woman, 'She is so beautiful I want to rape her,' without any connotation of violence, only of Latin admiration." Sexism, in any language, is sexism.

The National Coalition of American Nuns has come out against the National Conference of Catholic Bishops' current campaign to make abortion illegal, saying this would not stop abortion but "make safe abortions available only to the rich." They rejected the charge that being pro-choice always means being pro-abortion.

## California's Prop. 41 cuts more human needs

Los Angeles, Cal. — Of all the "austerity" measures being proposed for voter ratification here on Nov. 6, none is more controversial or insidious than Proposition 41, authored by Republican Assemblyman Ross Johnson from Orange County. The initiative would place a statewide ceiling on funding for AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), including various employment and training programs, Medi-Cal and Family Planning.

California's allotment to the needy is presently near the top of the scale nationally (\$600 a month for a family of four, compared to \$498 in New York and a mere \$112 in Texas). Some analysts project that passage of Prop. 41 would cut assistance for an unemployed mother supporting two children from \$550 to \$360 per month or less, would reduce by 50% funds for workfare and job training, and cut family planning assistance by over 80%.

Supposedly, the blind, the disabled and the elderly would be exempt from these reductions — though they would suffer reductions in Medi-Cal along with everyone else. The bill's aim, in the author's own words, is to ensure that "healthy, young welfare recipients will have to go to work."

Well, I have news for Mr. Johnson. I am on welfare, and I was involved in a job search program. I specifically stress job search, because most job training programs have already been reduced or eliminated and after three months of intensive search, I've found many job "prospects," but no job.

Nor are the elderly and disabled convinced that their benefits will be spared. One elderly woman, a stroke patient I care for three hours a week said: "I'm no longer able to work since this stroke, and I have to depend on the services of my homemaker worker. Who knows? With the bureaucracy the way it is, Medi-Cal may find me 'healthy' enough to do without her services."

Because of public outcry against the potential negative impact of Prop. 41, Los Angeles has seen unprecedented organizing from community groups, lawmakers, and civil rights organizations, who are trying to mobilize recipients and get them to the polls. Most welfare recipients that I talk to, however, are not entirely convinced that a political solution would be permanent.

For myself, I see this newest attempt at "welfare reform" as just the latest in a series of attacks on poor people, reducing us to pieces of paper, and then shoving us aside. It has been public policy to force and condition people to be dependent, and then penalize them for being so.

—Angry mother on welfare

# Immigrant workers face capitalist horrors

by John Marcotte

I recently met a Latin American who told me about her search for work when she arrived in New York last month. She was a self-employed dressmaker, working at home for many years, but she has had no work for the past several years; the poverty has become so bad in her home country that people don't even have money to get a dress or pants. But she figured with her skills she would find a job in New York and send money home so her brothers and their children could eat.

She bought the paper and started walking the whole garment district in Manhattan, answering the ads for sewing machine operators. Every place she went, the boss asked her how many years experience she had. Through a friend she'd say she could make any dress you want from scratch from only a drawing or sample. But each boss answered, "If you don't have at least seven or ten years working piece-work, you'll waste my time and yours." They wouldn't even let her try out for five minutes. This happened in job after job. After a while, she noticed she was running into the same groups of women coming out of the buildings she was going into, with the same want ads in their hands.

## DISCIPLINE OF FACTORY CLOCK

She said, "That morning I learned that the skills I had as a dressmaker had nothing to do with working in a garment factory. I would have to learn to do the same operation over and over again, and much, much faster." That reminded me of a fellow worker, who used to be a sewing machine operator and made up to \$300 a week on piece-work, but she quit and took a minimum wage job. She was getting home so exhausted, her whole body hurting, her eyes ruined.

Isn't it exactly as Karl Marx showed in *Capital* 120 years ago, how all human skills are reduced "by the discipline of the factory clock" to one mass of congealed, abstract labor? And the horror of capitalist production, what makes the day drag so long, is that there is no such thing as an abstract laborer! All the creative mental and manual



Immigrant workers in New York sweatshop labor of this dressmaker is alienated from her, and the machine she once operated at home now operates her in the factory, as the former free play of her muscles gives way to the most stressful and painful repetition.

So this friend started to look for work outside the garment district, where there's less competition. At the first factory the boss "offered" to let her work free for two weeks, to "practice", and after that he couldn't pay her \$3.50 an hour but "would pay her something." At another factory, the boss wouldn't even try her out on piece-work if she didn't have two different sewing feet, a spindle and a spindle-holder for the machine—about \$40 of "tools".

## DUAL FACTORY SYSTEM

She finally found a job in a sweatshop. She works from 7 a.m. to 4:30 p.m., with a short break for lunch. She has no time card. She has no Social Security deducted; she has no right to collect unemployment, disability or workers' compensation. She sews piece-work. She gets \$1.20 for each complete dress she makes. She has been making \$10 to \$12 a day for nine hours' work. Some of the fastest women make 20 dresses a day.

Some people at work call these "illegal factories" or "clandestine factories". New York has a dual factory system. One, legal, pays minimum wage. Immigrants consider themselves lucky to get one of those jobs. The other, illegal, has been growing by leaps and bounds, employing 100,000 or more workers in basements, garages, store fronts and lofts. Even union jobs are subcontracted to these illegal sweatshops.

## WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

turned around and beat up those who wanted the company to bring Blacks in.

We had to struggle with other workers in the late '60s too, when we wanted the company to bring in women. When some of the other workers would say, "Women can't do as much as a man," I would turn it around and say to them: "This is what we want. If a woman can't do all this, then we're working too hard. If a woman can't lift all this, then the company is making us lift too much."

Living in this capitalist system affects us all, and affects our thinking. The human being means nothing under capitalism. I recently read an article about the General Electric Company's locomotive plant in Erie, Pa. It used to take 70 workers 16 days to build the 2,500 pound motor frame, but now that GE spent \$316 million on robots, five workers make the traction motor frame in 16 hours.

GE sees this as a technological miracle. It helped them get a \$200 million contract to sell 220 diesel-electric locomotives to China. The economists call this the key to a bright future. To me as a human being I don't see a miracle. Where is the bright future for the human being who can't work and has no way to earn a living?

No wonder Karl Marx called the economists the "prize fighters for capitalism." They have become so mentally blind that they see robots and not people. To me, as a worker, those who are supposed to be the thinkers are the ones who are backward in their thinking.

## MINERS' SOLIDARITY

To me, development as a human being comes out of struggle. I heard a story about one of the striking miners from Britain who was here in the U.S. He visited the copper miners in Arizona who have been on strike for over a year, and are having a rough time and need funds themselves. After he talked with them, they took up a collection for the British miners and gave him \$96! Those people to me show what it means to be human.

Workers have to think about our struggles everywhere in the world. If labor were in control of production, we could produce in a human way for peoples' needs. These robots and these anti-human concessions contracts don't point to a bright future. They fit into the thinking of a Reagan who could take us to a nuclear holocaust.

# Restaurant workers strike

San Francisco, Cal.—On Oct. 23 restaurant workers voted 603 to 31 to continue their strike which began Sept. 1. Defying the union-busting tactics of the two restaurant owners' groups, San Francisco's largest union, Local 2 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers and Bartenders Union, has had 1200 members out for almost two months.

The millionaire owners of the Golden Gate Restaurant Owners Association (GGRA), which includes the world famous Fisherman's Wharf restaurants, have offered a "take-away" contract that not only would freeze wages, but establish a two-tier wage system that would pay new hires 7.5 to 21% less than current union members. Health, welfare and pension benefits would have been cut drastically or totally eliminated for many members. Essentially, the GGRA's "final offer" would result in the union voting itself out of existence.

## ANGRY AT UNION LEADERSHIP

Strikers are upset at the union leadership for not preparing for this difficult struggle well in advance of the contract deadline. As one striker told *News & Letters*, "Our management was openly talking about busting the union two years ago. The owners had begun to intimidate and harass me before the walkout. I couldn't walk around the restaurant without being followed. When the boss thought that the union business agent was coming to call us out on strike, he would shut my station down for two hours and I'd have no tables. My pay is my tips. When they started hiring scabs they cut into my station by giving them three or four tables."

Confused and now angry at the leadership's strategy of shutting down only selected restaurants (less than half of the restaurants are out), one striker stated, "We should shut this city down. You don't strike by tiptoeing from one restaurant to another." Such frustration with the union leadership resulted in the election of a rank-and-file strike committee earlier this month. However, the local leadership has refused to allow the rank-and-file committee to function, and from the beginning "professionals" from the International have run the strike.

After two months on the picket line the lack of support from other workers is seen as a major weakness. Most members of Local 2 are hotel workers and, except for one letter asking for their support, the leadership has done nothing to reach out to them, which has added to the anger of the striking restaurant workers.

## "NO AMNESTY TO SCABS"

As one worker expressed it, "No one talks wages on the line. Most everyone knows how serious it is and it makes it very painful to know that you are holding history at your fingertips and can't get any of the hotel workers to come out on your picket line, and you can't get any union support. The existing powers in the union are just like any other politicians. Elections are coming up and they have to make a good impression. They are holding back too much and they don't take chances."

Six restaurant owners are now hiring non-union scabs as "permanent" employees in an effort to intimidate the strikers. Union scabs who tried to vote on the contract were exposed and made to wear yellow "scab" tags and had to have a union escort to leave the hall safely. "No amnesty to scabs" has been mandated by the strikers. Clearly, the issues in this strike extend beyond the restaurant workers and San Francisco. "An injury to one is an injury to all."

—Strike supporter

# GM workers will remember

Oklahoma City, Okla.—The UAW International sold us out again. The contract did pass. Out of 4808 votes, 3180 yes and 1628 no. There were at least 1000 workers, maybe more, at our meeting on the contract before the vote. The union had four microphones set up, and two to four workers were at them all the time. The meeting lasted for hours. Workers didn't like the contract.

One worker said, "This isn't job security. The UAW makes a big thing about the \$1 billion. That will only take care of 4000 workers for six or seven years." And like one worker said, GM has already said and reported in the newspaper that they plan to do away with one-third of the labor force, 100,000 workers, in the same six or seven years. A lot of workers said, "Why didn't we go out on strike on Sept. 14?"

But other workers felt they couldn't take a strike. One said, "I just came out of poverty. I don't need a strike. I went for two years without much of a job, with just enough to live on." There are a lot of young workers who came down here recently from Michigan and Gary, Ind. These workers have families, with up to four kids, and a strike would hurt them a lot. Most of them had to live on welfare before they came. One worker said, "If you go on welfare you have to sell everything and have nothing. Then you can get a little help."

I think, when all these give-backs are used up by the capitalists, and all their money put into the military, and then the next down time comes: workers will remember all this. Maybe then they will move.

—GM worker

# Oscar Mayer workers defy union, plan strike action

Chicago, Ill.—Over 100 Oscar Mayer workers met on Oct. 28 in a school to consider their stance toward the company and the union, Local 100 of the United Food and Commercial Workers. They have been working for six months under a \$2.40-an-hour wage cut unilaterally imposed by the company. (See October N&L.)

At the same time, Oscar Mayer has attempted to force contract concessions at their other plants. Workers in Wisconsin, Iowa and Texas have voted to strike and plan to send pickets to other plants in the chain. Other locals have pledged not to cross picket lines, but the leadership of Local 100 has refused either to sanction not crossing the picket line or to answer the membership's questions about their legal rights.

"What I think is that all-out strike is the only way to resolve this thing," a worker told *News & Letters*. "Local 100 is an Oscar Mayer union; it always has been. Piotowski (secretary-treasurer) takes his orders from Oscar Mayer. We need new leadership and we need it today. I've been here 18 years. We are tired of this. We have some plans to change this situation so we can have a different kind of organization. We will have to be stronger and more outspoken. Piotowski will either have to straighten up or get out."

Workers have travelled and talked throughout the Oscar Mayer chain, and people at the meeting heard reports on actions, including slowdowns, at other plants and a tape of union meetings in Wisconsin and Texas. The actions of workers here are considered crucial, because Oscar Mayer is threatening to shift production from other plants to Chicago. Over and over people stressed the importance of solidarity between workers in different plants.

"I'm glad that Madison (Wisconsin) voted to authorize a strike, but I feel they shouldn't have to go out alone. We will never win anything going out one by one. What we need is for all plants to go out on strike the same day. The no-strike business is ridiculous. The company doesn't keep its end of the bargain, so why should we?" asked a worker.

"The union doesn't want a strike. They encourage people not to strike," said another worker. "What I think is that the company broke the contract when they cut our pay, so if we strike it shouldn't make a difference. I know that if Madison puts a picket line here, we won't cross it."

Several speakers contrasted the way union meetings are conducted—a "disgrace" and "totally out of order"—with the openness of discussion at this meeting. The thoughts and actions of Oscar Mayer workers here and across the country are a repudiation of the company's "right" to conduct "business as usual" and a challenge to the union leadership.

—Former meatpacker

## THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
author of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.



**Editor's Note:** The murder of Maurice Bishop, and the subsequent U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada Oct. 19, 1983, far from being a momentary action, has raised the most far-reaching questions on the nature of revolution and counter-revolution not only in the Caribbean, but globally. It is for this reason that we are presenting brief excerpts from Raya Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic letter (PPL) entitled "Counter-Revolution and Revolution: Grenada, the Caribbean Today, and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice that were Themselves Forms of Theory" written shortly after the invasion. The entire PPL is included in a collection by News & Letters entitled Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion and is available from News & Letters, 50 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605, for \$1.00 postage included.

The fact that the first shot of counter-revolution in Grenada on Oct. 19 was fired by the "revolutionaries" themselves, its Army, politically and militarily headed by Gen. Austin (plus Coard?), demands that we take a deeper look at the type of revolution that erupted in Grenada in 1979. It is impossible not to be moved by the last words spoken by the leader of that revolution, Maurice Bishop, as, in utter shock, he looked at the Army shooting into the masses who had just released him from house arrest: "My God, my God, they have turned the guns against the people."

That does not free us from facing the stark fact that the first shot of counter-revolution came from within the revolutionary Party-Army-State. That first shot opened the road for the imperialist U.S. invasion that, it is true, lay in wait from Day One of the revolution. This, however, in no way absolves the "Party" of its heinous crime. The fact that Castro — though an "internationalist" who spelled out his solidarity in concrete acts such as sending Grenada doctors and construction workers, teachers as well as military advisers — nevertheless failed to develop the ideas that were at stake, left the masses unprepared for ways to confront the divisions within the leadership that would have gory consequences on Oct. 19.

INSTEAD OF CASTRO focusing on a theory of revolution, he substituted and based himself on what he called the "principle of non-interference in internal affairs." He proceeded to praise Bishop for adhering to that "principle" by not asking for help in the leadership disputes — as if these were mere matters of "personality" and merely "subjective," rather than the result of the objective pull backward because the revolution itself was barren of a philosophy...

Naturally, the savage, unprovoked, long-prepared-for imperialist invasion and conquest of Grenada made it imperative to expose its "Pax Americana" nature and intensify all our activities to get US imperialism (with its East Caribbean stooges) out of Grenada.

In opposing the American imperialist invasion, and demanding the evacuation of all foreign troops from Grenada, we must not simply limit ourselves to actions of solidarity. Indeed, we must also not only criticize Gen. Austin and the whole military "Revolutionary Council," who are to be brought to account, but also look at the 1979 revolution, both positively and negatively. That becomes of the essence now, if we are ever to stop counter-revolutions from arising within revolutions...

There is no doubt that the fact that it took less than 12 hours for the 1979 bloodless revolution to overthrow the neo-colonialist regime headed by Eric Gairy and the newly-titled Sir Paul Scoon as "Queen's representative" — the ceremonial Governor General — proved that it was indeed a spontaneous expression of the popular will of the Grenadian people. That over-riding truth has had such a sturdy and creative presence for four and a half years that even today, as the Behemoth U.S. invader and occupier keeps pouring vitriolic attacks on Prime Minister Bishop, the U.S. has to admit that the hatred of the Grenadian masses is directed, not at Maurice Bishop, but at his murderer, Gen. Hudson Austin.

Fortunately, we had the privilege of hearing the thoughts of Bishop as expressed by himself for a period of 10 days when he was in the U.S....

Theoretically, the most important of the statements Bishop delivered when he was in the U.S. May 31-June 10 related to the two points he raised in the interview with the Village Voice. One concerned the question of "consciousness" of workers: "We tried to tell the people to use their own consciousness." The other point, in contrast to this, was the question of the consciousness of the leaders which had no such ambiguity as the one relating to the workers.

WHILE WE DO NOT hear the thoughts of the workers, Bishop does trace the development of the leader-

# Grenada: revolution and counter-revolution

ship's consciousness in the 1950s and 1960s:

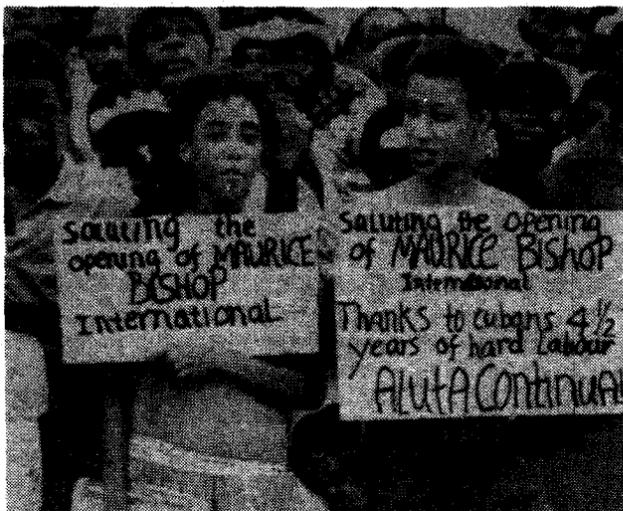
*There have been periods when I was attracted to a lot of the cultural nationalist material, frankly Frantz Fanon, Malcolm, various people like that... I would say that the entire leadership of the party and the government came out of a black power tradition, all of us... I don't think we moved beyond that until the early 1970s...*

*Certainly by that time, outside of the cultural nationalist question, we were beginning to read a lot of the most classical socialist works, and beginning to move outside just the question of blackness, around to a materialist conception of the world.*

**Q:** *He's having an anniversary this year. (Laughter) The cursed name has not passed your lips. I think it begins with M.*

**A:** *(Laughter) I'm trying not to say his name.*

Laughingly or otherwise, consciously or unconsciously, what came through from "trying not to say" the name of Marx was not the simple matter of "tactics" when visiting the imperialist land they rightly feared may be planning an invasion. Rather, it was first to become clear that critical week between Oct. 12 when the



Dissent expressed at the opening of Grenada's airport, one year after Reagan's invasion.

majority of the Central Committee voted to put Bishop under house arrest, and the savage, unconscionable, dastardly murder on the 19th of October as the masses struck for him and freed him from house arrest. That is what was inherent in what I referred to in the early part of this Letter, on what both he and Castro called "non-interference in internal matters" as a "principle," when what was actually involved, however, was a battle of ideas on the decisive question of Marx's Marxism, instead of acting as if Cuba or Russia are the Marxists. In this way revolutionary methodology — the dialectics of revolution — gets reduced to "conception of Leadership methods," and that is expressed as if a unified view permeated the entire leadership: "We feel that in many respects, Grenada is a true experiment in the whole theory and practice of socialism... If we succeed in this path... there are going to be a number of lessons for other small, developing island states coming after us."

It is nearly impossible to gauge the great shock Maurice Bishop must have experienced Oct. 19 as he became witness to the suddenly unbridgeable gulf of the Great Divide between leaders and ranks and within the leadership itself as the Party "turned the guns against the people" soon after they had freed him from house arrest. Soon his voice too was stilled by murder. It is precisely that moment that compels us to re-evaluate those three decades of history Maurice Bishop had analyzed as his own self-development as well as that of the leadership, comparing it to the movements from practice the world over.

THE OBJECTIVE AS WELL AS the subjective truth of these past 30 years spells out the birth of a new historic stage of human development — a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. This took the form in 1950 of posing totally new questions when the U.S. miners, confronted with a new mode of production, Automation, asked: "What kind of labor should man do? Why should there be a total division between thinking and doing?" The following year it took another form in Grenada, when a former oil-worker, the young Eric Gairy (a very different person from the Gairy after he was in power) organized what he called the Grenada Mental and Manual Workers Union. In 1952 the movement from practice took spontaneous shape in Latin America in the Bolivian Revolution, where the miners and the peasants fought as one to rid the country of dictatorship. In 1953 it was seen in East Germany when, for the very first time from under totalitarian Communism, the workers took to the streets against both "work-norms" and political tyranny, as they pulled down the statues of Stalin and demanded "Bread and Freedom!"....

As against the tired Western intellectuals who designated the decade of the 1950s as the "end of ideology," that period was in fact the threshold to a whole new Third World and a whole new generation of revolution-

aries. By then, there was, indeed, no part of the world — from Africa to the U.S., from East Europe to Latin America — where the movements had not declared themselves to be Humanist. We should not forget that Castro, too, in "History Will Absolve Me," had declared Cuba's 1959 revolution to have been "Humanist." A great deal more profoundly, in 1961, Frantz Fanon developed a total philosophy of Humanism as both a world concept and a fact in his magnificent Wretched of the Earth.

The 1960s were certainly filled with activity, activity, activity. Theoretically, however, what really predominated was the search for short-cuts to revolution. Each attempt resulted in the transforming of a country's particular experience into a "universal." In the case of Mao — who, with the success of the 1949 Chinese Revolution, became the inspiration for all guerrilla fighters — his rhetoric about "continuous revolution" was truncated by: 1) its confinement within the framework of the Thought of Mao; and 2) the peasant army surrounding the cities, including its proletariat. In the case of Cuba, it was the concept of focismo plus "Leader Maximum."

Just as the empty rhetoric of the 1960s about picking up theory "en route" led only to defeats, so particularized "internationalism" proved to be no more than narrow nationalism, East and West. The high point in each case — whether China's "Cultural Revolution" or France's May, 1968 — turned out to be its actual demise and one more aborted revolution. The defeats of the 1960s did, however, make us all oppressively conscious of the lack of philosophy and created a new passion for philosophy. At the same time, the 1970s movement from theory failed to meet the challenge that arose from practice. The tragedy of Grenada — its counter-revolution emerging from within the revolutionary leadership itself — can help to illuminate that problematic if, at the same time, we dig into the newness of the 1970 revolts, and measure that against Marx's Marxism as a totality....

LET US LOOK at the new questions raised in the revolutions of the 1970s and how Marx's last decade illuminates them: 1) It was during the Portuguese Revolution of 1974 that *apartidarismo* (non-partyism) was raised. It was in his 1875 Critique of the Gotha Program that Marx, in a deeply philosophic way, had raised not only the question of form of organization but its relationship to the philosophy of revolution.

2) The question of Women's Liberation was raised not only as Idea whose time had come but as Movement, both in the U.S. and in Iran. (Indeed, Mondlane has put that question on the agenda in the Mozambican revolution even earlier.) Again, it was in his last decade that Marx had raised the question of women's rights in the primitive form of the Iroquois nation, even as he had practiced the concept of Woman as Reason from the earliest days of the First International.

3) When Maurice Bishop raised the question of internationalism he specified the Caribbean and stressed that what Grenada could contribute to the whole question of the theory and practice of revolution was to point the path "for all small countries coming after us." But it was precisely in that last decade that Marx was developing his principle of internationalism as in no way separated from the theory of "revolution in permanence."

Indeed, nothing is more urgent at this very moment than to raise the question of Dialogue, of Discussion, to a whole new height as a theoretical preparation for the dialectics of revolution itself.

Therein lies the rub. That is exactly what has been missing on the part of all practitioners of instant Marxism as they become masters of substitution and reduce a philosophy of revolution, a Marxist revolutionary methodology, to "leadership methods," whatever that means. Without a philosophic vision, much less listening to the voices from below, all the majority of the Central Committee in Grenada could come up with was being opposed to the alleged "one-man rule" of Bishop, whom they hurried to expel from the Party and put under house arrest — without any thought about the consequences, either from the masses whom Bishop had led since the 1979 Revolution, or from the imperialist enemy poised for invasion. Unfortunately, Bishop, who did enjoy the confidence of the masses and was, indeed, freed from house arrest by them, had not dug into the differing tendencies within those who held "a materialist conception of the world." He had not brought into the consciousness of the masses nor shared with international colleagues the disputes which were wreaking havoc in revolutionary Grenada....

There can be no successful revolution without an historic sense both of past and present, of a battle of ideas, a clearing of heads not for any academic purpose but with full realization that a serious Marxist discussion is needed as preparation for revolution and its deepening once the first act of overthrow of the old has been achieved. When, instead, revolutionary methodology is reduced to "leadership methods," individual or collective, the very basis not only of theory but of the revolution itself has been lost. That is what happened in Grenada.

# EDITORIAL Anti-war youth vs. Reaganism

While the supposedly "decisive" Oct. 21 Presidential debate on "foreign policy" served only to dispel any illusion that there was something fundamentally different between the two contenders for the most powerful seat in the world today, the real debate was being acted out in the streets in a whole host of anti-war, anti-nuke, anti-Reagan protests. Yet, the very media that has drowned us in a deluge of election-year "news" and "predictions" has rarely found more than an inch of "filler" space (when it has found any space at all) to record the multitude of persistent anti-war actions that have been taking place all across the land and all year long.

Consider the demonstrations that took place in just the last month alone. Timing their actions to coincide with the massive protests (one a human chain, 12 miles long) at West Germany's Fulda Gap, where NATO was holding the largest military exercises in its history, hundreds of peace, religious, anti-nuclear and labor groups in the U.S. organized protests at weapons facilities, military installations and nuclear labs that same week, between Sept. 22 and 24:

Over 5000, representing 120 different union, church and peace groups, demonstrated at Boston Common while hundreds of others blockaded the Draper Weapons Lab where research is conducted on Cruise, Pershing and Trident nuclear missiles. Hundreds more massed at Livermore Labs and set up a Peace Camp at the Alameda Naval Air Station in California. Another Peace Camp was established at a Naval Weapons Depot in Indiana; while a die-in was staged at the Federal Building in Dallas where the Defense Department and the IRS have offices. Fully 25 different cities saw protests that weekend alone.

## HUMAN LINKS — CHICAGO TO GERMANY

Only a few weeks later in Chicago, a massive throng (estimated somewhere between 20 to 30 thousand and including everyone from high school cheerleaders to Vietnam veterans) filled Grant Park to overflowing despite a steady downpour for a five-hour rally, demanding an end to the U.S. war against the people of Central America, a nuclear freeze now, and an end to the Administration's attacks on labor, women, the Black masses and the poor. A week later Jesse Jackson took his Chicago rally message to Pier 1 in Brooklyn where another thousand protested the presence of a 40-year-old battleship now being fitted with nuclear warheads. In Detroit, 8000 joined hands in a human chain from the East Side armory to the West Side armory, all along Eight Mile Road.

It was the same weekend that saw tens of thousands of West Germans follow up their own earlier protest at Fulda Gap, this time attempting to form a human chain 126 miles long that would link — physically and symbolically — the unemployment office in the Ruhr steel city of Duisburg with Hunsruck, where ground-launched Cruise missiles are to be deployed at an American military installation.

There is no question that the demonstrations this year across the U.S. do not match in massiveness the greatest anti-war march in U.S. history that took place two years ago in New York City, on June 12, 1982. But that demonstration of three-quarters of a million people was no aberration. The varied composition of the marchers there, their internationalism and solidarity with freedom fighters throughout Europe and Africa and Latin America, the depth of their opposition to the totality of Reaganism — in economics as well as militarization, racism and sexism as well as foreign policy — is what has characterized the protests ever since.

## WHICH YOUTH ARE HEARD?

Though too many of white America's youth do appear

## Puerto Rico protests

On July 25, 1978, a police undercover agent took two young activists for Puerto Rican independence to the mountain top of Cerro Maravilla. There the two, Carlos Soto Arrivi, 18, and Arnoldo Dario Rosado, 24, were ambushed by waiting Puerto Rican police and shot to death. Since then, their death continues to raise many questions, provoking charges of cover-ups, Watergate-style hearings and demands for an independent prosecutor.

For five years, Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo's pro-statehood administration defended the police department's claim that the men were killed after attempting to sabotage a television relay station and ignoring police orders to surrender. However, witnesses to the shootings have come forward stating that the youth were killed after they had surrendered. And Senate president Miguel Hernandez Agosto has called for a full Senate investigation into the matter.

This case will not go away from the Puerto Rican conscience. In the 1980 election, it cost Barcelo's pro-statehood party the majority of seats in the Senate and this year it will cost him his office. The Puerto Rican people will only settle for the truth in the case of Cerro Maravilla.

—A Puerto Rican reader

ready to hop on the bandwagon to retrogression this election year, they do not represent the whole youth generation that the media is so anxious to consign to Reagan while it conveniently buries any news of the other America and turns the thousands of anti-Reagan, anti-war youth into "un-persons," American-style. That is the real measure of "freedom of the press" today, far more than the heated discussion now taking place over merely how many — and which chosen ones — will be allowed to accompany U.S. troops during the next surprise military invasion.

The deep anti-war feelings of the overwhelming majority of the people of the world cannot be edited out of history-in-the-making that easily. At a point when 83 percent of the population reveals that the nuclear bomb is their greatest fear; when a group of 23 Catholic bishops signs a statement opposing their own church hierarchy for "making abortion rather than nuclear war the foremost issue for Catholic voters"; when students at Brown University vote 1,044 to 687 to have cyanide pills stocked for use in event of nuclear war, in hopes of shocking their elders to recognize that the true suicide is not stopping the rush to nuclear war—it is clear that the election of Nov. 6 decides nothing.

The real struggles are just beginning.

## Chile: eyewitness report



Demonstrators in Santiago in 1983

*Editor's Note: Mass protests broke out again in Chile in September, marking the 11th anniversary of the U.S.-backed military coup that brought the Pinochet dictatorship to power. Opposition movements have called a 30-hour general strike for Oct. 30. As we go to press, the Pinochet government has arrested more than 400 and sent another 140 persons into exile in anticipation of the Oct. 30 actions. The following report was given by a Chilean who recently returned to the U.S.*

I returned to Chile last year after eight years in exile. A few hundred people have been allowed in since the huge demonstrations have demanded that the exiles be permitted to come back, but thousands of people are still "listed," and one million Chileans live outside the country.

I went back to work and to be a part of my family again, but I felt like a stranger there. The military has destroyed the whole structure of the country as it developed during 150 years of independence. I left again because I could not find a job, after looking for eight months.

## MASS OPPOSITION GROWING

The economy has been destroyed, with 40 percent of industry shut down, and workers unemployed for years. In some sectors, the unemployment rate is 70 percent. This is the result of Chile's being a laboratory for the "Chicago boys," theories of free market economics.

Chile today is a mixture of military strength, brutal repression, the people's struggle against the government and absolute poverty. The price of bread just went up 80% and milk 50%. There are 50,000 secret police, and they are now shooting people openly in the streets. In the September demonstrations, the moderate opposition—including men who took part in the 1973 coup—were beaten and jailed.

The government has no popular support; the Catholic Church reports that 90 percent of the people oppose it. The center of the opposition is in the shanty towns, where the unemployed workers live in belts of poverty surrounding the cities. Hundreds of thousands have been in the streets. There have also been many protests by the Indian population, whose land and rights are being taken away. The Church is divided. The students are continuously demonstrating. The feminist movement is growing, and women are working on all aspects of liberation, from the barricades in the shanty towns to child care centers.

In spite of the increased repression, the mass movement is opening more and more fronts, consolidating political organizations, and bringing forth new grassroots organizations throughout the country. Any solution that does not include those who are the most impoverished, will not succeed.

—Chilean Reader

## Dennis Banks jailed but the movement continues

by Shainape Shcapwe

Detroit, Mich.—Dennis Banks was finally sentenced on Oct. 8, to spend three years in federal prison. He turned himself over to authorities after nine years of refusing to go to jail, ever since he was tried for "inciting to riot" in Custer, S.D. during a 1973 protest against the killing of a Lakota Indian, Wesley Bad Heart Bull, by three racist whites. The judge said Banks had explosives and weapons. But the truth is that his conviction had to do with suppressing the whole Indian movement in South Dakota at the time of the Wounded Knee occupation.

Banks lived in California for a while after his 1975 conviction, because Gov. Brown wouldn't allow him to be extradited or terrorized. When Brown wasn't re-elected, Banks went to New York, hoping to get the same treatment. But he didn't. He ended up confined to staying on the small Onondaga Reservation in upstate New York. There's a whole band of people there, including some of the people who put out Akwesasne Notes. The federal authorities agreed not to arrest him as long as he stayed there, and he never left.

It was very inhibiting there. I think that's why he came out. He needed to become involved in the movement again in a broader kind of way. It's easier to keep in touch with him now, even if he's in prison. He has so many people on his prison visitors list he can't see them all, and he's gotten a lot of mail. My family in North Dakota says that everyone is talking about it. He never should have been given three years in prison, but the South Dakota officials were interested in giving him the longest sentence they could, so there's some victory in "only" getting three years. Dennis' lawyers are planning to appeal the sentence.

Instead of fading away like a lot of people do when a movement goes underground, he has stayed in touch with people and close to the problems we are having. Rallying around him makes us all know that there is still a movement and it's strong.

The authorities were looking to be tough. They thought it was time to "stop those Indians". They thought that by getting rid of a leader the movement would just die. But the movement isn't dead. It doesn't need to have an official name or official leadership. The difference between now and ten years ago is that we know that by working in solidarity, even if we can't get things done within this system, we can get things done in spite of it.

### STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

- A. TITLE OF PUBLICATION: NEWS & LETTERS  
B. PUBLICATION NO. 385420
- DATE OF FILING: SEPTEMBER 28, 1984
- FREQUENCY OF ISSUE: Monthly except bi-monthly January-February, August-September. A NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY, 10 B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE \$2.50
- LOCATION OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION: 59 E. VAN BUREN, ROOM 707, Chicago, IL 60605
- LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OR GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHERS: 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605
- NAMES AND COMPLETE ADDRESSES OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR: News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605; Raya Dunayevskaya (Chairwoman, National Editorial Board), 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605; Eugene Walker, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605
- OWNER: Raya Dunayevskaya, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605; Olga Domaneki, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605
- KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING ONE PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OF OTHER SECURITIES: NONE
- EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION

	Average No Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES PRINTED		
B. PAID CIRCULATION	7,037	7,000
1. Sales through dealers and carriers street vendors and counter sales ONLY Chi. Bundles	2,979	2,138
2. Mail subscriptions	3,578	4,402
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION	6,557	6,540
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies	188	160
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C & D)	6,737	6,700
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted spoiled after printing		300
2. Returns from news agents		NONE
G. TOTAL	7,037	7,000

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### ANTI-WAR AND BLACK YOUTH OPPOSE REAGANISM

I am writing this on the eve of the election which I presume will re-elect Reagan. But I still want to write you about "What would four more years of Reagan, world outlaw, mean?", (Oct. N&L), because the way that it has analyzed the last four years of Reagan will help us learn how to fight him in the next four years.

First the lead grasps that every minute of Reagan's time in office has been preparation for war in every corner of the globe. Second, it shows that already at home the last four years have been ones of war against working people, Blacks and women.

But perhaps most important, because this is the essence of Reaganism and not alone Reagan, you talk of what structural changes our high tech economy has brought in the last decade—not only permanent unemployment, but a new middle-class of "yuppies" who want to be "in" on high-tech and think they can make it by turning a blind eye to the social inequities of our system and finding a place for themselves. Will this become a new "class" for our state-capitalist age or can we mount a new revolutionary beginning?

Observer  
Chicago

They really have it in for youth who dare to oppose the insane drive for nuclear annihilation. Now a child psychiatrist from Harvard Medical School, Robert Coles, has suddenly decided to get "class conscious." He is going around quoting one blue collar worker who called the students at Brown University (the students who organized the anti-nuke vote on cyanide pills) a "bunch of spoiled rich kids." He is busy telling us that "the nuclear freeze movement has become all too tied up with middle-class privilege."

I'd say the one who needs a psychiatrist is this nut who thinks anybody would believe that only children of the affluent are afraid of nuclear war.

Furious  
Chicago

In the Reagan-Mondale debate on foreign policy, Reagan seemed to talk about South Africa and Namibia like they were America's "backyard." What really is in Reagan's backyard is Black America. That's where he's planning to send troops, to protect "national security interests, in the event of rebellion." It's the only way they can think of to control unemployed Black youth.

Observer  
Watts, Calif.

We can't ignore the polls that show Reagan's popularity, and we can't think that it is just a one-time thing. I get sick when I see that the youth 18-30 are supposedly the age group giving Reagan his biggest lead in the polls. To me that is crazy; it makes no sense. I think N&L sometimes is too optimistic about the youth of America. Many of the students I teach today are just out for themselves. They couldn't care less about autoworkers, or civil rights, or Nicaragua.

College teacher  
New York

Almost 8,000 Michigan people joined hands at noon, Saturday, October 20, in Detroit's first "Survival Line." It was coordinated with a human chain the same day in Germany. Contingents from peace groups, religious organizations, and Committees in Solidarity with Central America stretched six miles in a linked chain along 8 Mile road. But many participants, especially young people, had come on their own.

I was disappointed to see so few Black people on the line, which bordered some of Detroit's Black neighborhoods. One young man later told me he had seen no publicity or organizing efforts in the Black community. It struck me as very ironic, because several popular songs high-school age Black and

white youth listen to are anti-nuke and anti-war.

Working Woman  
Detroit

I appreciated the way the Editorial in the Oct. N&L described Black education, both in South Africa and in the U.S. There have been some meetings here in the community dealing with the education of Black youth. One teenager said that his brother dropped out in the tenth grade, not even knowing how to read. His father wants him to drop out too, so he can get a job.

Black worker  
Los Angeles

The lead article in the Oct. N&L is a marvelous satiric critique of Reaganism. Domanski's revolutionary journalism makes serious use of satire to douse Reaganism in an acid bath of critique, from which it emerges exposed both in its Machiavellianism and in its absolute negation of the goals and aspirations of humanity in our common struggle for freedom. The glaring absence of any discussion of electoral politics in her call to uproot Reaganism drives home the stark reality that we have a lot to do beyond trying to elect a Mondale.

Subscriber  
Southern California

### REMEMBERING GRENADA

About 1500 people, mostly from the Left, came to a rally at Grand Army Plaza in Brooklyn Oct. 27 to express their opposition to the U.S.'s continuing occupation of Grenada and Reagan's wars in Central America. One of the most moving speakers was Corporal Griffin, a Black Muslim Marine who spent four months in a federal prison for refusing to fight his brothers in Lebanon and Grenada. A Haitian briefly spoke about how authorities in the U.S. are always asking for your green card. He said, "Whoever asked the Marines for their green cards when they began invading the Caribbean back in the early 1900s and ever since?"

There was also a lot of discussion about the INS arrest two days earlier of Dessima Williams, the Bishop government's representative to the OAS, as she spoke against the invasion at Howard University. The day before, she had given a press conference in New York City, urging people to come to the rally in Brooklyn. We found many people wanted a copy of the News and Letters pamphlet, *Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution and Imperialist Invasion*. Everyone who came to the rally was opposed to U.S. imperialism, but they also wanted to hear some analysis of what had happened in Grenada before the invasion.

Marxist-Humanists  
New York City



CAN WE BE  
"AGENTS OF  
OUR OWN  
FREEDOM?"

I have been regularly struck with John Marcotte's columns, with the way he writes so accurately about the sweatshops and the day-to-day conditions of workers. In his last column he showed how the attitude of the bosses is to treat workers like slaves or like animals—and I thought the workers' response he described was brilliant. The way Marcotte ended the column showed that the question facing us isn't whether Reagan gets four more years, but whether we will become aware of freedom as our essence, become aware of ourselves as the agents of freedom.

Young carpenter  
Kentucky

We met a varied group of people while selling N&L at the unemployment office. I was surprised to meet Cambodians and Vietnamese. One of the Vietnamese women who bought a paper told me about her family, and what they went through to get to Thailand. She told me many in other boats were simply shot by the Thais. Some young Black men bought the paper because the anti-Reagan headline was so prominent. We also met a worker who did all kinds of inhuman labor and seemed to feel proud he could take it and use pure will to survive. He had much to say about his experience working on a continuous miner. Going to the unemployment office was a real learning experience.

Graduate student  
Salt Lake City, UT

The long strike of 50,000 hospital workers by District 1199 made me interested in other union battles. We recently saw a movie at St. Lukes Hospital on the Phelps-Dodge strike in Arizona. It showed the police with shotguns and dogs, the whole works. Our strike was made to look like a picnic in comparison. But next time it could be like that here, because the same fight is happening all over the country.

1199 Delegate  
New York City

### WOMEN

### WORKERS

### AS

### WRITERS



Clara Jones' article on "Working Women's Untold Story" in the Oct. N&L really took me back to my days at Bata Shoe factory in Salem, Ind. There was no union at Bata when I worked there. When the workers finally wised up and voted for a union, the factory closed and moved out of the country. The reason they gave was that they "could not compete against the imports."

The conditions Clara Jones described at her factory today are much the same as they were at Bata ten years ago. We, too, had to get permission to go to the bathroom and the foreman would time us to see how long we took. Bata had no air conditioning except in the office and in the summer time it was not unusual to see women fainting and being carried out on a stretcher. They would immediately put another woman on her machine so as not to slow down production.

Eve Strong  
Los Angeles

I was glad to see Angela Terrano write on women miners, especially her point that U.S. industry is "determined to keep women out of jobs that would make them far more independent." To me that is really key—especially to those who are always carrying on about saving the family. I'm convinced that part of the reason the right wing is so opposed to equal pay for equal work is that they know if women can ever earn enough money to be independent, they will leave a bad marriage.

That makes me think how right Marx was when he said that even though women being pulled into the factory with the advent of machinery was a "pestiferous source of corruption and slavery," it nevertheless could, "under the appropriate conditions turn into a source of humane development..." I don't think that women leaving bad marriages is all Marx had in mind, but it's true.

Women's Liberationist  
Chicago

### BRITISH MINERS, U.S. QUESTIONS

I am particularly inspired by the ongoing fight of the British miners, and the example it sets for workers in this

# Readers' Views

country and around the world... The miners are striking for the right to work, as opposed to striking for improved wages and conditions. It is hard to imagine someone striking for the right to work a dangerous, filthy job, but the alternatives force the miners to.

The unemployment crises in this country are approaching similar proportions, and most unions today have given up on better wages and conditions, focusing on job security instead. The sad reality is that what security is gained is always at the expense of new workers—two-tiered wage schemes, extended probation periods, part-time hours. Take the recent UAW deal with GM. Far from securing anyone's job, it actually accelerates the layoff at GM. What good is "retraining" when the jobs autoworkers are destined for pay one-third of what an autoworker makes today, if those jobs exist at all?

Union activist  
Brunswick, Ohio

### SOLIDARNOSC: NEED TO SPEAK OF DIFFERENCES

Polish political prisoners released under the "amnesty" program wasted no time in plunging into activity and discussion on the Polish movement. Several have already been imprisoned for participating in demonstrations.

Andrzej Gwiazda, in the first interview given after his release, stressed the future: "In the future it is very important not to mask the differences with 'unity' slogans, and not to present differences in outlooks as unworthy personal disagreements. The basis for solid cooperation is making precise the differences as well as that which is common."

It is a statement appropriate not just for the development of the Polish movement, but that of many others. The anniversary of the Grenada counter-revolution serves as a grim reminder of what happens when differences are "masked as unworthy personal disagreements."

Urszula Wislanka  
California

### CHARLES DENBY, HISTORIAN

I have just finished reading Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart* and I not only enjoyed it, I was very moved and affected by it. Many do not know the degradation and humiliation that was suffered by Blacks in America. It was Denby's book that offered a more down-to-earth story of what really occurred to our people. Blacks have come a very long way since slavery and its sadistic characteristics, but a book like this can make Black people stop and think of who they are, where they've come from and where they can go with the right assets.

Denby was a historian in his own right. The world needs more Black people like him to tell them who we Black people really are and what we can achieve.

Black student  
Loyola U., Chicago

### MILITARY RULE IN NIGERIA

The military situation in Nigeria since early this year has made conditions difficult for publication, so the *Vanguard* has been in limbo for some time. There is a decree against any publication that offends the government. Infringement earns one at least a year in jail. Another decree says any meeting of three considered political could lead to jail and confiscation of plant and all equipment of the owning body.

Things are rough, so we have to find a means of physical survival. There are modest efforts to resist nationally with the Nigerian Labour Congress. Thanks for the literature you sent us...

Workers' Vanguard  
Ibadan, Nigeria

DUPRE, DUNAYEVSKAYA AND THE MEANING OF MARXISM

Dunayevskaya's critique of Dupre (Oct. N&L) starts with Dupre's high-points, that he is taking Marx's economics and showing that that is not only a critique of capitalist production, but also of history, ideology, and culture. Yet Dunayevskaya also shows that Dupre's strength here is at the same time his weakness, as he ends up subsuming this totality of Marx's philosophy under what he calls the "social." That is, he sees everything in terms of "social relations," but does not see at the heart of that the creative human activity for freedom.

I think that's how he can end up merging Engels' Origin of the Family with Marx's Marxism. Engels singles out "the world historic defeat of the female sex," whereas what Marx had stressed was that history showed continual "feminine ferment." It's only when intellectuals recognize what worker as Subject meant to Marx that they can fully avoid falling into the tendency of viewing Marxism as determined "economic laws."

Cal State student Los Angeles

I've been reading William Blake and I think I see that the critique of rationalism found in Blake is not simple irrationalism, not at all a leap into the past. A lot of people today see the problem as one of doing away with reason altogether, going back to some kind of idealized tribal past. Look at the recent collection, Marxism and Native Americans. Most of the writers equate Marxism and European scientism, dialectics to formal logic. To this, they counterpose the values of Native American communities. And I don't think they see that Marxism is precisely about preserving and building on those values they celebrate. Marxism is about how to break out of the whole way of thinking that grew up with capitalism; but it is a way that passes through the concretes of history and daily life.

Ian Seale Washington, D.C.

I attended a meeting on "The Meaning of Marxism" at Columbia University. The speaker, Duncan Halley, from

Britain, attempted to present this topic with no reference whatever to the rise of the Third World and its revolutions, or the development of Women's Liberation and its struggles. He began with the young Marx, citing two important early articles, but neglecting to mention his Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts—the 1844 Humanist Essays. Rather, his "dialectic" consisted of a concept of pre-capitalist scarcity being overcome with capitalism, for which Marx expressed "enthusiasm", and the coming to consciousness of the revolutionary "agencies", the working class, leading to socialism.

Taking the floor in discussion was a pleasure. A Japanese student, who had raised an interesting question of his own, came up after and bought Raya Dunayevskaya's recent pamphlet, "Marx's 'new Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies."

Marxist-Humanist New York

When I was reading Dunayevskaya's critique of Dupre, I was reminded of the quote from Marx: "It is by no means 'History' which uses man as a means to carry out its ends as if it were a person apart; rather History is nothing but the activity of man in pursuit of his ends." Dupre seems to have missed that.

Student of Marx Colorado



REALITIES OF LIFE IN THE PHILIPPINES

I used to go to high school near the Mendiola bridge in Manila. I never realized until recently why it was always watched closely by police. Seven people were killed during a clash with the military there on Sept. 21, 1984, during a march on the Presidential Palace nearby. Thousands of people have been killed in 12 years of military terrorism.

Aquino's killing was a big mistake, because instead of suppressing the in-

creasing rebellions and weakening the opposition, it called attention to the conditions of society. Manila workers earn the lowest wages in Asia. Poor people live in squatter areas, in wooden shacks without running water. The shacks are patched with cardboard. Imelda, Marcos' wife, built housing projects for the "poor", but the rent was so high it went to the middle class.

Marcos has his whole family in the government. His son is governor of Ilocos Norte province, and before that it was his sister. People always see Imelda Marcos and all her "glamour" and jewels while the country is starving.

Filipina student Chicago

FREE MILA D. AGUILAR!

On Aug. 6, 1984, Mila Aguilar, poet, former journalist and teacher at the Univ. of the Philippines, was arrested along with two others. Initially charged with subversion, all three had charges dismissed by a Quezon City court on Aug. 13. But then it was announced that all three were the subject of a presidential detention action. Mila Aguilar is still being held incommunicado. She is being detained in a cell without windows. Mila Aguilar was forced to go underground in 1972 when martial law was declared, and continued her struggle for a full decade in that situation.

Aguilar's life is in danger. Cables and letters protesting the punishment of solitary confinement and demanding the immediate release of Mila D. Aguilar should be sent to: Pres. Ferdinand Marcos, Manila, Philippines; Ambassador Stephen Bosworth, U.S. Embassy, Manila. For more information, write:

Committee to Free Mila Aguilar 5A Durham St. Somerville, MA 02143

FROM READERS: WHY YOU SHOULD SUBSCRIBE TO N&L

The socialists at Oberlin have this ridiculous attitude that academia is the only place in the U.S. where socialism has any relevance. When I brought up my opinion that they should all go out and work for at least two years in a job unrelated to college after they graduated, they were shocked. I spent quite a few hours on the

UFCW meatcutters picket line in the Krogers strike here. I think my discussions with the workers were more valuable than 100 hours of discussions on abstract theory. One of my attractions to N&L is that a deliberate attempt is made to combine theory with struggle to balance the two, and to make theory more relevant to us all by injecting it into the struggles.

Painter Ohio

I read the Aug.-Sept. issue of N&L. I would like to write for such a paper. It's very well organized. Also, I find it pluralistic, though not at the base, the philosophy. You know how some papers—even leftist—you just wouldn't want to write for because of their orientation? Or just because they're a mess? I appreciate the way your paper seems to try to seek out new people. I think that's important for this country.

Latin American Woman N.Y.U. Student

The two headlines on the front page of the Oct. N&L, "Will labor gain a mind of its own?" and "What would four more years of Reagan, world out-law, mean?" acted like a magnet when I distributed N&L at the unemployment office. Even those who had been working in management, and came to the unemployment office with their ties still around their necks, showed interest.

When an ex-foreman would come, I would say out loud, "Will labor gain a mind of its own, both mental and manual?" Each would stop dead and take the paper to see for themselves. One ex-foreman from a recently closed paper factory said, "I am against Marxism." I asked him, What did he have against freedom? Marxism has nothing to do with the non-freedom of the peoples of state-capitalist Russia.

When he finally bought the paper, I thought about the barrier between mental and manual labor being the last barrier to our freedom. It made me feel good that I had helped in breaking down that barrier.

A worker who knows his class California

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# Philippine masses mount new protests

(continued from page 1)

Two years ago in June, 1982, some 10,000 women textile workers went out on strike when the Japan-based Interasia laid off workers and then sought to speed up production for those remaining. Marcos' police could not contain the strike and Interasia was forced to give in when the 10,000 struck.

In 1984 unemployment in the Philippines is officially 23% and inflation is approaching 40%. Real wages are half of what they had been in 1978, already impoverished people in 1978.

## FILIPINA WOMEN'S LIBERATIONISTS

The newest revolutionary movement on the scene is that of Filipina women's liberation. The International Women's Day, March, 1984, GABRIELA (General Assembly Binding Women for Reform, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action) was born as an umbrella organization for 63 women's groups.

Women who had been activists in the 1970s in MAK-IBAKA (Free Movement of Filipina Women) and then had been assigned by the underground Left to other "more pressing priorities of the national democratic struggle," surfaced as major movement leaders in the 1980s. Two of them are Nelia Sancho and Mila Aguilar. Aguilar was captured on Aug. 6 after a decade underground, while she was apparently organizing university strikes in Manila, and is being held incommunicado by Marcos. Sancho stated after years in prison and working among poor peasants: "We see the need to be active on specifically women's issues, to define a distinct program which will permit women to play a greater role in the national struggle." Today women hold mass demonstrations in the cities and declare "a woman's place is in the struggle."

The major guerrilla force is the New Peoples' Army which may have as many as 20,000 fighters in the countryside and controls some 20% of the villages, forcing landlords and capitalists to pay them taxes. They have also forced some landlords to lower rents. The guerrilla movement is composed of radical Catholics, ex-student activists and peasant youth and has grown in response to Marcos' dictatorial rule. However, it began as a Maoist breakaway student movement from the Communist Party in the 1960s and retains an overall Stalinist ideology far removed from the Marxism of Marx.

That that Marxism is being actively debated within the Philippines can be seen in the very sharp debate on the nature of Marx's Marxism at the Marx centennial lectures at the Third World Center last year in Quezon City, the transcript of which has been published (*Marxism in the Philippines, 1984*). After hearing a vulgar Marxist presentation on Filipino Marxism by Francisco Nemenzo, a speaker from the floor challenged him very sharply. Nemenzo's opponent contrasted his bowing to the concept of a "vanguard party" with Marx's own "really humanist thrust toward non-elitism" and then hit out: "There is a flaw in your argument about the women's liberation movement being a disservice to the revolutionary movement in the world." Nemenzo could only respond that, after all, the "class struggle" was the determinant and women's liberation "has done great damage to the unity of revolutionary forces in the West."

Opposed to all of these revolutionary groups — women, peasants, youth, workers — stands the collapsing edifice of the Marcos regime. Rotten to the core and with an ever-narrowing base of support, like the Shah and Somoza before him, Marcos lashes out with murderous destructive force to the very end. All but his closest collaborators have deserted him, or soon will do so. Blood-soaked General Ver, his cousin and former chauffeur-bodyguard, has nowhere else to go. West Point-educated General Fidel Ramos, Ver's replacement and a man the U.S. seems to hope can save the regime, is deeply implicated in the brutalities of martial law, although supposedly not as corrupt as Marcos or Ver. But he is a first cousin of Marcos!

The whole edifice of ten years of martial law—of land-grabbing by the wealthy families, of "salvaging" (death squad type killings) of thousands of dissidents, of expropriating even other landowning families like the Lopez's and the Aquino's, of palaces built and million-dollar weddings for daughters staged by Imelda Marcos while the masses starved—all of this is coming to an end, and soon.

## THE POWER OF U.S. IMPERIALISM

But behind Marcos stands an even more powerful opponent of human liberation: U.S. imperialism under the leadership of the arch-reactionary Ronald Reagan. In his final debate with Mondale, Reagan threatened that he would never permit what he termed "a large Communist movement to take over the Philippines," his way of describing the entire opposition.

As soon as he assumed the Presidency, Reagan ordered total support to dictator Marcos, sweeping aside the mild protests over human rights during the Carter-Mondale administration. By June, 1981, the following had happened: Both Haig and Bush had visited the Philippines; opposition leaders in the U.S. had been harassed by the FBI; Marcos agents were implicated in the murder of two anti-

Marcos Filipino labor activists in Seattle, Gene Viernes and Silme Domingo of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); Reagan was talking of a U.S.-Philippines extradition treaty.

By September, 1982, Marcos got from Reagan what even Nixon had denied him: an official White House visit. To get around Congressional opposition to aid for Marcos, Reagan gave him a \$400 million, 80% rent increase for the U.S. military bases. There are 70,000 Americans in the Philippines, most of them military personnel and their dependents. The huge Subic Bay and Clark naval and air bases are a mark of the degree to which the 1946 independence the U.S. granted has remained limited. The U.S. has the right to "patrol" virtually anywhere they wish "in security activities." The U.S. has unlimited right to attack anyone from these bases, where the military stores nuclear weapons, thus making the Philippines, in the words of oppositionists, a "clear magnet" for nuclear attack in case of war between the U.S. and Russia.

U.S. economic imperialism also continues unabated. Besides "free enterprise" zones like Bataan, there is agribusiness. Dole and Del Monte control 99% of Philippine fruit production. Del Monte pays rent of 30¢/acre/year for land in Mindanao which yields them \$1200/acre/year in pineapples. Plenty is siphoned off to Marcos' cronies as well.

Opposed to this "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship" stand the Filipino people at home and abroad. Here in the U.S. they have organized opposition at the risk of deportation and even death. Major labor unions like the ILWU have supported anti-Marcos actions. Most recently, the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation warmly embraced the cause of Filipino liberation.

In the Philippines itself the growing opposition to Marcos has become so broad and deep, touching almost every segment of the population, that what is on the agenda is not alone the overthrow of Marcos but genuine social revolution that involves class, women's liberation, indigenous people—in short a movement that changes the very foundation of Philippine society. That is what Reagan and his ilk are truly afraid of in the Philippines, not statist Communism, but a full uprooting by a social revolution.

## Notes from a journal

### Production up; pay down

by Clara Jones

I am working right now as an assembler. In the last factory I worked in I worked almost all the jobs. I worked in the soldering department and was the only woman worker in that department. The factory would not pay me for my work in this department because I was a woman. I and the men that I worked with were mad and we told the bosses how we felt. After that I was put out of that department. They wanted the work, but they did not want to pay for it. The factory had several departments that had more women than men.

I worked in a place where a very hot oven was baking parts, and I worked in a packing department where the doors were left open in winter for trucks and the workers were cold. I even had a job once where I had to clean the bosses' office and toilet.

In the shop where I am working now, a production report has come down in which the bosses are telling the workers we must make more parts. I can't make any more parts. I am depressed and tired and I feel very nervous. Production is always going up, but not my pay. Because of growing taxes my pay is smaller as the years go by. I want so much to burn the production report and tell the bosses to go to hell. I cannot do this by myself. But if every worker in the plant did it, this would be masses in motion telling how we feel about their production.

Work is hard, but before I had my first job I felt my life was a worse hell. I was poor and looking for work. The money I make now is little, but I can have all the food I want. It is not fair that all people in the world can't have all the food they want. I remember when I was out of work and on welfare. I was in need of everything. It was hard to pay the bills for food and rent, and never to go out to see a movie or have any kind of fun. All I could do was look the best I could for work, and look at TV. I was very depressed. I could eat meat only two or three times a month. To live in need of food all the time is hell.

I've been reading a lot about working women organizers like Clara Lemlich and Emma Goldman and Mother Jones. It is so easy to see Mother Jones' passionate love for freedom. She was an organizer for the United Mine Workers and went from one strike-bound camp to another, raising hell. I liked what she said in one of her speeches about having the guts to go out and fight and win. She organized the wives of miners to form a group of women harassing scabs. They even wrote songs about her organizing.

Yours for bread and freedom and roses too.

Charles Denby, Editor

News & Letters 1955 - 1983



I have been thinking about the whole question of the Black dimension in the U.S. and how it is integral to the total idea of philosophy and revolution. Both thought and action came out of the history of the Black revolt, whether it was Marx looking at it in his day, the time of the Civil War, or today, especially in the civil rights struggles of the past 20 years, as recorded by News & Letters Committees.

JUST HOW VICIOUS and almost overwhelming the battle for a new world is hit me again with great force when the reports came out on the horrible murder of Steven Biko, the young leader of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa...

But even here, the revolutionary opposite comes through very sharply. Because nobody outside of South Africa had even heard of Steve Biko, and now the whole world knows about him. It reminded me of the quote from Wendell Phillips I used in the beginning of my life story: "Every true word spoken for suffering humanity, is so much done for the Negro bending under the weight of American bondage." The same idea is more real today than ever before, and goes around the world immediately.

It's what could be called the "shock of recognition" — when strangers from different countries react so much in the same way to ideas that they feel like they have always known each other. I know I felt this way toward Steve Biko, and know he felt the same way about Frantz Fanon, who he quoted on one of his last interviews...

What both Fanon and Biko are saying is that the struggle for freedom has no national boundaries, and everywhere that you have a battle for human liberty helps the worldwide movement for freedom.

THE IDEAS AND ACTIONS coming out of the Black revolt in the U.S. and Africa are often sharper and easier to see than those of the working classes in every country, but they are all moving in the same direction.

I consider my life story as part of the worldwide struggle for freedom. As a Black from South U.S.A. and a Black auto production worker in Detroit, my experience has proved to me that history is the record of the fight of all oppressed people in everything they have thought and done to try to get human freedom in this world. I'm looking forward to that new world, and I firmly believe it is within reach, because so many others all over the world are reaching so hard with me.

From Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* which can be ordered from *News and Letters*. See literature ad on page 7.

Two News & Letters publications

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by Michael Connolly

National Co-organizer, News & Letters Committees

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# BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

cline in Black-owned land in the South.

In 1915, Lenin had observed the dual character of the plantation legacy in his analysis of "New Data on the Laws Governing the Development of Capitalism in Agriculture in the U.S." On the one hand, Lenin noted that the American bourgeoisie "having 'freed' the Negroes, it took good care, under 'free', republican-democratic capitalism, to restore everything possible, and do everything possible and impossible for the most shameless and despicable oppression of the Negroes... One can easily imagine the complex of legal and social relationships that corresponds to this disgraceful fact..." At the same time, Lenin saw that the highpoint reached by 1910 in the Black ownership of some 17 million acres of land, mostly in the South, demonstrated that the "Negro urge to emancipation from the 'plantation owners' half a century after the victory over the slave-owners is still marked by an exceptional intensity."

The next period of struggle was the 1930s. In 1934, when the FHA was created to assist farmers hit by the Depression, Black and white farmers formed the Southern Tenant Farmers Union to fight the government's state-capitalist subsidizing of large-scale corporate farming at the expense of the small family farmers, especially Black.

The economic crisis hitting Black farmers today affects them in two ways. First, because Black landholdings have been traditionally smaller than white (128 to 428 acre average, respectively), Black farmers have no defense against the kind of capital-intensive, highly mechanized and government-subsidized large-scale farming that has developed over the last decade.

Secondly, despite their disproportionate need, Black farmers receive less than 2.5% of the total amount loaned through the FHA credit program.

## THE HUMAN TOLL AND RESISTANCE

Today, the human toll that this "shameless and despicable oppression" takes can also be seen in the latest findings by rural doctors who have diagnosed "Third World hunger" among Black and white in the South. Referring to the "master-slave administration" of the U.S. Dept. of Agriculture food-stamp program, Dr. Aaron Shirley, a Jackson, Mississippi pediatrician, concluded: "The tenant farmer knows he doesn't ask questions of the overseer, and it's the same with food stamps. When they deny you and you know you're entitled, you don't argue. I would say hundreds and hundreds are denied and, in the process, dehumanized."

Nevertheless, it is within the South that we have seen the greatest expressions of Black mass resistance in the 1980s, from continuous revolt in Miami to the political protests and organization of Black farmers. In March of 1981 Black farmers from Mississippi, Arkansas and Tennessee held a 21-day sit-in at a Tennessee county FHA office to protest that agency's long history of racism in the granting of loans to Black farmers.

Today, the idea of a national farm revolt by Black and white family farmers is spreading. In the context of the present conditions facing small family farmers under the Reagan Administration, the crisis over Black-owned land will, in the words Karl Marx wrote more than 100 years ago, "make the Negroes and the farmers of the West, who already grumble very strongly, the allied troops of the workers..."

## We Are Bosses Ourselves

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

—Lou Turner, "Black World" N&L

Available for \$12.95 directly from Humanities Press, Atlantic Highlands, N.J. 07716 or through News & Letters.

## Letter from Europe

# Workers' action vs. international capital

by Margaret Ellingham

Milan, Italy—The 1980s have ushered in really fundamental changes in the productive process: robotics for organization of the working force, while science and technology is revolutionizing the form of capital investments. In the meantime, the capitalist system with its enormous multinational companies, with its international financial institutions and banks, and with the complex relations that it has established with the state-capitalist countries of Eastern Europe, has made capitalist control of investments, primary production and commerce truly international. (China and East Asia remain still a bit at the margins, but all seems to indicate that China is simply sitting on the fence to see what type of capitalism it wants to jump onto.)

The scientific and technological organization of work does not only mean that people themselves have to work as if they were robots, but it is also being used to divide the working class. Highly specialized workers are paid more, but they are equally exploited by the technological level of the machines they use, while less specialized workers are degraded and earn less because they have to compete on the labor market in this situation of increasing unemployment. This naturally creates resentment between the different categories.

## "THE COST OF LABOR"

Not only that, but the multinational companies are making workers' wages internationally competitive. This policy of cutting wages and putting workers in competition with each other is justified by almost incomprehensible statistics on the "cost of labor" — the difference in salaries, social benefits, taxes, etc. between one country and another that do not take at all into consideration the social and cultural traditions of the various countries and the different economic necessities that these traditions have developed. An English trade unionist, involved in a dispute with a Belgian multinational that was trying to cut back the wages of the workers in its English branch, cut through all the statistics when he said "It's a bloody good job that you guys don't have your home office in Hong Kong; otherwise you would be here offering us bowls of rice."

And there is the tremendous problem of unemployment. While in the industrialized countries workers are being expelled from the factories and offices, in the less and under-developed countries agricultural workers are swarming to the cities in search of work. As we know this is creating tremendous social tension that goes from racism to drug addiction and to so many other things. Can the capitalist system reabsorb this potential working class without making fundamental, perhaps

revolutionary, changes within the system?

The people are protesting. The absolutely chaotic political situation that exists in all of the Third World countries shows that there is protest in those areas, but in West and East Europe also as well as in North America, the workers are protesting. There have been strikes of German metal-mechanical workers for a 35-hour week at equal pay with the aim of lower unemployment. The violent strikes of the British miners and the strikes of transport workers on land, sea and air have created a real drama in West Europe.

## A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION?

Now one asks, is this a revolutionary situation or is it one in which the integration of the people under a scientifically and technologically organized hierarchy will save the capitalist system? I would dare to say that it is a revolutionary situation and much more so than it was in the days of Marx.

In Marx's time the agricultural workers were being expelled from the land forcing the people to immigrate to the cities where small factories were being established. Through the hunger and continual competition between capitalists, the accumulation of industrial capital continued to grow, and thus the need for always more workers in the factories. Today we see that the workers are being expelled from the factories. Now, one must ask if the scientific and technological organization of production can absorb these workers as industry absorbed the unemployed agricultural workers a century ago.

There is no doubt that the consequence of international capitalism is that it is leading the whole world toward the creation of "one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class interest, one frontier and one customs tariff."

This is really a moment in which all of the peoples oppressed by international capitalism should support each other in order to free the human race from the oppressive nature of capitalism and try to create a new human economic and social organization. Practical solutions have not yet been found, but surely it is the moment to search for them.

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## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

This October Mario Savio stood, once again, on the steps of Sproul Hall to address 4,000 mostly white students at the University of California, Berkeley (UCB). Twenty years ago many of those students who gathered to hear Savio were very young or yet un-born when he suddenly became the most prominent leader of the Free Speech Movement (FSM)—a student movement that set the stage for national and worldwide student movements that challenged the purpose and the very foundation of bourgeois education and the society that it served.

A feeling of anticipation ran through the crowd, as every face was turned toward Sproul Hall. Savio spoke about the FSM and the kind of organization it was; he denounced U.S. involvement in Nicaragua and in El Salvador, and urged students to oppose it. In the course of his speech, Savio noted that the FSM was "an attempt to bring about a unity of the student struggle with that of the Black Civil Rights struggle in the South."

Savio did not elaborate upon this statement, neither did other veterans of the FSM. Jack Weinberg, whose arrest for his refusal to remove himself and a CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) literature table from Sproul Plaza marked the beginning of the FSM, saw the relationship between the Black Civil Rights Movement and the FSM as one of "borrowing". He said in an interview prior to his speaking in Sproul Plaza that the FSM got its inspiration from the Civil Rights Movement and that those who were activists in the Civil Rights Movement were at the cutting edge of the Free Speech Movement. "They basically had taken the techniques and tactics and political style of the Civil Rights Movement and applied them to the situation in Berkeley."

### FSM AND NEW KIND OF EDUCATION

Two decades ago, when students were embattled with the University authorities, there was a far deeper understanding of the dialectical relationship that existed between the FSM and the Black Civil Rights Movement than this current opinion of Jack Weinberg. At that time Mario Savio understood that the Civil Rights Movement had caused the white students to perceive their reality as "pseudo-students" in a university that was dominated by the ideology and the practice of vast corporations and the government. And white student involvement in the Black struggle had shown them that "it was both the irrationality of society that denied to the Negroes the life of men and the irrationality of the University that denies to youth the life of a student..." that were the root cause of the rebellion at UCB in 1964.

Savio's understanding, that the rebellion at UCB was a unity of the humanism of the Black struggle for free-

## Free Speech Movement then and now

dom with the humanism of the students to be real students, through the mediation of the white students' participation in the Civil Rights Movement, was probably the great leap in cognition that came from the FSM. Yet during the week long celebration of the FSM's 20th anniversary, when every minute of the FSM's activity was discussed in more than a half dozen panels, no attention was paid to this crucial breakthrough in "white student consciousness" that went beyond free speech to the point of demanding that the University and education be separated from playing the role as producers and wholesalers of knowledge to the government, corporations and the military, that is, to the statified military economy.

Twenty years ago, UCB students rejected this role as the purpose of education and recognized it as the source of their alienation. Over those twenty years, the University has never backed away from its role as a servant of the statified military economy, in fact, it has expanded that role.

### BLACK LIBERATION AND THE FSM

The willingness of the 20th Anniversary Project committee to hide the fundamental challenge that the FSM raised about the nature of education in the American society as a living part of the present didn't just stop there; it spilled over into its attitude toward the Black liberation movement. Its relationship to the FSM and its centrality to all freedom struggles in the United States were never taken up seriously in any of the panels.

Thus, the 20th anniversary celebration of the FSM lost an opportunity to bring to a new generation of students those fundamental revolutionary qualities that made the FSM and the Black Civil Rights Movement so crucial a new beginning in American thought.

## Racism at U.S. Auto

Detroit, Mich.—One of the biggest problems at U.S. Auto Radiator is lead poisoning. At Plant 1 the ovens give off smoke, and lead is also in the air from the torches. The dipping area is very high in lead.

The company's way of solving the problem of high lead levels in the blood makes the problem bigger. One warehouse worker was forced to switch jobs with a worker in the plant with high lead. The way the warehouse worker felt was that they poisoned one worker, and now they're going to poison him too. The union president said he would stop the move, but three weeks later, the man's still not back.

The whole question of lead is not separate from racism in the plant. High seniority Black workers are being treated worse than other Black workers, even though all are harassed. They are trying to get the ones with more seniority out of the way before the contract is up next year, either by firing them or getting them to "fire themselves" by making them so mad they leave.

Some of the Black workers have been talking about lead and how workers have been moved around. One Black worker with high seniority has a lead level of 40, which is over the government safety limit. Even when you're under the limit you still get sick. So when you go over their standards it's really bad. They test the level of lead in our blood every six months, and every time this worker's lead gets low they put him back in Plant 1. They don't let it stay low. He goes back and forth between Plants 1 and 2, where the problem is more with dangerous machines than lead.

The harassment against Black women is increasing. Last week another woman was called in and harassed about production. And two of the Black women were just moved again to soldering. The moves were just harassment because they didn't keep them there.

—U.S. Auto Radiator worker

## British miners' struggle: in life...

Nottingham, England — The 1984 Miners' strike has from the beginning challenged Thatcherism to the core, and it may bring her regime to an end. The involvement of youth and women has transformed a movement about saving jobs into a rejection of alienated and fragmented social relations.

In Nottingham, where the official union never fully backed the strike, the rank-and-file set up their own organization. The young miners kept the strike going, while they maintain that if it wasn't for the women—their unique networks of support groups and their determination to stay out and win—there would not be a strike in Notts.

It is the younger miners who make up the bulk of the flying pickets and are most active. Their enthusiasm has surprised a lot of the older miners who thought the principles of worker solidarity and not crossing picket lines were dying out.

Young miners have joined the picket lines outside the court where the Newham 7 (seven Asian youths accused of conspiracy) are being tried. They have joined the anti-war demonstration "Stop The City," where 470 youths were arrested on Sept. 27. They joined the Troops Out delegation to Belfast, where Sean Downs was murdered. "The only thing different between Northern Ireland and Nottingham is that the police haven't got guns, visible guns that is," a young miner said.

The strike has also transformed the children's lives. At school they argue about the strike and battle it out with the teachers who try to make them take their badges off. At home, women go out picketing and are off speaking in London whilst the men stay at home and do the childcare. They've never done any public speaking before, "but it's easier when you believe in what you're saying," they say.

The women's support groups are where the decisions are made and carried out. As a Yorkshire woman said, "When they wouldn't let us go picketing we all got together and played hell with the union...I've told them, 'If you'd let women go picketing in the beginning you'd have got through to the scabs long ago.'"

The women are clear that after the strike is over they are not going back to the old ways. "Since this strike has been on we've done everything the men have, we've done more, we've done kitchens, speaking, rallying, picketing, the only thing we haven't done is go down pit and we intend to do that when the strike is over."

—Nigel Quinten

### ...and in books

*A Miner's Life*, by David Douglass and Joel Krieger, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983.

*A Miner's Life* conveys, as far as printed words can, what it actually feels like to work down a coal mine, specifically, nationalized coal mines in the north of England.

The risk begins as the men are winched down the

mineshaft in the "cage". In the Markham Main disaster, the brakes failed on the winder and the "cage" crashed to the bottom, 13 miners died, others were maimed for life.

Work at the coalface means crawling in seams usually about 3 feet high but sometimes as narrow as 12 inches. Miners face the old dangers of rockfall and fire damp (methane gas), together with new hazards associated with automatic coal-cutting machines: especially the risk of the haulage chain snapping and whiplashing across the face, injuring anyone in its way.

The hazards are magnified by management officials who overlook safety regulations in the drive to get more output. There is constant pressure to use less material for roof supports. The system of productivity bonuses introduced in 1978 has also led some miners to take shortcuts on safety to push up their earnings.

The high-speed cutting machines create thick clouds of dust. Thousands of dust particles cut the membranes of the lung, causing scars. This is the origin of pneumoconiosis (black lung), the greatest killer of mineworkers. For official compensation to come into effect, a panel of medical functionaries must be satisfied by X-ray evidence that a certain percentage of the lung surface is blackened. This leads to men who have been told that they "don't have enough dust" for compensation staying down in the mine, even though they are coughing and spitting and fighting for breath.

The book scans briefly over the recent history of the British miners' struggle, focusing on the turning point of 1969, when an unofficial strike movement, organized through a nation-wide network of local "miners' panels", successfully took on both the Coal Board and union officialdom — winning a higher wage rise than ever before, as well as sweeping away the union rule that required a two-thirds ballot majority before a national strike.

This resurgence of self-activity opened the way for the great strike victories of 1972 and 1974. One must be sceptical of the authors' view that the advance of the "left" inside the Labour Party reflected the success of the miners' struggles. On the contrary, after workers' power at the point of production went into a decline, following that high point of 1974, many radicals turned to the hollow substitute of winning control of the Labour Party apparatus.

This account makes it clear that the British miners' determined 1984 strike against pit closures does not mean they have any desire to go on toiling in the same old way. "We go into the pits because that's the only place, because that's where you earn your living. Because there is no alternative. If the alternative is rotting or starving, you've got to go to the pit. When they closed the pits we weren't bothered about that. It was the destruction of the community, and the destruction of our livelihood, that we objected to."

—Richard Bunting

## "A Soldier's Story"

by Eugene Ford

"A Soldier's Story" is a movie which shows the separation between the thinking of a spit-and-polish Black sergeant and his Black troops, which leads to the murder of the sergeant and the investigation that follows by a Black captain sent South from Washington, D.C. to catch the killer.

The Black troops' attitude to their existence within a racist United States Army in the 1940s is illuminated through their role as entertaining baseball players and menial laborers for the white officers. They question why they aren't instead fighting against Hitler's fascism, as they felt their role as soldiers should be the same as white troops.

This is further intensified by the racist attitude of the white officers to the Black servicemen, and in turn brings out the hate and contempt of their Black sergeant towards his own people, especially Southern Blacks whom he sees as "backward" and the reason whites treat all Blacks with racist disrespect and hatred.

The sergeant's hate for whites is not so obvious at first, but he himself shoots at some white guards. He then turns around and sets up and imprisons a Mississippi Black for the attempted murder. This imprisonment leads to the suicide death of the Mississippi Black who could not withstand the prison confinement. This widens the gap that exists between the sergeant and his troops unleashing a Black explosion which leaves the sergeant dead on a deserted rural road.

This relationship exists today where established Black leadership and organizations are far removed from the conscious struggle of unemployed Black youth, from Miami to Watts. What is needed is new relations that incorporate changing this racist capitalist system. The established Black leaders too often follow the lead of white society and are too far removed from Black reality. They treat Black and poor as an invisible army without thought, until it is too late and the explosion is on their front doorstep, as in "A Soldier's Story."

## YOUTH

## S. African youth in revolt

by Ida Fuller

The world has been impressed by the persistence, continuity, and duration of the recent student revolts in South Africa; a persistence not just of action but of Black Consciousness ideas which were not killed by repression after 1976. The school boycotts, which preceded and followed the boycotts of the new South African constitution, continue to this day. They have involved hundreds of thousands of students of all ages and fundamentally attacked the apartheid system of education which aims to control students' minds and spends nine times more on the education of white students than that of Blacks. The students have further directed their attack against continual arrests, corporal punishment, and sexual harassment and have spontaneously spread their boycotts to many regions of the country.

In Soweto, the site of the 1976 revolts, the boycotts this year have been most continuous and have involved many primary school children. They have forced the apartheid government to recognize their Student Representative Councils, if only in a limited way.

At the University of Transkei, so strong have been the boycotts that the government was forced to release 250 jailed students. When the students still refused to attend classes, the university administration expelled 2000 students and resorted to closing the schools until 1985.

At the University of Western Cape, students who have been boycotting classes since May stormed and occupied the university administration building, demanding the immediate resignation of a registrar who had helped police in the persecution of students.

Even at some white English-speaking universities, students boycotted classes for three days to participate in campaigns urging the "colored" population not to vote for the new constitution. At least 3000 white draft age youth have fled the country and the "colored"

## Study and Struggle

## FSM 20th anniversary

Berkeley, Ca.—The tremendous response here to the week long activities around the 20th anniversary of the Free Speech Movement (FSM) surprised everyone. Four thousand people, forming one of the biggest rallies ever on Berkeley campus, came to hear former FSM leaders, but mainly to hear Mario Savio speak at a noon rally on Tuesday, Oct. 2.

Though he now focuses on Central America, calling Nicaragua "the Mississippi of today," Savio emphasized the movement's roots in the Black South and moment of "deep solidarity" between Black and white. His reaction to youth who told him he is such an inspiration to them was to say Bob Moses was the one person he would single out as an inspiration to him.

At a Tuesday evening panel, "The Story and Meaning of the FSM," the speakers did bring to life the energy and original spirit of that moment to a crowd that filled every seat and available floor space in the campus' largest auditorium with many left in overflow rooms where talks were piped in. Savio emphasized the FSM's practice of democracy which he said usually meant "incorporating every significant objection into the direction of the movement."

From the floor at the Tuesday night panel I contrasted the openness of the FSM, described as its strength, with the events in Grenada where differences in the leadership were hidden from the people, creating the first opening to the counter-revolution from within that popular revolution. Savio responded that it was "too serious" to take up briefly and that the question of how to preserve democracy in the movement should itself be the focus of a discussion.

What made this such an unusual event was that it was not blind activity but of necessity a discussion on the direction of the freedom movement. In that sense, can this 20th anniversary of the FSM indicate a new beginning for the movement? —Ron Brokmeyer

The original pamphlet

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youth are resisting the forced military conscription—a measure of the new constitution which applies to them.

## THE 1976 SOWETO REBELLION

To understand how the revolts can be so deep and persistent today, we have to look back at the 1976 Soweto Revolt and the new stage which the Black Consciousness Movement represented. It was in June of 1976 when 10,000 junior high school students spontaneously boycotted schools and organized the Soweto Students' Representative Council, protesting against the imposition of Afrikaans (the oppressor's language) on Black schools.

This was a revolt of youth to gain a mind of their own and their slogan proclaimed, "No education for slavery." With its high degree of consciousness and organization, the revolt soon spread to other regions. A year later, nearly 300,000 Black and "colored" youth were boycotting classes.

The students transformed their schools into forums for discussion on Black Consciousness. They created the very new concept of consultation with workers, to call for a strike. Indeed the movement reached a turning point when 750,000 Black and "colored" workers went on a three-day General Strike—the greatest in South African history. This was the most serious call for the emancipation of labor which attacked the apartheid system at its roots.

## HUMANISM OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

From the very founding of the Black Consciousness Movement (South African Students' Organization, SASO) in 1969, Steve Biko, (see "Steve Biko Speaks for Himself," News & Letters, November, 1977) its founder, had proclaimed that the struggle against apartheid is not fought on "oversimplified premises," not one of integration within the "established set of norms and codes" but a "new direction and depth in thought" because "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."

Biko saw the 1976 Soweto revolts as the proof of Black Consciousness ideas among the young generation. "This is what has gotten through to the young people. They realize that we are not dealing with mere bread and butter issues." He defined the vision of Black Consciousness as the quest for a "true Humanity" placing the human being first "not as a means" for technological progress, "not as an extension of a broom," as "another lever to a machine, but as 'the determination of the Black to rise and attain the envisaged self.'" That is why he emphasized that "in being so critical of the economic self-interest in the Third World on the part of American Capitalism, I at the same time have no illusions about Russia." He considered the greatest contribution of Black Consciousness to be in the "field of human relationships." To stress that the possibility for change did not have an external source, but came from within the struggling human being, SASO proclaimed as its slogan: "Black man (and woman), you are on your own."

Just as the South African masses refused to accept the new government constitution by setting their own ground of freedom, we in the U.S. can not accept Reagan's ground by believing that he has won the struggle over the minds of men. The Black Consciousness Movement represented the Humanism and depth of ideas that can arise from under the most repressive apartheid system.

## Youth in Revolt

In the biggest turnout in several years, for a student election at Brown University, students voted 1,044 to 687 to urge the school's health service to stock suicide pills for use in case of nuclear war. The idea, said one supporter, was "to put the word 'suicide' with 'nuclear holocaust.'" Far from being a vote for suicide, the campaign spawned a group called Students Against Nuclear Suicide, which is already planning a rally. A similar referendum is to be voted on at the U. of Colorado.

At least 125 youths of the oppressed Tamil minority were detained Oct. 5 in Point Pedro, Sri Lanka. Also being held are 60 of 500 Tamil youths arrested in a similar police sweep in August. The rest were released only after a protest march by 500 women, most of whom had sons among the detainees.

Students at the Tennessee State University, a 97 percent Black college, were outraged when a Nashville federal court judge ordered that the university "can not maintain its Black identity" meaning that having a "Black faculty and a Black president" is "a situation that has got to change." The judge ordered the university to have a majority white student body within a decade and suggested the discontinuation of its "high school remediation program" in a state where most colleges are overwhelmingly white. While the federal court calls this "deracialization," it is the most blatant expression of racism.

## Yale: student-worker unity

At New Haven, Connecticut, the seventh poorest city in the U.S. and site of Yale, an ivy league school, a powerful solidarity is being forged between workers and students. On October 27, 450 students were arrested in a demonstration in support of the 2,400 striking clerical, maintenance and technical workers most of whom are women. Students blocked the university administration offices for an hour before they were forcefully taken away to the city police station. As a worker said, "Yale did not dream that a struggle like this could develop in the epoch of Ronald Reagan".

Earlier in the month, 190 workers who had been picketing in front of the university president's home, were arrested, but the picketing continues. Sixteen hundred members of local 34 have been on strike since September 25, when the Yale Corporation refused to negotiate a new contract for this young, mostly women, and rank and file organized union of typists, hospital, restaurant and hotel workers.

The union has been fighting university discrimination against women and minority workers. It has demanded a 26 percent wage increase, job security and pension funds to include cost of living adjustments. All 1800 university maintenance workers have also gone on strike to avoid crossing picket lines.

Campus rallies are now singing union songs like "The Modern Union Maid", students have staged library sit-ins, moved classes to off-campus locations to respect workers' picket lines, and just recently sued the university president, Bartlett Giamatti, vice president Michael Finnerty and treasurer John Buckman.

Yale witnessed a similar strike of maintenance workers in 1971, but the recent worker-student solidarity is new. While the university president defines a university as the "business" of putting out "products", a woman student arrested by the police declared: "Education no longer continues in the classrooms. Yale university is in the streets today." —Student observer

## Protest poverty education



Chicago, Ill.—Several hundred mostly Black and Hispanic students, along with their parents and teachers held a rally to protest the education crisis in Chicago. The rally was sponsored by a Chicago high school student group, "Students in Action" (SIA). Speakers, including a fourth grader, discussed the possibility of a teachers strike against the Chicago Board of Education's unwillingness to negotiate a new contract. (The teachers demand a pay increase, a continuation of last year's contract, and oppose new payroll deductions for medical insurance.)

Students at the rally stated they were not taking sides, but emphasized they were not against the teachers' right to strike. But Students in Action have their own demands. They raised the poverty conditions of schools and made a list of problems that students will face during a shutdown: problems in obtaining their already meager college financial aid, on summer college programs and applications for summer jobs.

The crisis in the Chicago schools is not caused by the teachers' contract, nor is the crisis limited to the city of Chicago—it is nationwide. The Reagan administration's policies have consistently eroded educational programs and have heightened the crisis. Recently the Supreme Court took back \$20 million allocated to Chicago's voluntary school desegregation program. Nationwide, the Reagan years have seen a reduction of National Direct Student Loans to many Black colleges by Secretary of Education, T.H. Bell. Where 50% of the Black student population in 1971 were receiving loans, in 1982 only 36% of the Black students were receiving them.

What I see is the Reagan Administration so determined to gear education directly to the new capitalist stage of production that we are ending up with a two-tiered system of education: a small elite is given a comprehensive education, and the masses of people, including most Blacks, Hispanics and women are given very little education, and face the prospect of chasing after very few jobs. That is what the Chicago students need answers to and why they are forming groups like Students in Action.

—Diane Lee

# OUR LIFE AND TIMES

## German anti-missile, anti-racism protests

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

While NATO commanders staged war games in the largest exercise since World War II, thousands of anti-war demonstrators came to the Fulda Gap near the East German border. Throughout the last week in September, demonstrators took part in direct actions including:

At Wildflecken, protesters sat down to blockade U.S. Army maneuver grounds and a Howitzer firing range.

Two hundred demonstrators cut through a fence at a NATO arms depot in Grebenheim where chemical weapons are stored.

Protesters got inside an air defense outpost near the East German border and painted anti-war slogans on three Hawk missiles while several hundred others entered an Army training base.

During the week a U.S. general complained in an unusual statement to West German authorities about crimes against property by "anarchists and criminals." A slogan directed against this general and others in the NATO command was "Don't defend us to death." The week culminated in a "human net" formed as thousands held hands in a chain joining the town of Fulda with the U.S. military bases in the area.

The protest continued three weeks later, using the same tactic but with a different focus linking growing West German militarization to unemployment and cuts in human social services. On Oct. 20, 150,000 anti-war activists came out to form another human chain, this time joining an unemployment office in the Ruhr steel town of Duisburg with Hunsruck, where Cruise missiles are scheduled for deployment at U.S. bases.

While the press called this not as massive a turnout as leaders had expected, this lower turnout may reflect activists shifting over to tactics of non-violent disruption of the war machine rather than a dwindling of support for the movement. After all, the demonstrations of millions in 1982 and 1983 did not prevent the Euromissiles from arriving. In addition, all wings of the peace movement were giving their attention to another crucial question: defending revolutionary Nicaragua against Reagan's massive, unrelenting and vicious economic and military attacks against that country. A demonstration to support Nicaragua was planned for Nov. 3, on the eve of U.S. and Nicaraguan elections.

On the domestic front, part of the movement has been confronting West German racism. The government of Helmut Kohl, which has welcomed the U.S. missiles,

has been harassing foreign workers.

To obtain permanent residence, foreigners must now be "certified" fluent in German and should not be wanted for "crimes" in their countries of origin.

The largest number of these 4.5 million workers are from Turkey, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Portugal, Spain and North Africa. A new plan is to stop foreign workers from bringing in children over the age of six.

Conservative deputy mayor of Berlin Heinrich Lummer supports such a regulation: "Our main problem is the big number of foreigners in West Berlin. Just imagine, 250,000 or 12% of West Berlin's population, are foreigners." Other repressive tactics pose as "generous"—for example, offering several thousand dollars cash to foreign workers "voluntarily" returning.

In September and October nationwide demonstrations by German youth were held in support of the rights of foreign workers and residents. This "March Against Racism and Anti-Foreigner Politics" was sponsored by Turkish, Kurdish, Greek, Moroccan and Iranian groups, as well as the Greens, and Left and feminist groups. Over 20,000 participated across the country in marches culminating in Cologne on Oct. 13.

Info thanks to Arbeiterkampf

### China's economic plans

The Chinese Communist Party has just released plans for wide-ranging changes in the industrial economy, the most headline-grabbing of which revolve around the marketplace. State enterprises are directed to engage in price competition with each other till "only the best survive."

This is not a matter of "returning to capitalism" — China's 1956 Constitution declared the country to be state-capitalist, and that is what it remains. The question is: who pays for this economic restructuring? Plant shutdowns plus factories' new official authority to fire workers who did have job security mean that workers will first pay with increased unemployment, despite the absence of unemployment insurance.

Plans also include increasing the wage gap between different jobs, especially pay for mental and manual work. China's leaders have read, in a professional capacity, enough Marx to know he fought to end the very division between mental and manual labor by which capitalism reduces human beings to a few thinkers and many "hands." But the logic of their system demands that they call their most urgent task the promotion of thousands of a new generation of managers.

The state will also be ending a number of subsidies on basic consumer goods in what it calls an "irrational" price system. Recalling how many times Polish workers organized against "rational" price increases at their expense, it makes sense that China has suppressed any workers' support for Poland's Solidarity. It will be worth

watching how Chinese workers resist paying in so many ways for Deng Xiaoping's plans.

### Azania revolt deepens

The award of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu, a prominent Black leader, was a blow to the apartheid regime. Tutu immediately hit out also against Ronald Reagan: "In my view the Reagan administration has assisted in making the South African government more intransigent. I am certain that if Mr. Reagan is re-elected, you won't see the South African government crying." In fact, that very week, the U.S. had once again "abstained" on a UN resolution condemning South African racism.

At the same time Tutu was being honored, 7,000 South African police and military troops invaded and sealed off the Black township of Sebokeng, a main center of the recent Black uprisings. Police searched house to house for arms and political literature while soldiers stood outside; 120,000 Blacks were interrogated, and over 350 arrested. The government show of force since August, including more than 80 Blacks they have murdered, has been met by continuing Black resistance. This has not crushed the Azanian student boycott, for one, which has been ongoing for six months and in recent weeks numbered 150,000 to 200,000 students.

When authorities tried to reopen schools in Atteridgeville earlier this month, less than a third of the students showed up the first day, and by the second day, five schools stood empty. In

Soweto, hundreds of youth attacked high schools when they were reopened.

The government attempt to counter the political influence of the Black Consciousness Movement's Student Representative Councils has been totally unsuccessful. Instead a new stage has emerged with the powerful unity forged by students and workers in a 3-day general strike in the first week of November.

### Poland's underground

The brutal death squad-type disappearance and murder of Rev. Jerzy Popieluszko, a priest identified with Solidarnosc, has outraged Poland and the world. Whether orchestrated from the top or "spontaneous," the murder is a sign of the frustration of the totalitarian apparatus at the persistence and determination of the opposition in the nearly three years since martial law drove Solidarnosc underground in 1981.

Today this underground publishes more than 250 periodicals, and has a wide-ranging network of cultural and educational activities. As intellectuals and known factory activists were arrested in 1981, a whole new layer of worker leaders arose to take their places. These new activists are committed to continuing the wide-ranging debates begun in 1980-81 over how to dismantle or reform the system.

There is a remarkable degree of tolerance of opposing points of view, and even people risking prison to distribute literature with which they disagree. While hardly having answered the questions facing Poland, the underground is continuing to debate, in itself a continuing victory over the one-party state.

### Peace talks in El Salvador



When thousands flocked to the guerrilla-held town of La Palma to witness the peace talks between the guerrilla leaders and the government, all talked of peace and aspirations for peace. To U.S.-backed President Duarte, "peace" meant guerrillas laying down their arms and agreeing to participate in elections, presumably supervised and policed by his own military.

However, a local guerrilla commander summed up in a few words the quite different concept of peace held by the Salvadorean masses: "What people want is peace. They're full of elections. We can't resolve this with elections. For the peace the masses want is not just an end to the guerrilla war, but an end to violent repression by the army and the death squads."

That violence has killed thousands in the peasant, student, labor and women's movements, including even Archbishop Oscar Romero. Thus, the "Archbishop Oscar Romero Mothers' Committee" of mothers of "disappeared" people demonstrated for peace in La Palma on the day Duarte arrived.

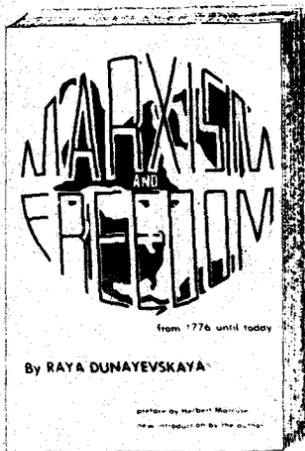
Is some new betrayal in store for the Salvadorean people by Duarte, as in 1980, when talk of elections was combined with mass murder of all voices of legal opposition? Or was it a "photo opportunity" to help Reagan's campaign? Or did it in fact mean that the rulers are ready to make some concessions to the masses on the basic issues such as land and human rights, and trade union, press and political freedom?

### Egypt: sit-in cuts prices

When workers at the state-owned Misr textile factory in Kafr el Dawwa, Egypt, discovered the Mubarak government had deducted an extra 3% from their paychecks for pension funds, they refused to pick up their pay or leave the plant after the Saturday shift, September 30. The next day workers joined angry townspeople in protesting government-mandated price increases for subsidized staples of bread, pasta and cooking fat. Two to three thousand people joined the demonstrations. Police turned on the march with tear gas and guns, and at least three people were killed and 26 injured. Immediately, Pres. Mubarak ordered prices restored to the earlier levels.

The unrest was the biggest food riot since the 1977 nation-wide protests when Anwar el-Sadat tried to do away with government food subsidies. In that year, 79 people were killed, and more than \$1 billion in property was destroyed, including Mubarak's house.

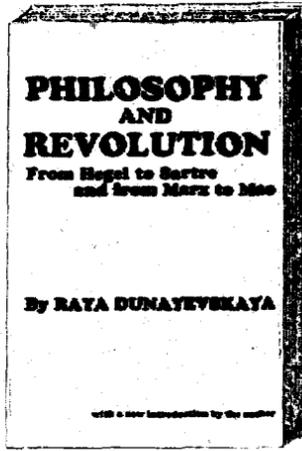
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