

South Africa on the threshold of civil war

by Lou Turner, "Black World" columnist

In a society where any opposition, even a funeral, becomes a massacre, where the rulers think they have silenced protest, avoided attack and re-imposed their rule—revolution alone is concrete.

Today that society is South Africa, where the largest funeral in its history drew some 60,000 people on April 13, to bury 27 victims of the March 21 Uitenhage Massacre, shot down while commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre. "Uitenhage is not simply a place; it is not only a symbol. It is a condition. Uitenhage is the state of our nation," Rev. Allen Boesak told the mass funeral.

As against Sharpeville, when the movement had to retreat into the underground, this time it is clear that the youth and the Black majority will not retreat. On the contrary. When the stage has been reached where the ANC (African National Congress) is forced to turn to guerrilla warfare, as its skirmishes with the South African Defense Force in the Eastern Transvaal and the April 30 bombing of Anglo American mining offices in downtown Johannesburg showed; when a Black general strike in Uitenhage can paralyze a major industrial center—when these conditions exist, a society is on the threshold of civil war. It is, therefore, the dialectics of revolution in that society that we want to follow.

South Africa has come full circle in the year since President P.W. Botha pressured Mozambique into signing the Nkomati Accords, agreements which the regime thought would prevent the guerrilla movement from bringing the revolution home. Coupled with Nkomati was the bogus tri-cameral parliament which Botha established to divide Indian and so-called "colored" from the African majority. And, in U.S. imperialism under Ronald Reagan, Botha had his most dependable ally, one who spoke platitudes about "constructive engagement," while funneling hundreds of millions

of U.S. dollars into South Africa's military-industrial complex. Thus, the picture that Botha had a year ago was one in which a new generation of peace was guaranteed for apartheid. That peace has been swept away by the powerful resurgence of Black masses in motion.

One year after Nkomati, the Botha regime finds itself beset by myriad crises: 1) the March 21 massacre in the Eastern Cape; 2) the imminent treason trial of UDF (United Democratic Front), a multi-racial coalition of some 600 opposition organizations members; 3) continuous revolt in townships throughout South Africa; 4) the emergence of a world-wide anti-apartheid movement, especially in the U.S. (see stories below) and 5) an economic depression of structural proportions compounded by the mass labor unrest of the emerging Black trade unions.

With more than 300 people believed killed since the September revolts, we have seen police violence climax twice in this period. First, in mid-February, 18 people were killed in police attacks at the Crossroads settlement outside of Cape Town. And secondly, on March 21, at least 32 people were killed during the demon-

strations at Uitenhage.

However, it is the reciprocal action of the economic and political content of the mass movement which is imperative to grasp in the events from September to today, if we are to gain any sense of future developments in the present situation.

SEPTEMBER: REVOLT IN VAAL TRIANGLE

September rent hikes brought forth mass unrest in the industrial townships known as the Vaal Triangle. In the East Rand and Soweto, mass protests were answered with instant repression, leaving more than 50 dead by the end of the month. The September rebellions saw pitched confrontations between police and youth who set up barricades in Soweto, while whole town councils resigned under community pressure.

At the same time, 40,000 goldminers in the Vaal Reef went on strike. Eight thousand more in Durban joined in a sympathy strike. Both labor actions were met with police repression in what was the first "legal" strike by Black South African workers in the country's history.

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Student anti-apartheid demonstrations in U.S.



The Columbia Blockade

Mandela Hall, Columbia University, New York—The steps in front of Mandela Hall (formerly Hamilton Hall) are jammed with students — Black and white, Latino and Asian, women and men. Most are from Columbia, but they have been joined by students from NYU, Princeton and many other campuses; by community people, and by workers from the area. The students sit on the steps in front of doors they have chained shut. Above their heads they have hung a banner emblazoned "Mandela Hall." Every day new banners and messages of support are hung or taped to the walls around Mandela Hall steps: "Architects in Solidarity," "Musicians against Apartheid," "Rutgers and Columbia in Struggle," "Apartheid Kills — CU Trustees Divest Now," "We Struggle for a Free Azania."

The students began the blockade on April 4, the anniversary of Martin Luther King's assassination and a nationwide day of student protests for a free South Africa. Several hundred students have sat down and slept out in front of the hall. They are part of the Coalition for a Free South Africa — a multi-racial student group — to force complete divestment of Columbia University's \$34 million in companies that do business with South Africa.

On Day 11 of the blockade the news is announced that over 60,000 attended the funeral in South Africa of 27 Blacks shot down by the apartheid regime. It is the largest demonstration in South African history. These new explosions have inspired the blockaders.

The blockaders have hung their own "restraining order" to halt CU investment in South Africa on the balcony over the steps.

Trustees, you know,
South African stocks have got to go
Students and supporters sing and clap and chant this
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The Berkeley sit-in

Stephen Biko Hall, University of California at Berkeley—"Earthquake Day" April 16, (the anniversary of the 1906 San Francisco quake) saw Berkeley students make the earth tremble. At 6 a.m. at "Stephen Biko Hall" (formerly Sproul Hall) University of California police arrested 158 people for "illegally camping out." It was day seven of the Steve Biko Memorial sit-in, sleep-in against apartheid, which was demanding that U. C. divest itself of some \$1.7 billion in investments in companies dealing with South Africa. So many of those arrested gave their name as Steve Biko that the court assigned them numbers. Biko number 55 remained on hunger strike in jail.

Seventeen more, including 13 student senators, were arrested at noon while petitioning the administration to drop the charges against the students arrested that morning and to meet their demands to divest.

THOUSANDS JOIN PROTEST

Over 3,500 people came to a noon rally to protest and show their solidarity. They heard Mario Savio of the 1964-65 Free Speech Movement proclaim that that movement too had begun as a fight against racism. A call went out for a boycott of classes.

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May Day began with U.S. labor



by John Marcotte

"Reaganism says the American worker is too rich. By that they mean we have enough to eat, we have a roof over our heads and we want to retire at 55. And what's wrong with that? If you work 'til you're 65 at this rush-rush pace all day, you're no good to do anything but die or keep working. At 55 you can still enjoy life, go for a swim in the morning, watch the sunset in the evening." That's how an older worker in my shop sees both Reaganism and his own idea of how he wants to live.

There seems to be an unbridgeable gulf between workers' ideas of a different way of life and the stark reality of the great crisis now facing American labor. Reaganism continues unabated to break unions, slash conditions of life and work, and swell the ranks of the jobless and homeless with the new stage of roboticized high-tech production. A comfortable retirement at any age is nearly impossible.

HUMAN TIME VS. FACTORY TIME

Yet even at the low wages we make, many workers in the shop don't wait 'til they're 55 to "enjoy life." There is a lot of absenteeism. They say, "The more I work, the richer the bosses get, and we have nothing to show for it." One friend was telling me, "They say Abe Lincoln freed the slaves, but we are still slaves here at work. I've been sitting at this same machine for ten years and I have much better things to do with my time." I can't remember the last time he worked five days.

What these workers are doing in 1985 is expressing in a practical way the battle over human time that led to the foundation of the May Day holiday nearly a century ago.

As it does today, American labor faced a tremendous crisis 100 years ago, in the 1880s. Then it was the magnificent movement for the eight-hour day that had swept across the nation once the Civil War had ended slavery, that led to the 1877 St. Louis General Strike and that was being everywhere repressed. The bosses

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Michigan 'pro-life' defeated—for now

Detroit, Mich.—Women in Michigan won a significant victory in March in their long battle to save Medicaid-funded abortions—but the war is far from over.

In February, the state legislature passed a bill banning Medicaid payments for abortions—the fourteenth time such a bill has been passed since 1978. The first 13 times, over a period of six years, two different governors vetoed the legislation because it denied legal medical care to women who are poor. During this same time, 36 other states voted for the ban.

Last year the so-called "Right to Life of Michigan" group, cheered on by President Reagan's campaign promise to support a constitutional amendment banning abortion, campaigned and contributed heavily to the state elections, with 38 of their 39 endorsed candidates winning office.

So, when Michigan Governor James Blanchard vetoed the Medicaid ban again in 1985, the anti-abortionists thought they had the votes to override his veto all sewed up, but they lost by two votes (one more than last year). However, the victory could be short-lived as anti-abortion lawmakers vow to raise the issue again "quickly." (An overridden bill can be brought up for a vote three times before it must be reintroduced.)

NEW PRO-CHOICE ALLIANCE

But while the anti-woman forces, led directly from the White House, seem to be getting stronger, this latest struggle in Michigan saw new pro-choice alliances emerge that could be the backbone of the struggle still ahead. Calling the Medicaid ban an attempt to punish the poor, a newly-formed coalition of Black, social work, religious and community groups was instrumental in forcing legislators to save Medicaid-funded abortions. They recognized, some for the first time, that this is not an abstract "woman's issue" but one of concrete urgency.

What would have happened, for example, to the 20,000 women who had Medicaid-funded abortions in Michigan last year if that funding had not been available? How many would have ended up at back-alley abortionists or waited so long scraping up enough money that even a hospital abortion

Kaiser nurses' contract leaves problems unsolved

Oakland, Cal.—There is incredible stress working at Kaiser as a nurse, but the recent negotiations and preparation for a strike before we accepted a new contract didn't address the difficult working conditions. A year ago we elected 40 negotiators, but when it came to negotiations the California Nurses Association (CNA) used an economic specialist who ended up making many of the decisions.

CNA leadership did not caucus with the negotiating team over important issues. I was angry that other unions weren't informed about the status of our negotiations so that we could enlist their support. We ended up accepting a two-tier system that Kaiser can install outside a 30-mile radius of any existing facility.

Also, hospital nurses lost a great deal on the issue of holiday time (a take-away). If we work on a holiday, we no longer have a right to a compensatory day off, only holiday pay. We had two weeks to talk about the settlement, but the contract was kept secret till the day of the vote.

The stress level in the hospital is extremely high because the staffing is chronically short. On the wards the patient/staff ratio is six to one on day shift, higher on other shifts. Staffing is done without regard to how ill patients are. On one shift I was responsible for 16 patients, with many needing lots of attention, and only myself, a registry nurse and a nurses' aid. I ended up crying. The only thing that got us through was that the night RN and LVN worked a double shift. I felt this was unsafe for patients and staff and notified my supervisor that I was accepting the assignment but also filing an "assignment despite objection form" with CNA.

Most of the time I worked all the way through the day just to get the job done, with no lunch and no break. I would come in a half-hour ahead to make out assignments for the shift and outline my work for the day. Supposedly work is measured according to acuity, which means for example that a patient who is comatose and requires regular turnings, dressing changes, etc. would require more than patients who are ambulatory and can do many things for themselves. Staffing according to acuity hardly ever happens. Acuity has just become another job because it now has to be filled in daily on each patient's nursing care plan.

The pressure is up everywhere. Now that we have computers, each nurse is tracked for the number of appointments made each month. During the flu season the work on the phone is outrageous. After we had worked at a very busy pace, the administration sent us a notice saying 90% of incoming calls have to be answered within three minutes. This is a regional goal but now they want a written explanation (from the supervisor) when we go below 90%.

—Kaiser nurse

would have been dangerous? What about their lives?

The Black community, above all, knows what it's like to be the brunt of attack by the Reagan Right, as they have suffered five years of Reagan cuts in services, education, health care, affirmative action and jobs, so that they face daily life and death issues.

'PRO-LIFE' HYPOCRITES

They can see that the hypocrites, like Reagan, who call themselves "pro-life," are in fact just the opposite. Those so-called "pro-lifers" don't give a damn about the life of the pregnant woman, or the baby after it is born, or the lives of others either for that matter. Twenty-six self-proclaimed "right-to-life" legislators in Michigan have attached their names to both the bill to end Medicaid abortions and the bill to reinstate the death penalty. These same "pro-life" legislators and their supporters work consistently against adequate welfare payments and services for the poor and are planning to introduce a bill banning all insurance-paid abortions.

The war—especially against women, Black America and the poor—is definitely not over. But the strength from the real pro-life, pro-woman alliances could serve to give direction to the Women's Liberation Movement whose long struggles 15 years ago gained women the right to control their own lives and bodies—a right now seriously in danger of being taken away.

—Mary Jo Grey

May Day's labor fighters



Elizabeth Gurley Flynn with leaders of the Butte (Montana) Miners Union, 1909. Already a veteran of May Day demonstrations, as well as strikes and socialist agitation, her visit to the copper mines was requested by miners who had heard of the "rebel girl."



women-worldwide

Eight Palestinian women prisoners at Neve Tirtza, Israel were put into solitary confinement in January, 1985 for continuing a work strike against prison conditions. Last year, a nine-month strike was begun by six Palestinian women prisoners' refusal to cook for male guards. They won support from both Jewish prisoners and Palestinian and Jewish women's groups—"Women Against the Occupation" and the "Palestinian Women's Work Committee."

—Information from No More Cages

On April 11, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, chaired by Clarence ("Looney Tunes") Pendleton, voted 5-2 to reject "comparable worth" as a concept for enforcing the civil rights of women workers. The concept seeks to compare the worth of the various jobs in which women predominate to "men's jobs" in order to redress pay discrepancies.

The United Nations End of the Women's Decade Conference is scheduled to take place in Kenya in July, 1985. But the Kenyan government has already announced that it intends to arrest any lesbians or any political feminists who come to Kenya to attend the conference. Black feminist author Barbara Smith asked, "How are Afro-American women going to act, when they start trying to arrest us... within the family... in a country from which we came?"

—Information from Gay Community News

Called "the forgotten veterans of Vietnam," many of the 10,000 civilians—most of them women—who served in Vietnam during the war are fighting for help with medical problems related to exposure to Agent Orange, including multiple sclerosis, miscarriages and birth defects. Women who worked in Vietnam with the American Red Cross, USO and other private U.S. agencies are being ignored by the government and the medical establishment who say "their small numbers are statistically irrelevant."

International Women's Day strike in Warsaw

One recent strike says a lot about Poland today. When women at the Rosa Luxemburg factory in Warsaw compared their paychecks with the prices in the stores, they celebrated March 8, International Women's Day (observed by the Polish government as a kind of Mothers' Day), by going out on strike for higher wages for all workers. Their "average" pay is substantially lower than the national average, even though it includes overtime pay for 10-12 hour days, plus pay for working what are supposed to be free Saturdays.

During the negotiations, the women refused to nominate a delegation. Rather each spoke in turn for everyone. They would not take management's excuses of no more money to pay them, or no authority to get it from other sources. They set a deadline for calling an even larger strike. The management is nervous. They have learned that the women are "stubborn." If they decide to strike they will go out again and again. Women bear the brunt of the perennial price rises which Solidarity leaders call murderous.

Zbigniew Bujak (leader of underground Solidarity) has now stressed that price rises, like those which drove these women to strike, are the number one problem. It has not always been the Solidarity leadership's view that the economy and political questions are so closely interwoven.

But the fact is that the inseparability of economics and politics, clear to Solidarity leaders today, was raised from below three years ago at the highpoint of Solidarity in October, 1981 by women in Zyrardow who struck against the advice of the church and against their own leaders when they refused to agree that their demand for food was "political," and therefore illegal.

—Polish exile

Karen Norman acquitted

Detroit, Mich.—After a second jury trial, Karen Norman was acquitted April 17 of murdering Lamont Powell, the man she had killed after he had raped her on May 6, 1984. (See N&L, December, 1984.)

Attorney Marjorie Cohen said, "If she acted out of fear and not out of malice, she is not guilty of any crime. This man was raping her in her own house and she had a right to defend herself...It seems the biggest crime Karen Norman committed was escaping without serious injury—and isn't that the point of self-defense? Does she have to come in with her head bashed in to believe she has been raped?"

The first trial ended in a mistrial Dec. 28, 1984. All testimony regarding "rape trauma syndrome" had been excluded by Judge Beverly Jaspers.

The Karen Norman Defense Committee, a coalition of Detroit-area feminists, attended the trial, raised funds and publicized the case nationally. They criticized the prosecution for disregarding rape as valid grounds for self-defense. They contrasted the case of Vincent Chin, in which two white men who chased and beat Chin to death were given probation, to the murder charge against Norman, who is a Black 20-year-old Wayne State student and mother of two. Feminists maintain that the case is a significant victory for Norman and for a woman's right to defend herself.

For more information contact Karen Norman Defense Committee, P.O. Box 3312, Highland Park, MI 48203.

LA Women's Center burned

Los Angeles, Cal.—On the night of April 9, a fire destroyed most of the Los Angeles Feminist Women's Health Center. The Center had been the object of harassment and bomb threats from anti-abortionists for several months, and although the cause of the fire is still undetermined, all indications point towards arson.

The last three years have seen 30 arson and bombing attacks on abortion clinics nationwide, with religious fundamentalists claiming these bombings as "God's law."

It was a devastating sight to see the burned-out Center the morning after the fire. This was one of the first feminist health centers in the U.S. and a pioneer in helping women learn about our bodies as part of the whole process of taking back our lives. The operating rooms and equipment were totally destroyed (damage was estimated at \$100,000); but one waiting room remained, and the portrait of birth control pioneer Margaret Sanger was still hanging on the wall.

A hand-painted sign was in the doorway: "You can't burn down a woman's right to control her body." Already the health center staff had set up a van on the street, doing pregnancy screening, and referring women to other clinics for abortions and other health services.

Over 60 people turned out for a meeting, held within 48 hours of the fire, determined, in the face of the threats we face, to continue the struggle for women's reproductive freedom and feminist health care. Funds are badly needed. Send contributions to: Feminist Women's Health Center, 6411 Hollywood Blvd., Los Angeles, CA 90028.

—M.L.

International workers' solidarity needed

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

We are hearing a lot lately about trade barriers. The U.S. government is threatening the Japanese that it will impose tariffs and other restrictions on Japanese goods coming into this country if Japan doesn't buy more goods from America. Secretary of State George Shultz said to Japan's Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe that "We must begin to hear the cash registers ring."

But whose cash registers will be ringing, I wonder. The U.S. government and corporations have been joined by the leaders of the big unions in saying that it is American workers who will benefit from restrictions on foreign imports. The garment workers union held a big rally recently, with the leaders waving flags and shouting "Buy American"; and the UAW bureaucracy has for a long time joined as one with the corporate executives of GM, Ford and Chrysler in calling for restrictions on Japanese cars coming into the U.S.

CAPITALISM IS WORLD SYSTEM

As a worker, I see things very differently. What I see is that the capitalists of one country are trying to pit "their" workers against the workers of another country. This is what they have always done, and it always ends up in a war where the capitalists make even bigger profits and the workers kill each other.

Common sense tells me that my enemy is not the low-paid workers of the Third World, and that the big multinational corporations are not my friends. I know those corporations care about their profits and not about the livelihood of the American workers. That is why we have seen so many of them close up shop and move their American profits to the Third World where labor is cheap.

I remember 20 years ago, when I first went to work for GM, we used to assemble many auto parts that had been made in other countries. Since then, whole cars are made abroad and sold in the U.S. as "all American." The UAW knows this but says nothing against "all American" GM, with its "all American" profits. Instead, the UAW carries on a campaign as if the Japanese workers were our enemy.

Some of the truth about GM's treatment of its 690,000 workers around the world came out in a recent report issued by the Geneva-based International Metalworkers Federation. The report says that GM should be called "Scrooge of the Year." It shows, for example, that at the GM plants in Mexico, the company increased its earnings by 47%

from 1981 to 1984, but cut labor costs 18% through wage and benefit reductions. In Brazil, real wages of GM workers declined 63%.

Another recent study, from the International Labor Organization, shows how the conditions of all workers around the world are getting worse, with more on-the-job-deaths and increasing violations of trade union rights. Capitalism is a world system, and the enemies of the workers are not the workers of another country but our own capitalist rulers.

AMERICAN CIVILIZATION ON TRIAL

The News & Letters pamphlet *American Civilization on Trial* shows that, during the Civil War in this country, the textile workers in England held mass demonstrations to prevent their ruling class from intervening on the side of the South, despite the fact that their own livelihood depended on a steady flow of Southern cotton. They said they would rather starve than support slavery.

That pamphlet also shows that, in 1905, American workers organized "one big union," and they called themselves Industrial Workers of the World. That was the same year as the Russo-Japanese war, when the leaders of the Russian and the Japanese labor parties met and shook hands, defying their capitalist, chauvinist rulers.

Our union leaders today have the same capitalist, chauvinist mentality as the rulers, but as workers we have to take back the path of international solidarity. Capitalism is worldwide. We can't let them trick us that the question is "free trade" vs. "trade barriers." To fight capitalism, workers as a class have to join together with each other across national boundaries. Then we can win.

Bad quality forces lay-off at U.S. Auto Radiator

Detroit, Mich.—On Thursday, April 18, U. S. Auto Radiator laid off half the people on day shift and half on the night shift. They're laying everybody off on the day shift who has low seniority and telling them they can collect unemployment. They're taking half the night shift—the ones with high seniority—and putting them on days. That's supposed to be temporary, but they have also told the laid-off people to use their medical benefits before they run out in June.

There are people still working who don't have as much time as people laid-off. It seems the company just laid off who they want. And the union president, Calvin Reeves, hasn't done anything to make the company follow seniority.

The word is that the company lost two big contracts because of poor quality. Management will tell workers to pass something when it should just be scrapped. If you can't get it right from the start of production, it's no good from the beginning. We make radiators from raw materials—a roll of copper, a roll of brass and other parts.

When the copper comes off the machines, it's in the shape it's supposed to be in. But sometimes it won't be good. It will either be too long, too short or bent. We'll tell the foreman, "This is no good." He'll say, "Use it." Why is he saying use it? Because of his rush for production. He doesn't want to shut the machine off and get it fixed or have anyone go home early.

—Plant One workers

Del Rey Tortilla boycott



Del Rey Tortilla workers picket grocery store.

Chicago, Ill.—"Tortillas no, union si!" was the chant of Del Rey Tortilla factory workers picketing a grocery store on 26th Street on Chicago's West Side which had refused to support a boycott started by the workers. Their leaflet explained that Del Rey mistreated its workers, paid them low wages and refused to recognize their union.

Del Rey Tortilla workers first began organizing for a union in 1982 with the help of the late Rudy Lozano. Rudy worked for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) organizing unorganized immigrants who work in Chicago's numerous sweatshops. In December of 1982 Del Rey workers voted to be represented by Local 76 of ILGWU. Del Rey fought their workers by firing those who were pro-union and by calling Immigration to detain and deport the rank-and-file leadership.

A boycott of Del Rey products was organized in Spring of 1983, but was cut short by the deportation of the shop's leadership and by the still unsolved assassination of Rudy Lozano in June, 1983. The workers filed a complaint with the Labor Board, which found Del Rey "guilty of illegal firings and intimidation and of refusing to negotiate with the workers."

By Spring of 1985 the company still refused to negotiate so the workers decided to try another boycott. With the help of the ILGWU and a local workers' organization, Asociacion Pro Obreros, Del Rey workers asked stores throughout the Latino communities not to carry Del Rey tortillas. It is a unique alliance of workers and community residents fighting together for just working conditions, but it is not without its difficulties and the result is far from clear.

Del Rey workers who had not been fired showed up at the grocery store for a counter-demonstration with signs saying "Tortillas si, union no." A Del Rey worker participating in the boycott looked at the counter-demonstrators and said, "The company pays them to picket against us, pays lawyers to fight us in court, but they can't pay us a decent wage." —Chicago reader

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WORKSHOP TALKS

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hired armed guards and formed private armies to crush the labor movement. Union meetings were broken up and leaders imprisoned.

ORIGIN OF MAY DAY

The response of American labor then was 340,000 workers marching all over the country on May 1, 1886, for the eight-hour day. In 1888, the AF of L called for a worldwide general strike for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1890. That call was given international support by the new Second International in 1889. May Day was born out of the new kind of labor struggles around the eight-hour day in the U.S.

But it took the Humanism of Karl Marx, the philosopher of freedom, to catch that that eight-hour struggle was about much more than just a physically shorter day or a means to end unemployment—though it certainly was that. Marx caught that it was a challenge to the very basis of capitalist production.

The philosophy of the workers saying, "When does my day begin and when does my day end," was greater—because more concrete—than any Bill of Rights or Declaration of Independence on paper. That is why such a simple idea could be the basis of such a powerful movement. When the labor leaders lost sight of that, as the AF of L did, they had nowhere to go but away from the workers.

May Day is now all but forgotten or celebrated by the state-capitalist powers as a military spectacle, but today's workers continue to fight the battle over human time and to challenge the very idea of what is wealth in our society.

Marx expressed the challenge philosophically when he wrote that beautiful statement: "When the narrow bourgeois form has been peeled away, what is wealth, if not the universality of needs, capacities, enjoyments, productive powers, etc., of individuals, produced in universal exchange...the evolution of all human powers as such, unmeasured by any previously established yardstick—an end in itself?..."

This May Day 1985, we can look at May Day not just for its American roots or international dimension—as important as those are—but also turn to the Humanism of Marx that could meet that great movement in life with a movement in thought, to make it aware of its own greatness. It is that Humanism that we can see in the struggles and ideas of workers in 1985, a criticism of our whole form of labor, and the basis on which to build a whole new way of life.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

herent in the present.

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

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

THEORY / PRACTICE



by Raya Dunayevskaya

Editor's Note: On March 21, 1985, Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman of News and Letters Committees, delivered a talk on "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts" at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit to coincide with the opening of an exhibit of her Archives. (For text and report see N&L, April, 1985.) At the same time she added Volume XI, covering the years 1981 to 1985, to her Archives, which are housed at Wayne State under the title, "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism—1941 To Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S." Below we print the "Introductory Note for Volume XI."

1981-1985 — Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts

The overall title of this volume, which covers the four years, 1981-1985, returns to the birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. when *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 Until Today*, in 1957, defined the two aims of that work to be the American roots of Marxism and its world Humanist dimension. We had practiced Marxist-Humanism before 1957, but we had focused at first on the theory which saw state-capitalism as the new world stage of capitalism, a theory we felt had been proved by a three-year study from original Russian sources published in 1942. We had not then proclaimed Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. as an important, independent, historic Tendency. Even in 1957, although *Marxism and Freedom* was rooted deeply in the revolutionary dialectic, we had not singled out, along with the two aims we had specified, the third characteristic of Marxist-Humanism—the dialectics of revolution. That is what characterized every chapter of the book, as it was traced through the historic periods from the French Revolution and the Abolitionist Movement in America, through the 1917 Russian Revolution, to the revolutions in our own post-World War II age.

THE TRANSCRIPTION and publication of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* in the 1970s made "provable" our claim that the new moments of Marx's last decade had seen him return to his first, 1844 declaration for a "new Humanism," greatly deepened now that he had discovered the economic laws of capitalist development. This view of Marx's Marxism as a totality made it clear that from the start, in the early years when he had written his "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic," Marx had not only broken with capitalism but also critiqued both Feuerbachian mechanical materialism and what Marx called "vulgar communism."

It was *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* that first created the category of post-Marx Marxists as having begun with Frederick Engels, and that challenged all post-Marx Marxists today to find in Marx's Marxism "the trail to the 1980s for the transformation of reality." This became the title of our Perspectives Thesis for 1982, the year that *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* was published. It is that concept that characterizes the whole of this Volume XI, which begins on the eve of the publication of that work, and ends on the eve of the publication of *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*.

THE STRONG SENSE of internationalism that permeated the four years of this volume, 1981-1985, was demonstrated both in our theory and in our activity. The voices of revolutionaries in other countries speak for themselves in a bilingual bulletin on the unfinished Latin American Revolutions; a translation by Peruvian feminists of "Woman as Reason and as Revolutionary Force"; a pamphlet where the voices of Guatemalan revolutionaries are heard; special bulletins and transla-

tions by Iranian exiles. We recorded, as well, the rise of women dissidents in Russia as Women's Liberationists; the developments of revolution and counter-revolution in Poland; our opposition to Israel's totally genocidal invasion of Lebanon.

We celebrated the Marx Centenary Year, 1983, with an extensive National Lecture Tour. It was especially significant to us that Humanities Press, the publishers of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, had chosen to publish, on the eve of that Centenary, new editions, as well, of both *Marxism and Freedom and Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*. This we called our "trilogy of revolution."

1983 was likewise the year the Constitution of News and Letters Committees was amended to include a new paragraph on Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. It was, nevertheless, a tragic year for us, since that was the year we suffered the death in October of our Black production worker-editor, Charles Denby, whom we honored in our "In Memoriam" in the November issue of *News & Letters*.

WE ROSE TO THE DEMANDS of *News & Letters* by assigning, in January 1984, two new columns to the front-page space Denby's "Worker's Journal" had filled for 28 years. One was "Black World" by Lou Turner and the other "Workshop Talks" by John Marcotte and Felix Martin. Later that year, we published our pamphlet on *A 1980s View: The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism* by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya. The impulse for this pamphlet had come during the Marx Centenary Tour, when Dunayevskaya returned to West Virginia, where, at one and the same time, she had been active in that historic 1949-50 strike and had been translating Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks*, initiating a three-way correspondence around them with C.L.R. James and Grace Lee. (See Volume III for 35 letters from this correspondence.)

It was during the Marx Centenary Year itself that we had published a pamphlet on *Marx and the Third World* by Peter Hudis, as well as new editions of both *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions and American Civilization on Trial*. The last letter of Charles Denby to Raya Dunayevskaya had centered on the importance of the expanded edition of the latter and the essay it was to include entitled "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa."

At the end of 1983, Grenada proved that philosophy is no abstraction, and that to think all that is needed is activity is to submit to the half-way dialectic that can become a road to the counter-revolution. The shock of Grenada was the way in which the counter-revolution right within what considered itself the revolutionary party of Grenada had paved the way for U.S. imperialism's invasion.

The next year (1984), the Convention of News and Letters Committees voted to move the center of Marxist-Humanism to Chicago. In making this decision, we considered that we were extending the Marx Centenary Year both chronologically and conceptually. Thus we saw the pamphlet, "Eleanor Marx in Chicago," as one that had caught the "trail to the 1980s." Indeed, so did

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Addition to Marxist-Humanist Archives

our discussion bulletin around the first English translation of Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts*, which we called: "The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts."

THIS VOLUME ENDS with the year 1984-85 and the exciting developments in the new home of News and Letters Committees, which are reflected in three publications in particular: 1) "Responsibility for Marxist-Humanism in the Historic Mirror: A Revolutionary Critical Look" (#8334); 2) "Marxist-Humanism as a Body of Ideas" (#8348); and 3) "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts," the presentation given at the Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs on March 21, 1985.

The final inclusion in Volume XI consists of the page-proofs of the Introduction/Overview to *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*. This new book, which covers 35 years of writings on Women's Liberation, is the first major theoretical work to present Marxist-Humanism as it itself developed dialectically. While it focuses on a single force of revolution, Women's Liberation, it actually includes all forces of social revolution—revolutions which have been carried out by men and women throughout history. The dual rhythm of any social revolution lies in the task of both destroying the old exploitative society and creating totally new human relations.

—March 1, 1985

Justiceville, U.S.A.

by Eugene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—A new beginning in the struggle of the homeless is under way in Los Angeles, where 50 white, Black and Latino unemployed and homeless workers have set up makeshift living quarters in an abandoned lot near downtown, called Justiceville. These workers are trying to do something about the plight of the homeless by organizing themselves on the streets rather than depending on the state, welfare, or charity.

Justiceville was formed in the aftermath of the 1984 Olympics when homeless people were forced off the streets in order to present an image of a "clean" Los Angeles to the world. But the number of homeless has only been increasing in Los Angeles and nationwide. To bring attention to their plight, a group of unemployed workers set up a "tent city" after the Olympics to protest the harassment by the police. From the tent city Justiceville was formed.

These 51 people live in "dwellings" made of plywood, cardboard, and whatever other refuse can be found. Many who are living here were formerly sent to flea-bag "hotels" by the welfare department, where they were robbed and harassed. Many of these homeless say they feel safer on the streets, for "in a group of people we can struggle."

One thing made clear to me at Justiceville is that the people are not just looking for some charity. Instead they are trying to organize for the right of homeless people to set up their own Justicevilles. As one brother told me, "This is not a commune like the 1960s that was trying to separate from the world. We want to bring about drastic social change here. We want to get unemployed people who have no home together so we don't have to suffer the abuses of this system."

The city has responded to this development by trying to evict the occupants of Justiceville, on the basis of its "unsanitary conditions." But a court order recently allowed Justiceville to continue. Many whom I talked with there said they thought it strange that the city would be so concerned about "sanitation" for homeless people when they organize themselves, but do nothing about far worse conditions of filth in the welfare hotels.

Homelessness has become a world and a national problem. Many who pass by Justiceville say it reminds them of the shantytowns they have heard about in the Third World. More and more of these kinds of shantytowns are bound to spring up here in the U.S. as the number of homeless increases. What is new about Justiceville is that the homeless here want to organize themselves for their right to a place to live and sleep.

One occupant of Justiceville told me that he became homeless as a result of Reagan's economic "recovery." "This is a recovery of evictions, mortgage foreclosures and repossessions," he said. "For the working people this recovery means more hungry men, women and children starving, as prices and rents go up, while welfare, foodstamps and aid benefits keep getting cut."

The city for now has decided not to evict the residents of Justiceville, mainly because it may generate "bad press." Meanwhile some in Justiceville want to talk to other homeless people about what they have begun here in Los Angeles. As I looked across these cardboard and plywood shacks, I remembered Marx's phrase that "the unemployed will be the gravediggers of capitalism." That does not seem so far off.

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Northwestern marchers say—'Nicaragua si, Contras no'

Chicago, Ill.—On April 13, over 350 demonstrators gathered in front of Northwestern University's Harris Hall to protest a scheduled speech by Adolfo Calero, leader of the National Democratic Forces, the largest of the "Contra" organizations. The invitation came from a right-wing student organization called the Conservative Council.

For an hour we marched outside of the hall shouting slogans against Reagan's Central America policies and the "Contras." As the scheduled time for Calero's speech drew near, we began spontaneously to walk into the hall. Several people got up on the stage and spoke against the "Contras" and Reagan.

It soon became clear that the overwhelming majority of the audience was not going to let Calero speak. In spite of this, Calero came out amidst skirmishes between police and those demonstrators who still occupied the platform. As the stage was cleared and Calero stepped to the microphone, the chant of "Nicaragua si, Contras no!" was deafening. Calero could not be heard but he remained at the podium until several demonstrators drenched him, his aides and his student supporters with animal blood. At this point they left the hall.

Many different groups of students, local residents and others from all over the Chicago area then gathered to discuss informally the evening's events and the future of the movement in opposition to Reagan's policies and for the revolution in Nicaragua.

Earlier in the week, a smaller and quieter meeting had taken place on the campus of the University of Illinois at Chicago, which indicated to me a new openness on the part of some to go beyond opposition to Reagan and the "Contras" to a discussion of the process and progress of the revolution in Nicaragua.

PEASANT LIFE

The speakers were two North Americans, a man and a woman, who had recently returned from Nicaragua where they had helped harvest coffee and cotton. Both had worked on state-owned farms which had been run by friends of Somoza before the revolution.

They described peasant life as a difficult one — hard labor from dawn to dusk and barely enough compensation to live on. But the peasants had stressed with the visitors the differences in working conditions before and after the revolution. What seemed very important was the fact that on the state farms there was now a genuine respect for the individual worker. While the pace of

Anti-Reagan demonstration

Washington, D.C.—In the largest national demonstration in several years, tens of thousands marched on Washington April 20 opposing the degenerate policies of Reaganism at home and abroad and for a new type of political activism and commitment towards transforming American reality. It was the high point of "Four days in April" planned by a coalition of hundreds of civil rights, students, church and labor organizations.

The truly national scope of the protest was seen for example through the activities of a college student who spoke of driving a van from Baton Rouge, La., picking up other students en route. As with many others here, he has been a dedicated political activist at home, working in a group which does "surveillance" of American military bases, recording the ongoing war preparation activities.

Though not visible as national organizers or leaders of this action, the presence of student youth was palpable. Many spoke of a new level of activism on campus, especially on, but not confined to, anti-apartheid and divestiture which they have only recently begun to help develop.

The international dimension was not missing either. Of the many voices to be heard in the march, Spanish was the most prevalent. An example was a student from Colombia, via Miami, who discussed with us the revolutionary thinker Frantz Fanon. An Iranian revolutionary looking at the April N&L story on worker strikes inside Iran, told us of a recent Tehran opposition march of 10,000 wherein three protesters were killed. One Black activist carried his own handwritten placard which said simply "Stop Pinochet, Stop Botha." Another carried a sign which read "End Racism in America and South Africa."

—News & Letters participants

work was steady, there was not pressure from above to produce — the pace was self-imposed. One peasant had said that before the revolution "the work had been like slavery even though it wasn't called that."

OPEN DISCUSSION

I asked if there had been much discussion over President Ortega's new austerity program, which would increase peasant wages but also raise prices even more. One of the speakers said there had been a special meeting to discuss the policy where she was working. While the peasants understood that the U.S.-financed attacks by the "Contras" made the austerity program necessary, they also wanted to make clear their concerns about what it would mean specifically for them and their families.

When a young Sandinista cadre attempted to defend the government, she was told by the peasants, politely but firmly, "The Sandinistas do not need you to defend government policies. They do need to hear from us."

—David Park



Protest education cuts

Chicago Ill.—At the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC), more than 150 students gathered on April 15 to protest the appearance on campus of Education Secretary, William J. Bennett, who was there to praise Reagan's latest massive cuts in student financial aid. Bennett's statement that students could simply give up their "stereos and Florida vacations," had infuriated the crowd of Black, Latino and white student demonstrators.

As students gathered in front of the university's Behavioral Sciences Building where Bennett was scheduled to speak to 20 hand-picked students, they demanded that the Secretary speak to everyone. Many carried signs that said "Save Education, Dump Bennett!" and "Education Cuts Never Heal."

When the crowd learned that Bennett had slipped in another door, they demanded entry to the building. A university official warned that students entering the building would be arrested. The 150 then streamed into the building shouting "Books, not bombs."

Most of the student leaders chosen by the university officials to meet with Bennett refused to do so unless the others could be present. Bennett finally agreed. But as he left the stormy meeting one student shouted, "Don't go back to Washington and claim legitimacy. Don't claim that you've met with students at UIC and know what is going on."

After Secretary Bennett had left, the Black student government President Julius Polk told the group of cheering students, "I think of education as a freedom. When they take a person's freedom, well you better sit down and discuss it baby. Because if they take your freedom they take all you have."

Hunger, terror still stalk Salvadoran refugees

The following in-person report comes from a young American woman studying in Costa Rica who spent 24 hours (the maximum time permitted) inside one refugee camp in Honduras.

Mesa Grande, Honduras—Twenty-four hours in a refugee camp in the mountains of Honduras and the perception of what is repression and what is the struggle of the people of El Salvador becomes tangible. The site is Mesa Grande—one of the three refugee camps in southwestern Honduras which holds approximately 11,700 Salvadorans.

While many of the refugees have come directly to Mesa Grande from El Salvador, others were relocated from one of two camps closer to the border where they lived from early 1980 through 1981. In late 1981 the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) finally answered the pressures of the United States government and moved the refugees farther into Honduras, despite the refugees' protests.

As for the housing the refugees had been promised upon relocation to Mesa Grande, it did not exist. After living in the tents they set up for quite some time, the refugees built long wood/tent structures divided into 15 x 20 foot "houses" that today hold between 12 and 15 people. The land was of a quality that local Hondurans had abandoned as useless, but the refugees would learn to cultivate it cooperatively so as to at least maintain some element of the peasant life they had lived.

DEPRIVED OF FOOD

Besides outright abuses of human rights, and harassment and refugee "round-ups" by the Honduran army stationed just outside the entrance to Mesa Grande, the most pressing and widely talked about problem facing the refugees is the decline in medications and food.

A year ago the nutrition centers were closed down, and in late 1984 the organization CONCERN, most

Indians fight legal web

by Shainape Shcapwe

Since the early 1800s, the Indian Act has made the Canadian government responsible for all the welfare needs and social services of the Indians, from cradle to grave. There are a lot of inequities in it, and many horror stories. Now the government has agreed to update some of its policies.

For instance, it would now include a sexual equality act. When Canadian Indian women marry outside of their bands and leave the reserve, they become non-status Indians. They do not receive any of the social services, such as they are from the government.

The sexual equality act would bring status to these disenfranchised women and their children and grandchildren. It took over ten years of fighting to even get that much introduced into the Indian Act. The Canadian government and some of the Indian men have been unwilling to deal with it.

Then in early April Prime Minister Mulroney held a two-day Conference of First Ministers to discuss an amendment which would entrench self-government for the Canadian Indians in the Constitution. Present were Canadian leaders from the different provinces, Mulroney, and representatives from organizations encompassing all the major Indian groups. Along with various women's groups, the major organizations were the Assembly of First Nations, the Native Council of Canada, the Metis National Council, and the Inuit Committee on National Issues.

The perspective of the conference was so broad that it included such diverse concerns as the problems of the Metis, who are of mixed blood and have no rights with either the government or any band; the mineral and fishing rights of the Inuit; and the non-status of women who due to marriage have been forced to separate from their bands and their families.

At the end of the conference they were supposed to approve or reject the amendment. However, by then such a watered-down version of the proposed amendment was on the table that the Indian groups could not go along with it. The discussions were postponed until late May.

You saw the government trying to hold off, making a show of taking the Indians seriously without doing anything. By the end of the two days, five provinces were willing to agree, but seven provinces and over 50% of the national population are needed for it to pass. I don't think they're going to manage that.

The whole discussion about the amendment to the Constitution has raised more questions than answers for me. If they pass that amendment, what will happen with health and welfare benefits that the Canadian Indians have now? Will the government just say, "Well, that's your problem, not our responsibility anymore?" Then there's the question of why the provincial governments don't want to deal with it. What about logging, oil and mineral rights?

To me the best thing to come out of the discussion about the amendment is that people are working together to make some changes. I have never seen any Indian collective work together so well, despite such different concerns being raised by status and non-status Indians, the Metis and the Inuit.

known in the camp for its work in nutrition, was eliminated by the UNHCR, despite the quite vocal objections inside the camp. The emergency has not passed, as refugees continue to arrive and death from malnourishment is far from obsolete.

RETURNED INTO TERROR

Probably the most terrifying of all for the refugees is the recent agreement between the Honduran and the Salvadoran governments to begin repatriating the refugees this year. Refugees would be flown first from their current camps to a "reception center" in Honduras and then on to a government-controlled zone of El Salvador.

What this project, designed to move 10,000 refugees this year, ignores is in fact the refugees themselves. As the refugees explain, the Duarte government of El Salvador has failed to offer any sort of protection or economic aid to repatriated refugees, and ignores the fact that thousands of refugees continue to arrive in the camps in Honduras, and an estimated 500,000 other displaced persons seek internal refuge in El Salvador itself. The refugees in Mesa Grande say they will not go, and international solidarity has helped them to hold their ground up to this point.

The final issue brought up by the representative committee is U.S. intervention in El Salvador. And U.S. power over the Honduran army and U.S. control of the United Nations and its refugee commission...

With this appeal, the barbed wire fence that surrounds the people in Mesa Grande becomes something that separates them only geographically from the Salvadorans in El Salvador or the Guatemalans in Guatemala or the Chileans in Chile. Even greater than the fear that prompted the refugees to flee their homeland is their hope and faith that they will one day return and become part of a total transformation of that society.

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YOUTH PROTESTS AND QUESTIONS UPSURGE, CHALLENGE APARTHEID AND U.S. BACKERS

There is something new in this country—and it's about time. You come home and watch TV at night, and you see students blockading the CIA recruiters at the University of Colorado; you see others confronting Education Secretary Bennett over Reagan's student aid cuts at the Univ. of Illinois-Chicago. And everywhere you see protests against U.S. support of racist South Africa. The demonstrations at Columbia spread to Berkeley and Cornell, and dozens of other campuses.

As someone who has been a college student every year of the 1980s, I have never seen anything like this. There is a new spirit, not only of activity, but of discussion of ideas. I participated in a successful attempt to keep a "contra" spokesman from peddling his Reagan-ite garbage at Northwestern. It felt great.

Graduate student
Loyola Univ., Chicago

Why does there have to be an age limit on everything in this world? I'm a high school student and I don't see why we can't vote, when we live in this world too. They tell us we go to school to learn, and I do, but why can't I learn what I'm interested in? I'd like to study law but they won't let me. My Dad says I have to learn to make money. People think because we're young we don't know anything, but they'd be surprised. I'm tired of people telling me I have to wait.

Black high school student
Los Angeles

On the Sproul Hall steps of U.C. Berkeley I talked to an American sailor on assignment in South Africa and now on leave here. Though he didn't have direct contact with South Africans he felt bad about the bloody demonstrations and feared the time when the U.S. might intervene and send him against the Black demonstrators. Now, after seeing the movement at U.C. Berkeley, he has decided that he would go AWOL rather than obey orders to shoot. It reminded me of the Portuguese Revolution and the importance of Portuguese soldiers' experiences in Angola.

Third World revolutionary
San Francisco

On one day's notice, 40 City College activists marched from our campus to Columbia in support of the blockade of Mandela Hall. We were greeted with a lot of excitement. There was plenty of discussion and dialogue ongoing when I had to get back to CCNY to try to catch Eugene Walker's talk on "Marx and the Third World."

Latino activist
CCNY, New York

The dominant opposition to apartheid in the U.S. support movement is divestiture. It's a liberal movement that has the illusion that economic pressure will force South Africa to mend its ways. None of these solutions starts with subjective forces for revolution—the youth, women, workers, who are in veritable civil war there. Divestment puts change in the realm of the market place; the multinationals are there because low wages bring superprofits. U.S. investment has actually grown from \$4.6 billion in 1974 to nearly \$10 billion today. Divestiture is based on the idea that freedom emerges from petition.

Long-time socialist
San Francisco

We have to support and work in the divestiture movement. Look at all those students who came to the demonstration at U.C. Berkeley to protest the university's involvement in South Africa. They were moved by what had happened in the townships there. What we have to do is work with them, to bring out the view of the depth of the revolt and its thought, to show that there is Reason in the demonstrations. Even though divestment is not enough, it

seems to me that it is a live and important movement. In my opinion, many of the youth who are active in it will soon want to go far beyond divestiture and begin looking for revolutionary ideas.

Activist
Oakland, Calif.

REAGAN AND FASCISM: IN GERMANY, IN U.S.

Reagan's decision to visit a cemetery of Nazi war dead is a slap in the face of the Germans as well as the U.S. He says he doesn't want to stir up bad feelings; he wants to show that we're all friends now. But a whole new generation in Germany has grown up and rejected that Nazi past. They won't go along with Reagan turning the clock back 40 years.

Angry
California

As far as I'm concerned this debate about Reagan going to visit a German cemetery and lay a wreath where 50 Nazi SS soldiers are buried, and his totally phony concern about whether visiting a Nazi concentration camp will revive "bitter memories of the past" misses the point completely. The fact is Nazis exist NOW—in Germany, in France, in the U.S.A.

The same issues of the Chicago papers that carry the articles on Reagan's trip to Germany, also contain the articles about neo-Nazi David Tate, member of the racist, anti-Semitic group, The Order, that has already committed murder and has over \$4 million in stolen money to bankroll its arsenal. Reagan is giving the green light to fascism, not just of The Order, but a whole host of groups.

Sickened
Chicago

I really liked the editorial (April N&L) on ending Reaganism. I was amazed when I first heard that Reagan called the MX the "peacekeeper". I told a couple of friends; they just said oh yeah, they'd heard it before, he'd been calling it that for some time. So it was nothing new. New or not, it is an outrage. Reagan's ideology of newspeak, transforming the reality of things by calling them their opposite, works by constant barrage. If you say something enough times, it becomes true. If Reagan says "peacekeeper, peacekeeper" ad nauseum, then that is what it becomes—the media takes it all on board. The truth is, as the editorial points out, his words are not just words, but bear horrendous consequences for the world.

Observer
New York

When the cops in Queens torture a Black youth with an electric stun gun over a lousy \$10 from a supposed drug deal, and then they admit it was racially motivated, you know it is because they have gotten a message from the White House. In the '60s and '70s, whenever the Black Panthers opposed with guns or American Indians were occupying their own lands, SWAT teams and all kinds of police were sent in. But with these neo-Nazis today the police are using kid gloves. They say it is because there are women and children with the Nazis; but they never cared about Black or Indian women and children, they moved right in shooting. The headline of the April N&L editorial is so true. We do need to end Reaganism before Reaganism ends us.

Civil rights veteran
New York

FRANCE UNDER MITTERRAND

It is a revelation to live in a country which has elected a "socialist" government and watch it gradually turning into its opposite. I have to believe that most of the Socialist Party regulars are "honest" men. Yet a process turns the "idealist" of 1981 into a "pseudo-capital-

Readers' Views

ist" of 1985. The policies of the current government are now blatantly to the right.

Certainly, seeing the dismantling of social protection erected by the right/center governments performed with so little shame by socialists is disheartening. Even the Communists—power hungry as always—had to finally abandon their support of the Left alliance in power since 1981. Current plans include a change in the constitution to install a proportional system of representation. The single reason is the hope of Mitterrand to hold power for an extra year or two. The single result may be the entry of the far-right National Front into the parliament.

American intellectual
Paris



HIGH TECH AND MARX'S VIEW OF SCIENCE

Thanks for your pamphlet, *The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts*. From what Brokmeyer writes in it, it seems to me that Marx's interest was primarily in the inner logic of math; and while his way of thinking was of course fundamentally one with his way of thinking in all his other works, I fail to see the justification for writing, as Brokmeyer does on p. 10, that "Marx not only anticipated today's crisis in production but also a new direction to the fetish with his critique of science's attitude toward thought itself, showing how the science of mathematics was thwarted."

One can find flashes of insight like that in the *Grundrisse* and in *Capital*, but I would guess that to find them in the *Mathematical Manuscripts* one has to want very much to do so.

Socialist-economist
New York City

Today capitalists are counting on high tech to produce another boom. Instead the "Second Industrial Revolution" is bearing out Marx's Absolute General Law of Capitalist Accumulation. Even many computer industries are going bankrupt. The high tech industry is increasingly splitting into, on the one hand a small elite stratum of "yuppies", and on the other a majority who are either unemployed or making poverty wages. Marx's concept of science was always totally opposed to the illusion that technological innovation

can be neutral in a capitalist society. Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts* is a new critique of science's attitude to thought itself.

Computer programmer
Chicago

It is the limitation in thought that is the basis of capitalism, the fetishism of commodities, that Marx showed us how to overcome through negation of negation. "Low tech" is no solution to high tech as long as the production is capitalist production. All low tech has meant, as in Poland, is that workers have to be disciplined into working twice as hard. It's the overthrow of the whole relation that is key.

Student
Bay Area

Ed. Note: "The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts," a new bulletin of discussion by Marxist-Humanists, traced Marx's 1880-82 writings from their creation and disappearance, through their rediscovery in the 1920s and their perversion by Stalinist academicians in the 1930s to their urgent relevance for our computer age today. It is available from N&L for \$1.50, postage included.

'SCRATCH A NEW YORKER, FIND A PARIS COMMUNARD'

My grandmother recently read Erica Rae's essay on the Paris Commune (Mar. N&L). Much to my amazement she called me to tell me that her oldest sister had been named after Louise Michel, the great woman Communard featured in the article. My grandmother's mother had been born exactly three years before the outbreak of the Commune, and as a young girl in Russia the Paris Commune had made an impression on her and her sisters that she never forgot. After emigrating to the U.S. in the mid-1880s, she became active in Socialist and suffragist activities. Then, when her first daughter was born on March 18, 1900, the anniversary of the Commune, she named her after Louise Michel.

Yet this beautiful story had not been told to the next generation in the family until Erica Rae's wonderful story appeared in N&L. The bell it rings in my mind reminds me of Wendell Phillips' statement, "Scratch a New Yorker, and you will find a Communard."

Laurie Cashdan
Michigan

WORKERS ASK: WHAT KIND OF 'RECOVERY' IS THIS?

I'm on layoff and I don't know if I will ever get back. What makes me maddest is that it is due to outsourcing. Ford has a contract with Budd to make the part we used to make here at Rouge. They're paying a couple of dollars less apiece for them. The worst thing is that Budd is a UAW shop, too. What kind of union is this, where one UAW brother underbids another until one of them is on the street and the other one is working for less than either would have accepted a few years ago?

Ford Rouge worker
Detroit

When I read Marcotte's column last month on how the conditions of the lowest-paid workers pull down the living standards for all workers, I thought of what Marx wrote in *Capital* about the Civil War in the United States: "Labor in the white skin can never be free where in the Black it is branded." That's not rhetoric, but the way the world really is. That's why the capitalists try so hard to have workers who are slightly better off identify with the rulers, rather than in solidarity with other workers.

Black activist
Los Angeles

The press is lying about the growing pauperization. The papers report on p. 1 that the economy is thriving, while on p. 31 they report a whole town wiped out by unemployment. Reagan's change in counting the armed forces as "employed" also distorts things. The growing hunger and illiteracy are not separate from attacks on affirmative action. Clarence Pendleton, Reagan's appointee to run the Civil Rights Commission, says, "Civil rights may make you free, but it will not make you rich." He insists that "The place to solve it is in the market". Pure capitalism.

Black intellectual
Oakland, Calif.

It's nice to have N&L at my plant. When they were out there selling the newspaper, I thought, "Well, this ought to be interesting". I didn't know what it was really about. Then I started reading the article about my plant, and other articles by different people who have things in common with you. Here you are working. Then you find something that's in common from the other side of the earth, even India.

Small parts plant worker
Detroit

**DUNAYEVSKAYA TALK AND EXHIBIT IN DETROIT:
MORE DISCUSSION FROM OUR READERS**

One aspect that emerged from both the talk and the exhibit at Wayne State University is that, finally, her years with Trotsky are seen in their correct relationship to the totality of Dunayevskaya's life and work. There is no skipping over those years, or the historic personage of Leon Trotsky who certainly is a presence in the first panels of the exhibit. But then the rest of the exhibit unfolds; Marxist-Humanism is born and followed by 30 years of thought and activity, American roots and international relations.

Nor is the idea of Marxist-Humanism ever separated from masses in motion, brought so alive with pictures of the 1949-50 coal miners' strike, East Germany 1953 and the Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955.

**Appreciative
Los Angeles**

Your special section about the Wayne State University Archives exhibit and talk by Dunayevskaya was quite impressive. I had not known very much about Raya's life history, and it gave me a better understanding of your philosophy. Will the exhibit travel to other cities?

**Reader
Florida**

During her lecture, Raya said that she did not have time to develop a crucial point—that within her studies of the Absolute Idea, especially in his three final syllogisms in the *Philosophy of Mind*, she had discovered a new Hegel. She asked the audience to help her develop it in the discussion period. I raised my hand to have her expand on the point, but there were too many hands and too short a time.

The point I wanted to ask her to expand on was not alone a new Hegel, but the new of Marxist-Humanism that I had heard in the talk.

Hegel's final three syllogisms, written at the end of his life when he chose to "summarize" his philosophy, end with Hegel throwing out his *Logic* and putting in its place the "Self-Thinking Idea." This is certainly a new Hegel and one never recognized before. But it

also focuses attention on Marxist-Humanism's journey to uncover the dialectic for our age. In the Archives exhibit you see how that journey followed out the self-determination of the idea of freedom—as forces of revolution and as the force of dialectical philosophy. I spent a lot of time at the exhibit, looking at those new revolutionary beginnings and thinking over how they came to be.

**Marxist-Humanist
Chicago**

After a couple of visits to the Walter Reuther Library exhibit of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, and after I read Eugene Walker's beautiful review of it, and after comparing it to an exhibit at the nearby Detroit Historical Museum, "Black Women in Michigan: 1785-1985," I finally began to appreciate the way the Dunayevskaya exhibit presented ideas.

Books, pamphlets, letters and photos are displayed so you see them not just as interesting objects, but what they say. The form of this exhibit, in giving a flavor of the ideas and how they were worked out, reflects how "practical" is the philosophy which went into its development.

**Friend
Detroit**

Under the impact of the WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs exhibit, "Raya Dunayevskaya, Marxist-Humanist Philosopher," Lou Turner's "Black World" column last month traced the "Origins of Black Marxism." He focused on the American Negro Labor Congress, founded in 1925, and on its newspaper, the *Negro Champion*, edited by Lovett Fort-Whiteman, for which Raya Dunayevskaya wrote.

Only two copies of the *Negro Champion* from its years in Chicago, 1925-1928, have been located. We appeal to all our readers to assist in the search for these important historical documents. Contact News & Letters or:

**Archives of Labor and
Urban Affairs
Wayne State University
Detroit, Mich. 48202**

ISRAELI HUMANISTS

The current issue of *Israel Humanist Alternative*, the English-language journal of the Israeli Secular Humanists—an organization dedicated to the separation of religion from the state, the establishment of a human rights constitution on the basis of equal rights for all, and the securing of peace in the region—proves that there is live opposition inside Israel to the Labor-Likud regime. It concentrates on the struggle against racism in Israel, exposing the growing popularity of the idea of deporting the Arab population.

They appeal for assistance to help their publishing venture, which also prints their Hebrew magazine, *Briera Humanistit*: "To our friends and supporters in Israel and abroad, we need your support to stem the extreme nationalistic Orthodox-religious tide that is lapping at our shores." To subscribe to *Israel Humanist Alternative*, write:

**ISHA
PO Box 36965
Tel Aviv 61-369, Israel**



**WHAT
DIRECTION
FOR INDIA
TODAY?**

I appreciated Peter Wermuth's lead, "Will Mass Unrest Alter India's Path?" (April N&L). Wermuth was able to put India into perspective so that one felt they knew where to look for the needed revolutionary change. My criticism is that I think his article gave Indian women short shrift.

The autonomous women's movement is close to 10 years old; the organizing against dowry murders is certainly not confined to Bihar; and women are fighting on many levels: the right to own property, to marry for love, to be able to have a life after their husband dies, and women are certainly part of the militant labor struggles in textiles and other industries that Wermuth mentions.

I feel that the form of the Women's Liberation Movement in India is a con-

scious attempt to break down the "persistence of national, tribal and caste conflicts that the rulers have long learned to use to their advantage." India's women's movement, like the women's movement worldwide, has challenged the Left's narrow concept of just what is revolution.

**Feminist
Chicago**

I liked the article on India; it's surely hard to write about such a contradictory situation. That article sent me back to the Marxist-Humanist Archives and Dunayevskaya's Dec. 8, 1962 Political Letter on India. One can see in that analysis the ground for what is happening today.

**Student
Los Angeles**

When you look at India, you see how important state-capitalist theory is. From the foundation of the state of India, Nehru had a "state-capitalist socialist" view on the primacy of central planning. And they still have Five-Year Plans, with rural and urban goals. I actually participated in this planning when I lived in Calcutta years ago, and worked on the city plan, including creating industrial satellites. I'm glad they're having wildcat strikes now. No place needs them more.

**Urban Planner
Illinois**

ORGANIZATION OF THE BLIND

Thank you for printing the Readers' View (April N&L) on our fight to save free mailing privileges for reading matter for the Blind. But I must correct one error. The organization to contact for further information is called the National Federation of the Blind; not for the Blind. NFB's leaders are not revolutionaries. But the truth is that the creation of NFB in 1940 was a revolution for us. Though self-limited by a policy of reformism and narrowing of universals into "blind issues," NFB remains the most militantly independent mass civil rights group of the blind. We are rightly proud of that little word "of."

**Steve Fletcher
Detroit**

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard**
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
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South Africa on the threshold of civil war

(continued from page 1)

On Oct. 23, with widespread revolt in the Vaal Triangle spreading to other townships, with the apartheid system being ground to a halt as residents refused to pay rents or otherwise cooperate with the administrative apparatus, with numerous resignations from the puppet town councils, with 93,000 students boycotting classes, and with each funeral for victims of police repression mounting newer stages of militancy, the regime responded with an unprecedented military siege of Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Boipatong. The Vaal Triangle was cordoned off from the rest of the world.

All liberation organizations were unanimous in condemning the 7,000-man occupation and house-to-house searches as tantamount to civil war. Trevor Manuel of the UDF stated: "It is unlikely the people of Sebokeng will be beaten into submission. On the contrary their anger will make way for bitterness and Black/white polarization. The authorities were looking for something they could not find under beds or in wardrobes. The anger of the people over rentals and lack of participation in government doesn't hide in those places."

NOVEMBER: MASS GENERAL STRIKE

By November, the whirlwind of rebellion and repression culminated in a massive two-day general strike with more than 800,000 Black workers participating. Moreover, the two day stay-away spilled over into the automotive center of Port Elizabeth and East London in the Eastern Cape.

It is in Port Elizabeth and the whole of the Eastern Cape region where the greatest concentration of foreign capital is invested, especially the multi-billion dollar investment of American corporations. It is there that South Africa's economic crisis is disclosed in both double-digit unemployment and Black worker militancy.

Meanwhile, the rental and council offices in the Vaal townships became the target of the residents. It was not long before the homes of town councillors who refused to resign and whose salaries are paid by the rental revenues, also came under attack, when the government announced that the revenues would be used by the councils to draft their own police force.

As against the portrayal of attacks on Black officials and policemen in the Western press as "Black-on-Black crime", the attempt to purge the townships of collaborators with apartheid is a recognition by the Black community that the decision to overthrow the apartheid system means rooting out its own social divisions.

FEBRUARY: MANDELA'S STATEMENT

By mid-February, in the wake of strikes in the Vaal

Triangle, Botha broke ranks with his own Law and Order Minister, Le Grange, to offer imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela a "conditional release."

Mandela immediately denounced the terms of Botha's offer in a statement that his daughter Zinzi read



Students care for youth shot down by police

to a rally of 9,000 Soweto residents in February:

I am surprised at the conditions that the Government wants to impose on me. I am not a violent man... It was only when all other forms of resistance were no longer open, to us that we turned to armed struggle. Let Botha... renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid... What freedom am I being offered when my very South African citizenship is not respected? Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts... I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you the people are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated... I will return.

That same week which began with Botha's phony offer to Mandela ended with the strike of 13,000 Kloof goldminers and open rebellion at the Crossroads settlement camp, leaving 13 dead and 200 injured.

MARCH: UTENHAGE MASSACRE

It was 40,000 goldminers downing tools in the largest strike in South African history at the Oppenheimer Anglo American Vaal Reefs mine, the largest gold mine in the world, which coincided with the Uitenhage Massa-

cre of March 21. The week before, Port Elizabeth workers went on strike over price increases.

When the government commission investigating the massacre at Uitenhage reported its findings, it could have only seemed like a case of *deja vu* for those who recalled Sharpeville, for as in 1960 the Black people murdered at Uitenhage by the South African Defense Force 25 years later were also shot in the back. However, if Uitenhage was calculated as a signal for the Black masses to retreat, the government had terribly miscalculated. As one Uitenhage resident declared: "...our communities are under siege, and they treat our people less than human. But it is only a turning point. Things have started now, and there will be no peace in South Africa until the Black man is free."

Even while the Black community was burying its dead, the government continued to think that it was living in the Sharpeville period when on March 29 it outlawed all public meetings of 29 community and political groups, including the major opposition organizations, the UDF and Azapo (Azanian People's Organization).

However, far from the horrors of the Vaal Triangle repression in September, Crossroads in February and Uitenhage in March driving the movement into retreat, fresh upsurges of revolt have been the order of the day. The banning of outdoor gatherings were met with mass turnouts, bannings of funerals called forth the largest funeral in South African history, and the banning of opposition organizations has gone totally unheeded.

Nevertheless, the South African Defense Force (SADF) has declared civil war on Black South Africa: It is however, a civil war in which only one side is armed, as unprovoked attacks by the SADF are stepped up in the Black townships.

Historically, the turn to armed struggle grew out of these conditions and today assumes a logic of its own. Boycotting students burning down inadequate school facilities, anti-rent protestors destroying the rental and council offices that their rents built, striking miners defending themselves against police attack, could only be overwhelmed by the superior armed force the state, they did not succumb to it.

BLACK LABOR VS. CAPITAL

What is new, however, as against any other period in the history of the Black freedom struggle in South Africa, is that this social and political strife is being waged against the proletarian background of the civil war of Black labor and multinational capital. Strike wave after strike wave has hit the South African economy, crippling capital at the point of production.

Thus the mass strike that was looming in January against the giant Sasol oil conglomerate, which had earlier been the target of attack by Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation, the armed wing of the ANC created after Sharpeville), involved 24 trade unions, along with the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union (CWIU). The dispute between Sasol and CWIU centered around the reinstatement of 6,000 Sasol workers who were dismissed following the two-day labor stay-away in November. The 24 unions threatening to take collective action against Sasol are currently attempting to form a single nationwide federation of trade unions.

What is new is rooted in the revolutionary forces released by Soweto and the new theoretic beginnings of the Black Consciousness Movement a decade ago. It is not only that the mass general strikes in the 1980s have their roots in the three powerful stay-aways that the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) carried out in 1976, but that new questions of revolutionary theory and practice were raised that are finding concrete expression today.

Here is how Pendelani Nefolovhodwe, general secretary of the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers Union, summarized the question of the intellectual's relationship to the worker that he and other students during the 1970s had begun to pose in the BCM: "If intellectuals won't admit that's what they are, they're going to be useless organizers. If you truthfully accept what you are, you work at interacting with workers, listening and accepting. Then you can systemize and form the ideas that project working class aspirations."

The question is not whether the underground and guerrilla experience of the ANC and the PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress) in the post-Sharpeville period, or whether the stay-aways and the new stage of Black Consciousness in the Soweto period could have brought the apartheid system down. Rather, it is that they laid the ground for the advanced forms of organization and revolutionary activity that have brought South Africa to the threshold of revolution today.

As the conflict in South Africa deepens each day, the Botha regime will continue to look for support from the Reagan Administration, as well as try to gain breathing space through political machinations in Namibia. What the dialectics of revolution, as they have developed this year, have demonstrated, is that change in South Africa is centered within the subject of the oppressed. We in the U.S. who offer solidarity to that freedom struggle can learn much about our own tasks from the events as they unfold.

BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

Faced with the growing threat of civil war at home, the white minority government of South Africa is rushing to protect itself against a victory of the liberation forces in Namibia by establishing a "transitional" government composed of minority parties that are sympathetic to Pretoria. South Africa is gambling that such a minority government may appear independent enough to gain international recognition, thus circumventing UN Resolution 435 which calls for popular elections with all contending parties participating.

However, the overriding purpose of this political maneuver is not to outfox the U.N., but to build a defense against the forces of revolution both in the region of Southern Africa, as well as in the Republic of South Africa itself. Even if Pretoria gets away with this politically it can no longer build "police zones" against revolutions or cow the African masses with the threat of a Black bloodbath.

AFRICAN RESISTANCE

The Namibian people have had a long history of resisting oppression. In 1904, when Namibia was a German colony, the Herero people repeatedly defeated and humiliated German military forces. The fact that mere "half naked savages" were superior in combat so infuriated the Kaiser Wilhelm that it led him personally to instruct the general staff to take harsh military action against the Herero, 80,000 pastoral people who for centuries grazed their cattle on the highland of South West Africa. This task was given to Lt. General Von Trotha, who had shown that he was capable of exceptional brutality toward colonial peoples when he commanded the Schutztruppe in Tanganyika (Tanzania) in 1895.

Upon his arrival in South West Africa, Von Trotha told the beleaguered Governor, Teodor Leutwein, that it was his "policy to use force with terrorism and even brutality. I shall annihilate the revolting tribes with streams of blood and streams of gold. Only after a complete uprooting will something emerge."

From that moment Trotha organized a war of extermination against the Herero people that would make no distinction between warriors and non-combatants.

The German colonial office was eager to establish German authority over the people of South West Africa and turn the colony into a profit making enterprise.

Namibia's past in the present

This meant that the tribal people had to be coerced into accepting German rule and the colony opened up for exploitation by German settlers. Neither of these could be accomplished unless the Hereros were separated from their pasture lands so that the white settlers could use the area for their cattle.

Governor Leutwein wanted to do this cheaply without bloodshed and war. First, he took advantage of the contending differences that existed between the Herero and the Nama, deciding to "protect" one against the other. Second, he bribed the chiefs with sinecures to "sell" Herero land, communal land that they had no authority over.

But this seemingly legal and peaceful method of separating 80,000 Hereros from their land escaped none of the dehumanizing character of what Marx called the "primitive accumulation of capital." Once the Hereros were bereft of their land, the road was open for forced labor, the rhino whip, rape of the women and the introduction of a usury credit system, etc.

HERERO/NAMA GUERRILLA STRUGGLE

The Hereros fought bravely, but in the end the whole tribe of men, women and children, under the deadly fire of German artillery, were driven into the Omaheke Desert, where they died by the thousands from thirst and hunger. Trotha sealed off the border of the Omaheke Desert and issued his infamous order that reads in part: "Any Herero found within the German border with or without a gun, with or without cattle will be shot. I shall no longer receive women and children; I will drive them back to their people or I will shoot them. This is my decision." The Herero people were annihilated. Of the 80,000 people that existed before the revolt only 15,000 were alive in 1911.

Von Trotha's genocidal war against the Hereros did not bring the conflict to an end. The Nama people immediately took up arms, under the leadership of Henrik Witbooi, and conducted a brilliant guerrilla war until 1907.

So deep has been the historical passion for freedom in Namibia, that even to this day we find that the great-great-grandson of Witbooi is in the foreranks of those opposing apartheid in southern Africa. And, as against the polite parliamentary opposition to the bloodbath in Namibia at the turn of the century, Botha and Reagan are feeling the world pressure of millions who want to end apartheid.

EDITORIAL

High tech and the state of health in America

In these first months of 1985, a series of disturbing medical events, reported from factories and hospital emergency wards, from court rooms and from toxic waste sites, has called into question the state of health in America. Why, it is asked, is the quality of health declining in the richest and most powerful land on earth, a country which loudly proclaims its devotion to advances in science and technology? Among the strands of an answer, what stands out is the deadly conjunction of the current era of high-tech production with the retrogressionism of the Reagan Administration, a retrogressionism that has reached into both the hospital and the workplace.

Consider these recent events:

● One of the largest and most technologically advanced dairy products plants—the Jewel Corp. plant in Melrose Park, Illinois—proved responsible for the most massive outbreak of salmonella poisoning in U.S. history, with over 10,000 confirmed cases and at least 10 deaths.

● A world still shocked by the dimensions of the December, 1984 tragedy at Union Carbide's plant in Bhopal, India—where at least 2,000 are known dead and 10,000 permanently disabled—began reading also about 2 billion in claims filed by 24,000 victims and surviving relatives in cases of asbestos poisoning in the U.S. and Canada. Johns Manville and other asbestos companies were shown to have concealed the deadly nature of their product.

● The fact that the full dimensions of asbestos poisoning only became known three and four decades after workers in mines, shipyards and construction were exposed to it underlines the future implications of events like Bhopal, where the killer chemical was methyl isocyanate, one of the thousands of new synthetic creations used daily both in the U.S. and the Third World, and about which little medical information is known.

● The high-tech industry itself, with a reputation as a clean, safe, white-collar preserve, was revealed as one of the nation's most dangerous, as new studies in California's Silicon Valley showed that its 150,000 production and maintenance workers—many of them Third World immigrants and Blacks—suffered from three times more occupational illness than workers in manufacturing as a whole. Some 47% of their illnesses resulted from systemic poisoning by toxic chemicals, arsenic included. At the same time, 125 of Silicon Valley's water wells were found contaminated by chemicals used in the production of computer chips.

● The proliferation of new toxic chemicals and production processes, spurred by a global rush to "high-tech," has already contributed to an alarming 8% increase in job-related worker deaths in the U.S. last year.

TO HEALTH IN THE WORKPLACE

But that is not the only reason more workers have been sickened or killed. The retrogressionism of the



Reagan Administration, determined to make its force felt in both factory and field, is another. Take the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), as run by Reagan appointee Robert Rowland. This is the office which last month refused to establish something so simple and "low-tech" as a federal sanitation standard requiring growers to supply portable toilets and drinking water for migrant workers in their fields. Despite 13 years of farmworkers' struggle for the standard, and despite testimony revealing that the current rate of parasitic disease among U.S. migrant workers exceeds that of Guatemalan children, Rowland insisted that the fields were "not a high-hazard location." He was sending the agribusiness world the same message OSHA has been delivering for years to owners of industrial sweatshops: "We're not interested in either health or safety."

The truth is that the callous attitude on the part of government and corporations is not confined to the shops. Rates for malnutrition, infant and child death, tuberculosis and a variety of cancers have all soared in the 1980s. And for Black America, the death rate itself has actually risen for the first time since the 1930s.

And here is where the Reagan Administration's intrusion into the hospital wards enters the picture. Despite the grim statistics on poverty and disease, toxic poisoning and malnutrition, 1984 saw 1.5 million fewer patients admitted to hospitals than in 1983, and for shorter stays. For the first time ever, the number of admissions of senior citizens dropped. Hospital workers were hit with lay-offs.

These are among the repercussions of the December, 1983 changes in Medicare rules, which, under the banner of "cost control," began reimbursing hospitals at a fixed rate for each diagnosis, limiting the time the patient is hospitalized and the methods used to aid his or her recovery. Under these rules, hospital profits are maximized when patients are discharged quickly; new and expensive medical procedures are discouraged. The drive to make the hospital more like the workplace combines with the effects of the cuts in health insurance in hundreds of new union "concessions contracts" to drastically reduce the quality of health care for millions. Everyone today knows a family where someone seriously ill was sent home from the hospital because continued stay there "could not be justified" by the hospital, or could not be afforded by the patient.

"RATIONING" OF MEDICAL CARE

Already the ideologues of Reaganism are warning of "rationing" of medical care—as if it had not always been rationed for those without money. Writing in *The New York Review of Books* (April 25, 1985), Stanford's John P. Bunker enunciated the grotesque distortion of the relationship of science to life that is at the root of the cuts: "What is new is that the costs of care, whether it is paid for directly or through insurance, are rapidly exceeding the ability or willingness of even the middle class to pay. The main reason for this is that medical scientists are inventing more new diagnostic and therapeutic 'medical technologies' than the economy can pay for."

Never mind that federal funding priorities for scientific research and development have become so distorted that in 1985 over 75% is allocated to military and space projects, while funds for health research have fallen to less than 8% of the total. Never mind that anything and everything "the economy can pay for" has come from the sweat and blood—and death—of generations of workers. The upside-down world of research today was described most profoundly in Karl Marx's 1856 critique of science and technology under capitalism: "All our inventions and progress seem to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life and in stultifying human life into a material force."

So completely divorced have the bases of science and life under this society become that new groups have sprung up to offer opposition. Organizing now going on in the heart of high-tech America—whether by dissident scientists aiding the Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition; by some of the 1.8 million workers in microelectronics production, struggling to organize workers' committees or bring in unions; or by farmworkers' organizations determined to stop chemical-intensive farming from killing them—contains within its self-activity the seeds of a new relationship, a human relationship, of science to life. Those seeds cannot be for the distant future. They are urgently needed now if humanity is to survive.

Direct report from East Europe: Poverty and "Real Socialism"

Data on poverty or related phenomena in Eastern Europe are most difficult to obtain, for any statistics sought unfavorable to the regime are either not collected at all or are confidential only. Data that can be used are incomplete or sketchy and mostly not comparable among countries.

"Real socialism," a scholarly East European economist admitted recently, has its class divisions. More evident, however, than these divisions are deep cleavages between rich and poor. They have been probably even deepening during the last few years, especially in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Poland. One of the reasons in each of the last-mentioned countries may be the "economic reform" which—while not more than haltingly arising in Poland—tries to make the "economic mechanism" more efficient. In Hungary the performance of the economy is rising indeed, only the social costs seem both countries to be unexpectedly high.

HUNGARY

Hungary has a population of 10 million. 55,000 of its citizens are held to be rich for having banking accounts running into many figures and possessing high-priced works of art. Roughly one million are "well-off," possessing cars, owning apartments in fashionable quarters as well as weekend cottages (often in the form of lavishly furnished villas on the lake of Balaton). Many others live in "well furnished apartments not of their own." This is how the CP paper *Ne'pszabadsag* described the situation of its countrymen in Spring, 1984.

THERE IS NO OFFICIAL calculation of a subsistence level. However, the Patriotic People's Front—the association of all Hungarian political and social organizations—advanced a proposal for such a minimum and tried to define groups in need. Basing its calculations on wage data, it found out that there are several hundred thousand persons living at or below the subsistence level. This group of people "threatened"—as the official term goes—by low living standards, comprises

the greater part of pensioners. "Their situation," the secretary-general of the Patriotic People's Front said in an interview, "is the worst as there is nobody to speak up for them." Another group are young people at the start of their career. The slowed-down investment and a limited growth of the Hungarian economy, especially of its industry, make the start of the young, quite often well-qualified people, rather difficult. They have little chance of getting an apartment. Their situation may be somewhat easier than that of the pensioners though, because they are often supported by their parents. Also, they try to earn some extra money while working wherever they can be employed after normal working hours.

There is no doubt that in spite of all security measures some at least of those "marginals" come from the 250,000 workers dismissed during the last five years. The peak of employment was reached in 1969 with 1.8 million workers. This number was reduced to below 1.5 million at present. The minister of industry declared last summer that it was to be reckoned with a further drop in employment in spite of the process being not without "tensions." The mopping up of the work force in the factories, the minister also said, was a natural consequence of the intensification and rapid productivity rise, yet it caused "most difficult problems." The workers sacked are mostly offered other employment opportunities; the transition, however, is not easy at all.

YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia appears to be a special case. There, for the time being, the decline in real income is a trend the end of which is neither to be seen nor can the authorities induce a change. Whereas real incomes fell by 3.5% in 1981 compared with the preceding year, they declined by 3.8% in 1982 and by 9.7% in 1983. The trend continued further in the first months of 1984.

Wages in Yugoslavia differ widely between regions and industrial branches. While the average monthly wage for the country as a whole was 18,878 dinar, it

rose to 21,295 in Slovenia and 20,921 in Croatia as against 15,153 in Montenegro. In the machine-tool industry, the average monthly wage stood at 30,200 at the beginning of 1984, but was only 16,933 in the textile industry.

According to the latest data, 240,000 workers earn less than 8,000 dinar per month, thus being unable to cover the costs of necessary food, housing and other basic needs. An official estimate put the number of those living under or at subsistence level at 2.5 million out of 23 million Yugoslavs. This group includes about 260,000 old-age pensioners, 200,000 persons living on social assistance, 150,000 students living on scholarships and those 240,000 workers already mentioned. Not included are about one million unemployed. If we include the family members, we obtain a group of about six million people with very meager means hardly assuring their existence.

ANALYZING THESE DATA, a Yugoslav columnist pointed out "the other pole" of Yugoslav society: queues for women's winter shoes priced at 7,000 dinar, battles for color TV sets or for freezers, one-year-long waiting lists for foreign cars costing one or even four million dinar, ads offering 200,000 dinar TV sets or recorders or West German "Golf" cars sold for 1.1 million dinar which is double the official price. "The weight of the economic crisis fell on one category of citizens only—those who even before had not had too much. Those who had had much did not feel the change, on the contrary, they make profit of it," he said.

The biggest deviation from the principles of the "Yugoslav revolution"—whose goal, according to the columnist quoted above, was "the liquidation of unjust social differences"—is held to be the housing problem. Those who received "from the society" apartments now worth about 10 million dinar, point at people who built private houses with the help of credits and sell them now at dozens of millions. To quote the same writer: "What

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Columbia: Anti-apartheid demonstrations grow on campuses

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demand and "Amandla Awetu" (power to the people) more than any other.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Among the students who have begun a hunger strike on March 24 is Jose de Souza, a South African youth. On Day 13, he hears from his mother that the South African police have issued an arrest order for him. A message comes from Bishop Tutu in S. Africa: "We salute your outstanding commitment to struggle for justice and peace in South Africa." A young Black woman, a first-year student, is at the microphone. As she answers a letter to the campus paper which claims that divestment will mean a rise in tuition, she speaks eloquently of what South Africa today means to her.

The students stand firm and together against intimidation. University security videotapes them in order to identify students. Some have gotten disciplinary letters and have been called into meetings; some students' parents have been called; 28 students have been called to court and among those some have received court papers in the middle of their classes. Despite the harassment,

Poverty in East Europe

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we are doing now looks like a just distribution of poverty."

POLAND

Poland seems to be at present that East European country where both the extent and the depth of poverty are the greatest. The statistical minimum income per head in 1983 was 6,000 zloty. 31% of the Polish population have to live with this income. Out of a population of 37 million, 9.5 million of Poles are employed in industry. According to the government newspaper *Rzeczpospolita*, 47% of the families of these workers have a monthly income below 6,000 zloty per head. Only 1.8 million have more than 12,000 zloty monthly for each family member.

The Polish Price Board announced recently another consecutive increase of food prices. The rise would have been introduced in March. Under pressure of public opinion and both the underground Solidarity and the government-sponsored trade unions rejecting the proposals, these were modified and will be introduced in three stages instead of all at once.

WITHOUT GOING INTO details of the proposed compensations, one important fact emerges: There is no earnest probe of the consequences of the rise of food prices for individual social groups. The weight of the food expenses in the overall family budget is not exactly known. But as the press echoes, many of the old-age and disability pensioners, one-parent families and families with many children fear a steep fall in their already low living standard. Besides, this rise represents but a third of a general price increase expected this year as prices of fuel, electricity, gas and rents are to go up.

How the old-age pensioners and those receiving disability pensions see their situation themselves is shown by a survey conducted by the Institute of Internal Market and Consumption. 28.4% of the surveyed declared to live very economically in order to be able to save for later purchases; 40.5% had barely enough means for the cheapest food and clothing; 21% had not, however, enough money even for that.

As in other East European countries, the most affected groups are the pensioners and the young. A survey of young marriages showed 16.8% had no more money than for the cheapest food and clothing, 2.4% not even for that and only 4% had enough means for everything without social savings.

We concentrated on the present situation rather than on the evolution of poverty, partly because more data emerge as the worsening situation of the "weakest" social groups calls for greater attention of government institutions. However, the existence of poverty in Poland as elsewhere in Eastern Europe accompanied the socialist regimes there during the whole 37-year period of their existence — not showing any sign of disappearance in this century. —East European Correspondent



Anti-apartheid rally at Columbia

the blockade continues and support grows.

DAILY RAP SESSIONS

The blockaders hold twice daily rap sessions. At one, a woman who asks a question about what will happen in South Africa after apartheid falls, provokes a sharp debate. Everything comes up in the rap sessions, from how to maintain the working of the blockade to what is happening in the world. You don't have to follow the outside media to know the impact of Columbia nationally and worldwide. The latest information from Mandela Hall and from around the country and the world on the Free South Africa Movement is available at information tables outside Malcolm X lounge, in adjoining Hartley Hall.

A student shouts, "They always say young people are the future. We are not the future. We are the present."

Speakers come from all over to take the microphone in front of Mandela Hall. A student from the University of Michigan steps up to deliver greetings; 13 hours earlier, they had piled into a car in Ann Arbor to come to Mandela Hall. A contingent from Berkeley arrives to loud cheers, and a U.C. student begins to read a message: "Dear Columbia, the residents of Stephen Biko Hall at the U.C. Berkeley campus thank you for your inspiration..." Blockaders from Columbia and Berkeley talk to each other on the phone every day.

HIGH SCHOOL AND LABOR SOLIDARITY

A young Black high school student tells us of being swept into the movement when he came with his family to find out how his brother, a hunger striker, was doing. He decided to stay day and night (see story below). Two young women modestly address the blockaders with a one-sentence message: New York high school students support you. A Black woman from Brooklyn who works nights comes by on a Saturday morning to help out and "be with people who are speaking up and taking a stand for what they believe." A contingent of Black union hospital workers march in carrying placards: "Free South African Trade Unionists." On Day 13, a Teamster local donates \$1,000 and pledges \$100 a day. CU clerical workers who have been involved in a fight for union recognition support the blockaders with liberated xeroxing services, among other things.

The students at Mandela Hall read aloud, debate and discuss an article about themselves in the *N.Y. Times*. They say: "We are not a shadow of '68'."

On Day 15, a massive rally is called. Hundreds march up Broadway and down from Harlem. Several thousand come to the rally, many for the first time. As a Puerto Rican student from a New York campus told us: "Something has been set in motion here at Columbia, and nothing can be the same as it was again."

The students decided to end the blockade on April 25 because as a tactic it was no longer putting pressure on the trustees to divest. The movement at Columbia will continue. One student said, "The most important part of being active in the blockade was the education I got. This is what I will take away with me."

—News & Letters participants

High school participant

Mandela Hall, Columbia—Though I am a senior at Fordham Preparatory High School in the Bronx, I am now totally involved in the blockade of Mandela Hall here at CU, where our demands include divestment and an end to apartheid in S. Africa. Actually, my entire

family has become involved through my brother, a senior at Columbia, who has been a member of the Coalition for a Free South Africa for four years, and was one of the hunger strikers whose activity, fasting for days, led up to this blockade.

Two days after the take-over I went to a show with my father and we discussed Columbia. I talked him into going over there with me, as he and my mother had already been closely involved since my brother's fast. Two days later, I'm still here.

The kinds of bonds you form here, striving for the same goal, has been amazing to me. It's like a family without a hierarchy. Everyone is informed of everything, with one of the main activities being the morning and late evening rap sessions in which a wide range of ideas is discussed.

With such a range of issues pressing in on the community outside, we've been under a lot of pressure from various groups to widen our focus. For example, the ratio of women to men in this activity has been very high as women seem to be genuinely more sympathetic. Communist groups have pointed this out and have argued linking up different struggles. Yet, the consensus among the blockaders has been to keep focused on divestment in order to remain unified.

I have missed a week of school, but I have been in contact with members of the Kawaida Club, a Black student organization at Fordham, and they seem supportive of sending down a delegation to participate in this blockade.

—Black high school student

The Berkeley sit-in

(continued from page 1)

The next day 80% of the student body responded by not attending classes. Instead, 5,000 jammed Stephen Biko Plaza and the newly-named Martin Luther King, Jr. Student Union for a teach-in and rally. The number of those who decided to sleep on the steps swelled to 560.

Support has come from many quarters. Some 60 longshoremen, who earlier this year had refused to unload South African cargo, adjourned their convention and came to join the students. Early support for the sit-in came from workers on campus. The teaching assistants had voted to participate in the boycott by cancelling their teaching assignments and calling on the university to recognize their union. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal workers and the American Federation of Teachers asked their members to support the boycott.

Instead of ending the "camp-out," the police actually served to mobilize people here and spread the movement to other schools. U. of California at San Cruz students are sitting in at the chancellor's office. Messages of support and solidarity are coming from other universities, from local senior and junior high schools, and are announced every day.

NO EDUCATION BUILT ON AFRICAN DEGRADATION

Opposition to U.C. investments in companies that do business in South Africa has been smoldering for years but the recent revolt in South Africa lit a fire under the students. On March 21, the day following the murder at Uitenhage, South Africa, a rally of 300 students commemorated both the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and the outrage at Uitenhage 25 years later. The following day, while U.C. heads celebrated Charter Day, 1,000 students outside shouted: "We don't want our education built on African degradation" and "What do we want? Divestment! When do we want it? Now!" A 100-foot long red banner, "U.C. Divest," was hung from the campanile (the most prominent structure on campus).

The news from the Columbia sit-in inspired lots of discussion. On April 10, after a die-in staged to oppose apartheid and U.C. investments in South Africa, about 50 people decided to sit in on the steps of "Stephen Biko Hall." Every day more and more people came both to the noon demonstrations and the sleep-in. There are meetings every day and every evening to discuss events: the formulation of the original demands, the chancellor's reply, the students' reply to the chancellor... There are many committees doing many different things, from organizing material help (sleeping bags, blankets, food) to planning and holding events on the steps, to reaching out to the community and other schools.

Though a majority of the students on campus are white, the occupation and the demonstrations have a diversity of participants. United People of Color, a campus organization, joined the protesters on April 15; "Pakistani Students for Divestment" banner hangs from the Martin Luther King, Jr. Student Union facing the Steven Biko plaza; people from many Third World countries are participating. "Soweto, Columbia, Berkeley, the students fight back!"

—News & Letters participants

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YOUTH

Youth and the dialectics of revolution today

by Ida Fuller, youth columnist

This past month, I have been receiving direct reports of the new youth protests on campuses nationwide. At Columbia University, the site of a continuous sit-in pushing for divestment of university funds in South Africa, students have renamed their administration building Mandela Hall. At the University of California in Berkeley, what the media do not report is that student sitters-in have renamed Sproul Hall as Stephen Biko Hall.

At the University of Colorado, student demonstrators have kicked out CIA recruiters, and at Northwestern University in Chicago, we prevented a Contra leader from speaking. I wonder how many other universities have had similar protests which we do not yet have direct reports about? In all, what stands out is a new spirit among youth just entering college, who are searching for freedom ideas and a new society. A spirit which I could also see in the number and variety of youth who, on April 18, attended a lecture by Raya Dunayevskaya at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and heard her stress how Marxist-Humanism had made a category of youth as a force of revolution in the 1950s, when they were dismissed as the beat generation.

SEARCH FOR FREEDOM IDEAS

It is precisely because of the urgency of this search for freedom ideas that this month I felt especially lucky to have received an advance copy of Raya Dunayevskaya's new book, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*. In this 35-year collection of essays which at first seems related only to women's liberation, I discovered that Dunayevskaya traces what she calls "the birth of a whole new generation of revolutionaries" in the post-World War II period, analyzes the Dialectics of Revolution as it relates to youth, and reaches for the future who are the youth.

What struck me in reading the "Introduction and Overview" was that Dunayevskaya singles out the post-World War II period as a new epoch because "I had been feeling that the whole post-World War II generation had been raising totally new questions."

Thus in Part I: *Women, Labor and the Black Dimension*, as well as in the "Introduction and Overview," Dunayevskaya singles out two historic events as the prelude to the birth of "a whole new generation of revolutionaries" in the 1960s:

In 1956, it was the student youth of the Hungarian Revolution who touched off a revolt which involved Workers' Councils and raised the banner of Marx's Humanism against the rule of Communist totalitarianism. Dunayevskaya extends the new stage which the Hungarian Revolution opened to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, when it was Black youth who followed through on Rosa Parks' refusal to give up her bus seat to a white man, and helped start a bus boycott. This movement was totally self-organized, with its greatest feature being its practice of new human relations and its own working existence.

Seeing the connection between the Hungarian Revolution and the Montgomery Bus Boycott (which to this day is a category that only Dunayevskaya has made) and their anticipation of the 1960s Black Revolution, the 1964 Free Speech Movement and the 1965 Anti-Vietnam War teach-ins, gave me a whole new view of what our historic task and specificity as the post-World War II generation of youth is.

In Part II: *Revolutionaries All*, after discovering Dunayevskaya's appreciation for the contributions of the new generation of revolutionaries, I found it most sobering to read her critique of our pitfalls, manifested most openly in the near-revolution in France, 1968. In excerpts from the last chapter of Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*, entitled "New Passions and New Forces: The Black Dimension, The Anti-Vietnam War Youth, Rank-and-File Labor, Women's Liberation," this is the opening sentence: "So empirical-minded is the American youth, Black included, that even revolutionaries who have separated themselves from Communism of the Russian and the Chinese varieties have fully and uncritically embraced Castro." (p. 111)

ATTITUDE TOWARD MARXISM

We are faced with the sobering reality that the youth's attitude toward Marxism as just another ideology or their acceptance of degraded versions of Marxism has had terrible results: a truncated concept of revolution. Dunayevskaya critiques the uncritical enthusiasm of many youth for Régis Debray's *Revolution in the Revolution*, a work praised by Castro, which expounds guerrilla warfare as the universal pathway to revolution and preaches total acceptance of the guerrilla leader as "leader Maximum" who does not tolerate ideological differences.

Now it is true that today we might not be following Régis Debray. But shouldn't we, ask ourselves if we have other manifestations of being empirical-minded that are handcuffing us? Isn't the separation that we make between our Solidarity Committees and the needed solidarity of ideas a manifestation of empiricism?

Today's youth movement, so centered around solidarity, has such a sensitivity to internationalism that I'm sure a young activist reader would be excited by Part III: *Sexism, Politics and Revolution—Japan, Portugal, Poland, China, Latin America, the U.S.—Is There an Organizational Answer?* Not only because this part covers the world, but also because it does not limit its analysis of international youth movements to their anti-U.S. imperialism aspect. Rather it delves into a critical solidarity with their ideas.

Anti-nuclear activists would be excited to read Dunayevskaya's report of her lecture tour in Japan in 1966, because it allows us to witness a massive anti-nuclear movement with roots in rank-and-file labor, whose youth are openly and proudly Marxist; genuine Marxists who are not apologists for any state powers and are adamantly opposed to their native rulers as well. It is the youth of the Zengakuren who have broken with the Japanese Communist Party and have returned to

Youth in Revolt

Dozens of Polish students and teachers from several colleges went on a hunger strike in March to protest the imprisonment of Marek Adamkiewicz. He was sentenced to two and a half years of prison for refusing to take the military oath, which says, "The Polish Army stands on guard for peace in a brotherly alliance with the Soviet Army." The recent arrest and scheduled trial of Adam Michnik, a founding member of the "Flying University" and a leader of KOR (Workers' Social Self-Defense Committee) is also an attack which youth are battling.

* * *

Attempting to make a citizens' arrest of CIA recruiters for crimes against the people of Nicaragua, nearly 500 students and supporters were arrested at the University of Colorado at Boulder. But students did not end their three-day protest until they forced the recruiters to leave. At a similar demonstration at the University of Madison in Wisconsin, students tried to push through a police line to reach a CIA interview site and battled a chemical mace attack.

* * *

Eight people from the editorial board of the Norwegian anti-war magazine *Ikkevold* are on trial for obtaining information that would "undermine the security of the state," facing maximum sentences of 20 years each. The information, gathered from public sources, was used in a series of articles proving the existence of a U.S. military sonar base (important for first-strike nuclear warfare) on Andoya Island, contrary to Norway's contract with NATO. In 1983, scores of security police raided *Ikkevold's* offices and current and former staffers' homes, seizing membership and subscription files, archives and hundreds of other documents. Letters of support can be sent to: FMK, Rosenkrantsgate 18, 0169 Oslo 1, Norway.

Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays.

Nevertheless what shocks the reader is that it is the same youth translators of Marx's Humanist Essays who still do not encourage women to speak as thinkers of revolution at their meetings. In the "Introduction and Overview" Dunayevskaya expresses this critique by catching its philosophic roots: "This group was the first to translate and publish, in Japanese, Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts, in which the Man/Woman relationship is so central. Yet not only did they disregard that point in Marx's Essays, but they acted as if the concept of Alienated Labor meant only class relations." (p. 7)

MARXISM VS. COMMUNISM

When I first started to review this book, I set myself a two-fold task: 1. How can we as American youth avoid falling into Reaganism's trap of false ideology which equates Marxism with Communism? 2. What does Dunayevskaya mean by calling the 1880s the trail to the 1980s, and what does she mean by the second part of the title she gives to this book, "Reaching for the Future"?

It was in Part IV: *The Trail to the 1980s: The Missing Link—Philosophy—in the Relationship of Revolution to Organization* that I first began to grasp what Dunayevskaya means by "Reaching for the Future." Part IV begins with a "Radio Interview on the Family, Love Relationships and the New Society" in which Dunayevskaya raises Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence" as the need for a total uprooting, including that of the family. This involves knowing that "the revolution in permanence refers to you too" and that, "until we end the division between mental and manual labor... we will not really have a new man, a new woman, a new child, a new society." (p. 181)

It is also here that Dunayevskaya deepens our view of the young Marx by tracing the origins of Marx's "new continent of thought" back to 1841 where we meet Marx as a college student.

But whether it is the question of uprooting the bourgeois family or taking us back to Marx in 1841, or in the 1880s, the whole point is that for Marx, "revolution in permanence" was not any perpetual motion machine but a revolution that would not stop with a mere overthrow of the old society, but rather concern itself with the creation of the new. That is what "Reaching for the Future" means and that is what no one can do "for" us. Rather, we have to work it out ourselves.

This made me think of why, in 1958, the Constitution of News & Letters Committees singled out youth as "the ones whose idealism in the finest sense of the word combines with opposition to existing adult society in so unique a way that it literally brings them alongside the workers as builders of the new society."

It is this challenge which compels youth not to accept vulgarized interpretations of Marxism, but seriously examine Dunayevskaya's work. I would like to invite a discussion by youth on these questions. Do please order *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* and read it for yourselves.

Special pre-publication offer! Good only until July 1!

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

A 35-Year Collection of Essays—Historic, Philosophic, Global

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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"Whatever orgy of violence the white rulers will now indulge in, South Africa will never again be same. The tiny minority of whites who have opposed this inhuman, insane, savage rule of the white supremacists long ago saw that if the Africans are not allowed to live like human beings, it is the inhuman regime, not the human beings, that will have to go. It is only a question of when and how." — page 41.

"As was evident throughout this book (which covers 35 years of writings on a single subject, *Women's Liberation*) the sharp differentiation between Marx's Marxism and post-Marx Marxism is not limited to that one question. A deep gulf existed between Marx's multilinear view of all human development and Engels' unilinear view. Which is why this single subject—*Women's Liberation*, whether viewed as it relates to philosophy or to form of organization—is inseparable from the dialectics of revolution." — page 15.

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