

Just off the press!

See announcement page 8

Raya Dunayevskaya

Women's  
Liberation  
and the  
Dialectics  
of  
Revolution

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

Freedom  
ideas cross  
borders



by John Marcotte

There is no doubt now that labor in the U.S. is facing its greatest crisis and challenge since the Great Depression. The Wheeling-Pittsburgh steelworkers, the Massey coal strikers, and many others in large shops and small are most aware of this. (See reports by participants on solidarity with the strikers on Page 3) Everywhere the talk is, "Where do we go from here?"

The union leadership has forced concessions on workers as though that were the answer, but now it's plain that was no answer at all, as the corporations get greedier and greedier for unpaid hours of labor. The Hormel workers in Minnesota are on strike not only against the company but against their own international union, the United Food and Commercial Workers.

Now the cry has gone up among the union leadership that foreign imports are to blame. Limiting imports is the easy way out of plant closings here, we are told. But this is another solution which is no solution at all.

If there were laws forcing capital to "stay at home" and exploit us here instead of going abroad to exploit some Third World country, would this stop the drive of capital to push the living standard of America workers down to Third World levels here at home? Haven't we seen enough concessions, permanent unemployment, pauperization, gutting of the "safety net," families in the streets, to know where we are headed right here at home?

Ever since John L. Lewis separated himself from working miners by allowing coal companies to introduce the continuous miner, they have permitted and even welcomed Automation. In return for a couple of dollars, the control of production and working conditions on the shop floor has been gutted. Now the concessions and robotization and outright union-busting are the logical end to that road.

Karl Marx showed that the contradictions in our society originate in production, not in the market. The solutions to the crisis of labor lie in solidarity with fellow workers in the Third World, not in presenting them as the threat or the enemy. The internationalism of capital must be met by the internationalism of the working class.

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## The undeclared and ongoing civil war in South Africa

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

The undeclared civil war in South Africa, pitting unarmed African masses against the fully armed, hated, totalitarian apartheid regime, hasn't stopped all this year. By now, 1,000 Blacks lie dead and thousands more lie injured and arrested.

Nelson Mandela, who has been kept in prison for nearly a quarter of a century, remains the symbol of this continuous war, both for his undiminished bravery and his multitudinous thought ever since he organized Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), which expressed itself best in the latest demonstration when a leader said: "If the system does not free him, the people's revolution will."

This ongoing civil war is constantly revealing new forms of struggle, intensified since the 1976 uprising which gave birth to the Black Consciousness Movement. It did not stop with the savage murder of its leader, Steve Biko. That new form of struggle and thought created a two-way international movement—a revolutionary nationalism that was international, expressing its affinity with the American and Caribbean movements, and especially with Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth*, which had raised a banner for what he called "a new humanism."

Non-Africans, like us, have become "insiders" by actually, instead of just rhetorically, engaging in the South African freedom struggle. Such seemingly minor activities as divestment demonstrations which have compelled some capitalists here to divest have become important because they have helped bring about what has always been the unmistakable manifestation of civil war—the breakup of the monolithic unity of the capitalist class. This was clearly seen in the fact that a few Afrikaner capitalists themselves travelled to Zambia to meet with leaders of the banned African National Congress (ANC), and were not deterred by Botha's calling it a traitorous act.

What the rulers have tried to play up as a total defeat—the called-for general strike of miners—was, in fact, a great deal more successful than the media made it appear. First, it was a fact that the monolithic unity of the mine owners was dented when three signed with the union. Second, as we saw, they went to meet with the leaders of the ANC in their home-in-exile in Zambia. Third, the strike did occur and the mine owners had to use violence at the point of their guns to break it.

What is the most dramatic new event is precisely that, as against the 1976 uprising which was mainly initiated by students, this 1985 struggle shows a new power—the Black trade union movement.

Along with this new force is the intense activity of the Nobel Prize winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu, who expressed his hatred of apartheid to the point of supporting the idea of a one-day general strike of the masses as a whole. At the same time, he showed his courage and international influence by correctly identifying President Reagan, who has continuously whitewashed Botha as a "reformist," as a "racist."

Another new form of struggle this year is the Eastern Cape boycott of white stores, as well as the rage against Black informers, which has reached such a stage that the savage white rulers no longer have their Black shield. What is new, as well, is the appearance both of a substantial number of white youth, willing to defy the whips and batons of the savage regime and to march in support of the Black freedom struggles, and of the growth of a non-parliamentary opposition movement, the United Democratic Front.

There is no doubt that this is not yet full social revolution. There is no doubt that unarmed masses cannot win power against a fully-armed, savage, exploitative regime through these demon-

strations alone. But there is also no doubt that the so-called invincibility of white power has been seriously cracked at its foundations. That, "dear comrades" (the term that Azanian youth are now using openly), is one of the fundamental conditions for a successful revolution.

The theoretic preparation for that can, in this nuclear world, in no way be disregarded. Nor can the struggles be left for one country alone. American revolutionaries, especially, cannot separate their struggles against Reaganism from their support of the South African freedom fighters. That is why, in my 1985-86 Perspectives Report to this year's National Conference of News and Letters Committees, I put the ongoing events in South Africa in a world context, both historically and philosophically. What follows are brief excerpts from the three parts of that report: \*

### I. Hitler's Visage in Apartheid South Africa Shows the Future the Rulers Hold in Store for All of Us

It is not only the South African rulers, but our own as well, who are trying to foist their barbaric ideology on us. That ideology is not just rhetoric, but the depth of the barbarism that began with the rise of Hitler, and which was by no means destroyed by the Allies' victory in World War II. It was Hitler's defeat that scared the Afrikaners, whose dream today is still expressed by those bigoted, savage whites in these terms: "There should have been a Hitler in every country, but unfortunately this was no longer possible in a 'sophisticated' world that has even abolished the cane in prison."\*\* It

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\* For copies of the full report, delivered Aug. 31, 1985, see ad on page 4.

\*\* See "The Fire This Time," by Neal Ascherson, a review of *Waiting: The Whites of South Africa*, by Vincent Crapanzano, New York Review of Books, July 17, 1985.

### Black World

## New battleground in Black Belt



by Lou Turner

The Alabama "Black Belt," once known for the rich black soil in which cotton grew to be "king," extending its predominance right into the corridors of power in Washington, is once again the battleground of a new civil rights struggle. That struggle is being waged in some of the poorest counties in the nation as voting rights organizers and political activists come under Federal indictments for alleged voting fraud violations, and as scores of Black voters come under an unheard-of barrage of FBI interrogation because they needed help in casting their absentee ballots in last year's election.

What is new in the events that have transpired over the past year in Perry, Greene, Sumter, Wilcox and Lowndes counties is that whereas historically the White House followed the racist direction set by the white power structure in the South, under Reaganism, the federal government leads the way in setting the racist tone of American civilization.

### RACIST FRAME-UP TRIALS

On July 5, the three-week-long trial of three Perry County voting rights activists—Albert and Evelyn Turner and Spencer Hogue—ended in acquittal after only two hours of deliberation by the jury. The swift acquittal did not deter federal prosecutors from pursuing the frame-up trial of five Greene County civil rights activists the following month. That trial also ended in acquittal. This too has not stopped the Reagan Justice Department from pursuing further indictments in other counties.

The political motivation behind the federal "witch hunt" has not escaped anyone. Nearly every political seat in Alabama is coming up for election. The super right-wing reactionary, Senator Jeremiah Denton, has instigated the federal interrogation of Black voters, while the century-long tradition of voting violations by white local offi-

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# Reader continues debate on Nicaragua

*Editor's Note: In the June 1985 issue of News & Letters, Terry Moon wrote about her experience at a meeting at which Nicaraguan Minister of Culture Ernesto Cardenal spoke on the Nicaraguan Revolution. We print below a letter from a reader in response to that column, and Moon's reply.*

Dear Editor:

I am writing in response to Terry Moon's "Feminists Question Nicaragua's Cardenal."

I write as a Third World woman very concerned with the liberation of women and with the transformation of society. I agree with Terry Moon's arguments that the women's struggle must be articulated into rather than subordinated to the larger revolutionary struggle. Certainly her frustration and anger (and that of feminists involved in the civil rights and anti-war movement of the '60s) at the male chauvinism manifested by the U.S. left is perfectly justified.

**BUT WHERE SHE** makes a grave error is in failing to assess concretely—not in the abstract—the situation she describes. Yes, the Nicaraguans are attempting to build a more humane society at the very same moment that they daily face attacks by the U.S.-backed Contras and the strong possibility of even more aggressive U.S. intervention.

One gets the sense that although Moon writes about the Nicaraguans' "tremendous revolutionary achievement," she really does not comprehend what that means. More importantly, she forgets who she is, a U.S. feminist questioning a Nicaraguan—male though he may be—demanding from him evidence that his revolution is genuine, truly fulfilling her vision of what a total and continuous revolution ought to be, and therefore, worthy of a U.S. feminist's support.

While the countless sacrifices in lives made by Nicaraguan women and men because of U.S. imperialism may be nothing compared to the great strides marked by 15 years of women's liberation in the U.S., one might at least grant Nicaraguan women the insight and ability to correct those "butcher abortions." Perhaps U.S. feminists might work harder to stop their government from butchering not only Nicaraguans, but also El Salvadorans, Filipinos, and other peoples of color the world over.

**IN SHORT, WHILE SENSITIVE** to the question of gender, Terry Moon has completely overlooked another, extremely serious matter—that of race. When Third World nations take a stand for "mere anti-imperialism," we must realize that they are also combatting the deadly venom of U.S. racism that, unless deliberately confronted by progressives themselves in the imperialist country, continues to warp and distort their consciousness into an imperialist psyche allowing them, under claims of concern for women, "Marxist-Humanism," etc., to arrogantly appropriate for themselves—once again!—the right to dictate to Third World peoples the terms of their struggle.

That Terry Moon does so with great ease testifies, alas, to the perniciousness of imperial chauvinism, effecting a "roll-back of what 15 years of Women's Liberation should have established." Unless she recognizes her own chauvinist feminism, her support for the Nicaraguan revolution and other Third World struggles rings hollow and, worse, self-serving and hypocritical.

Sincerely,  
Delia D. Aguilar

## TERRY MOON'S REPLY

The column I wrote which Delia Aguilar objects to was about "the urgency to discuss the deepening of an ongoing revolution—where our age has seen revolution after revolution fail, or become transformed into a new kind of totalitarianism..." I raised that by asking why abortion is still illegal in Nicaragua after the revolution and "why is it that the fight to control our own bodies is seen as divisive to revolution rather than as deepening it?"

At issue is not a "U.S. feminist" forgetting "who she is." It is women in Nicaragua who point out that botched illegal abortions are one of the three major causes of maternal deaths in their country. It is Milú Vargas, chief legal counsel for the Nicaraguan Council of State, who wants a great deal of discussion on abortion before the law is changed, but nonetheless says of the present Somoza law (where a woman can have an abortion only if her life is in danger and even then must get the consent of the man): "And it is your body, and it is your life that is being toyed with. We are very bad with respect to abortion." And it is independent women's groups who are challenging the official AMNLAE (Nicaraguan Women's Association Luisa Amanda Espinosa) to put the question of legal abortion on the revolutionary agenda.

**THE QUESTION THAT** is being fought out by women in Nicaragua now is what exactly is freedom to mean? If the International Women's Decade conferences that just ended in Kenya proved anything, it is that there are certain Universals of freedom, and the right to control our own bodies—including our minds—is one.

As Marxist-Humanist revolutionaries in the U.S., our fight is first and foremost against Reaganism. At one and the same time we fight against Reagan's wars abroad—his attacks against the peoples of Nicaragua, El

Salvador, the Philippines and other peoples of color—and we fight against his wars at home against Blacks, women, youth and labor. Reagan's attack against us is total, so must be our response.

The struggle for a new world is not an abstraction, it is most concrete and the deadly venom of U.S. racism cannot be fought by trying to tear apart what can't be separated—the fight for freedom of Blacks, women, youth, labor both in the U.S. and world wide. Our support for Third World revolutions includes, at one and the same time, their fight against U.S. imperialism and their concrete struggles to deepen their revolution.

The enemy is not only from without; the contradictions, the dualities within revolutions have to be worked out as part of the revolutionary process itself. The revolutionary Women's Liberation Movement refuses to wait until the day after the revolution to demand freedom and thus raises contradictions right within the movement. That critique can be a path to deepen revolution, to make it permanent.

That is part of the "revolution in permanence" that Marxist-Humanism is working out for our age. "That little phrase of Marx's, 'revolution in permanence'—points to the only philosophy which can assure that the revolution will not stop when power is won, but will continue into the kind of self-development in which the individual freedom and the universal freedom are one..."

—Terry Moon

\* Raya Dunayevskaya, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, 1985, page 271.

## Nairobi conference sparks letter from Iran

We print below excerpts from a letter received from an Iranian feminist in Tehran by a friend of News & Letters.

Dear Friend,

The women's gathering in Nairobi is making me write to you. As I saw glimpses of the conference on TV every night, my heart was filled with desire. Seeing people who are free to struggle without being bound was a breeze that reached me this far.

I can't think of a single happy day to tell you about...The damned shadow of darkness is always over your head...but compared to the days of the bombardment these are lovely days. We used to get angry about the beach being segregated, now we are thankful to have only three to four hours per day without electricity and have forgotten swimming. If you visit the western part of Iran then you stop complaining at all.

We are so used to wrapping ourselves in heavy clothes from head to toe that if all of a sudden they say from now on you are all free, I doubt if many will switch easily, and will certainly need a while to practice coming out of the dark. Like the way comrades used to practice democracy in Europe in the old days. But the youth would probably come out into the streets nude!

A lot of women put heavy makeup on and high fashion dresses under their veils and tease these hypocrite pasdaran (Khomeini's so-called Revolutionary Guards). They make fools of the pasdaran and take the punishment and harassment with up-right heads.

Most women now at the university got their high school diploma after the revolution, mostly in night schools. They all study, do housework, have two or three kids and work outside as well. They tell stories of hardships and bitterness. Their husbands are for the most part irresponsible. Most got married at 16 or 17.

It is now fashionable to get a second and a third wife. The economy is bankrupt and there are no jobs. So a husband is doing a favor not to divorce his wife, and that keeps her at bay.

The university gates are still segregated but classes are not, though women sit on one side. In the fine arts college the various groups practice separately and only join together for the performance. How is it possible? You have to be here to know that nothing is impossible.

## News & Letters

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# women- worldwide

Women's groups and labor unions have vowed to continue their fight for equal pay for women and men holding different jobs of comparable worth despite recent setbacks. On Sept. 4 a federal Appeals Court, spun on by "Commander in Chief" Reagan who calls comparable worth "a Mickey Mouse cockamamie idea," reversed a 1983 decision which had required the state of Washington to provide equal pay for comparable jobs and to pay \$1 billion in damages to 15,500 workers.

Women in the Tokyo Rape Crisis Center are asking for international support in forcing the resignation of Shumon Miura, Director General for Cultural Affairs because of his disgusting attitude toward rape. He says rapists should choose "unchaste" victims because "if women would take rape as lightly as tumbling down a puddle." Write to: Tokyo Rape Crisis Center, J.P.O. Box 7 Koto-ku, Tokyo, Japan.

Information from off our bat

Video display terminal (VDT) workers in Oregon have become the first to win protective legislation VDT health hazards. The 1985 law requires: regulation of the continuous use of VDT, minimizing eye strain, providing adjustable furniture to correct harmful and painful posture positions. Unions and women's groups in 20 other states are also working to enact such safety laws.

Benazir Bhutto was placed under house arrest a month in Karachi, Pakistan by the martial-law regime of Pres. Mohammed Zia. Bhutto had returned from self-imposed exile to investigate the death of her brother and immediately began speaking out against martial law. She proclaimed herself leader of the opposition Pakistan's People's Party, which had been led by her father, Ali Bhutto, who was overthrown in a coup in 1977 by Zia, who later had him executed and has continued to enforce martial law.

## Can 'new' NOW avoid old mistakes?

A new spirit of activism manifested itself in the new NOW (National Organization for Women) election when Eleanor Smeal defeated the incumbent Judy Goldsmith on the pledge to take women "back to the streets." Repeatedly asking women "to raise hell," Smeal called for an offensive of demonstrations and political action to counter what she called an effort by "fascists and bigots" to roll back gains women and Blacks have made in recent decades.

Faced with the anger of rank-and-file women who have been outraged by NOW's complacency and sing issue electoral politics, Smeal finally acknowledged that "the women's movement had made the mistake of underestimating its right wing and fascist opposition," and asked for a mass mobilization of activists to protect the right to abortion in a march on Washington next spring.

Furthermore, in a new policy decision, NOW put itself on record against U.S. intervention in Central America and plans a campaign to win support for the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985. While the revival of a new spirit of activism is nothing less than a matter of life and death for the Women's Liberation Movement, the kick-off for this "new activism" doesn't seem at all new in practice.

The NOW convention took place at the very same time as the UN conference on the Decade of Women was taking place in Nairobi, Kenya, where scores of Black and Third World women were able to participate. Most NOW members, however, were absent and Ben Friedan, who was there, ended up counseling Maureen Reagan! On the other hand, Smeal has started her new course of action with an opportunistic tactic—a testimonial dinner in honor of House Speaker Tip O'Neill and his efforts on behalf of women's rights!

It was with Eleanor Smeal as president of the centralized NOW in the '70s and early '80s that the organization watered down its feminist appeal to become "mainstream" and focused all its efforts on the E.R.A. to the exclusion of all other feminist issues. This policy failed miserably, since everything including the E.R.A. was lost.

We have seen historically how the 19th century women's movement which was born out of the Abolition movement, lost its multi-dimensionality in order to concentrate on suffrage. Can our new generation of feminists, born in the 1960s out of the civil rights and anti-war movements, overcome the separation from rank-and-file women and begin a discussion of the whole historic-theoretic direction of "mindless activism" which has nowhere to go but to repeat old mistakes?

—Ne

# 'Tax reform' can't hide crisis of capitalism

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

Donald Reagan plans to travel around the country to sell his "tax reform" scheme, even though more important economic problems face us, such as unemployment and budget deficits. A lot of people are asking why Reagan is giving so much attention to "tax reform," but it isn't any mystery to me. As soon as you get at the crisis at the point of production, it's not hard to see what Reagan is really after.

For the past 10 years the American workers have had a crisis after crisis in production: massive unemployment (to the point where 7% unemployment is now considered "normal" by the administration!), wage and benefit cuts, and the elimination of 12 million jobs, which has pushed millions of workers into low-paid and part-time jobs. All this has occurred during the period of the largest increase in poverty in 50 years.

## KEYED TO THE BONE

In this crisis in production that has prompted Reagan to go after "tax reform," Reagan's anti-labor and high technology policies have pushed down the living standards of workers and boosted corporate profits. It hasn't made it any easier to collect more taxes from working people who are earning much less than a decade ago. The last thing Reagan wants to do is solve the problem by raising the taxes of the rich and the corporations. He's decided to "reform" the tax system.

When you look at how many workers have been pushed into low-paid, part-time jobs, it's not hard to see why Reagan is so worried about where he gets his billions to boost military spending. I know many workers who used to work in auto or steel and are now working at some part-time job at a fraction of their original wage. One former steel worker I know is working three part-time jobs to support himself, and he's still earning less than five years ago. Millions of workers have been forced to work two or three full-time jobs at near-minimum wage just to survive.

## REAGAN'S 'SUPPORT' OF FAMILY

One of the most reactionary parts of Reagan's tax "reform" is that it will penalize households headed by a single parent. Supposedly, this will "help support the American family"! At the same time they use "tax reform" to "support" the family. Reaganism uses union-busting, wage-concessions, unemployment and part-time work to make it impossible to support a family. One woman told me, "I don't see any use to this talk about tax reform. If a husband and a wife both have to work two jobs apiece in order to pay the rent, how will they get to spend any time together? It's stupid to think any tax plan will encourage couples to stay together."

Is this talk about "tax reform" really one of the ways for Reagan to hide from the eyes of the American people the real basis of the economic crisis of this country. So long as capitalism has the power to exploit labor, lower wages, worsen working conditions, all in order to increase the accumulation of capital, this system will never find enough money to pay its way out of its budget deficits. That is why Marx said over 100 years ago that the only part of social wealth that the capitalists "share" with the people is the national debt!

That the whole past decade of new Automation, robotics and electronics has done, is both lower the living standards of workers and make it more expensive for capitalists to invest in new production. That has always been the case: before Automation was introduced in the coal fields in 1949-50, coal stood at \$5 a ton; afterwards, it shot up to \$27 a ton. The high cost of the technologies to replace labor at the point of production has encouraged many of the capitalists to take factories overseas to the Third World, where wages are low enough for them not to have to invest in any new Automation. That has a lot to do with today's huge trade deficits. That is also why for all his talk of supporting "free trade," Reagan will eventually be forced to tax some of these imports, because that's the place where the money is. The "free-trade principle" of capitalists have never stood up for very long since the Depression in the 1930s.

When you look at anything Reagan is trying to do, especially his "tax reform plan," in the light of the crisis at the point of production and the state-capitalist nature of this stage of capitalism, then all the mysteries about why Reagan does what he does begin to dissolve. It is the kind of thinking working people have to do, in order to make sure we don't fall victim to what this "Communicator" has in store for us.

## Coming in November—

Raya Dunayevskaya on 30 years of News & Letters, part II  
Susanna Ounei, New Caledonia freedom fighter, speaks for herself.  
In-person report from Mexico

# Worker unity in auto, coal, steel

Editor's note: Solidarity caravans—from Detroit auto workers to striking miners at West Virginia's A.T. Massey Coal Co., and from midwest steel workers to the picket lines of the strikers at the Wheeling-Pittsburgh plants in the Mon Valley—occurred just before Labor Day this year. Both caravans brought the opportunity for discussion among workers from different industries. In addition, "Motown to Coaltown" caravans brought food, clothing and money for the strikers. Below are two in-person accounts.

## 'From Motown to Coaltown'



Motown to Coaltown caravan and rally

Detroit, Mich.—There were over 200 cars in our caravan.\* All the way down in the daylight people were out to watch along the interstate. We were supposed to arrive at 8 in the morning, but we got into Williamson, W. Va. at 11. We drove around the county until 1:30. In the towns, there were a lot of old people waving. I think they were remembering the '20s and '30s.

They gave us a tour of Williamson and people were cheering. There were a lot of people with signs out supporting the United Mine Workers. Just about everybody was glad to see us. There was a rally at 5 p.m., and there were about 5,000 people.

I talked to a couple of miners. They were worried about the situation. The company is trying to beat them in the courts. Massey bought the company while they were on layoff. Massey says since they were still laid-off when the strike started, they have no rights in a settlement or to benefits during the strike. Yet they believe they are on strike. The people are ready to fight on, but the chances aren't good. Yet women and men seemed to be really enthusiastic.

I was talking to a gentleman who said the newspapers have given little support to the strike, or else they distort the news about it. But it's hard to ignore a six-

\*For the first labor solidarity of "Motown to Coaltown" see The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and The Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S., a N&L pamphlet.

## U.S. Auto Radiator

### Contract battle ahead

Detroit, Mich.—At the local union meeting on Sept. 22, there were about 50 workers there to talk about problems inside U.S. Auto Radiator that need to be taken care of in the next contract. It seemed like you had to shout to make a point because local president Calvin Reeves wanted to avoid discussing anything. He was beating the gavel anytime someone wanted to discuss why they wanted something in the new contract. He doesn't want people to put reason into it. People were talking about what was happening to them here and now at U.S. Auto and he said, Don't come to me with that personal stuff. If you wanted to say anything you were out of order.

Many of the workers wanted to discuss a woman who was changed from an assembler to dippings and didn't get the wage she should have. The women there said they thought she should get all the money owed her. But it seems Calvin just doesn't want to do anything.

The company doctor was discussed. He doesn't know anything, but Calvin said the company is providing the doctor and we don't have a say on if he is doing a good job. Calvin is saying if the doctor is doing what the company wants and tells you to go back, even if you are not well, it's OK.

People were complaining because Calvin is never in the local union hall. He says he has to go to several other plants. But we never see other workers or hear what is going on there. A lot of times after work or on lunch break he is not at the hall. There have been times when Liz, the union steward, cannot get in touch with the union president.

People raised many other things. We want a 15 minute break instead of 10. Every other factory in the U.S. has 15 minutes. The company doesn't have the right safety equipment. They gave one guy on the painting job the wrong safety mask and he did the job for a month. Paint was coming out of his nose the whole time until they gave him the right mask.

Just walking through the door is hazardous. They haven't taken the lead count yet for some people. And you have to go and ask them. But if you think I believe what they say my lead count is, you're crazy. Most of the workers here are women. They won't be able to have children. The company doesn't care about that. We would like more money, more holidays, clean bathrooms, a nurse and dust ventilation.

—U.S. Auto Radiator Worker

mile long caravan! The story in News & Letters about the strike is the best description. (See Aug.-Sept. 1985 N&L) You can get a grip on the situation.

Sometime down the road, if labor doesn't stick together, the companies are going to squeeze us all out. A lot of the danger is that the rank-and-file don't realize how laws have been twisted in favor of the companies. At the same time, there's a breakdown between the rank-and-file and leadership. Officials can't say, "We're getting ineffective." They don't want to lose votes.

Since we went down, the news about the caravan and the strike has spread by word of mouth where I work. The next time it may snowball. People are waking up to their precarious position in this system. In that convoy, as far as you can see—cars. Personally, it was an emotional experience, a feeling of power as a working man. It's hard to explain. You had to be part of it.

—Ford Rouge Worker

## Wheeling-Pittsburgh Strike

Mon Valley, Penn.-Ohio-W.Va.—Several thousand workers from this tri-state area, plus steel workers from as far away as Chicago, participated in a bus caravan, picketing and rallying in support of some 8,500 workers who have been on strike at five plants of the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corporation since July 21. At Martins-Ferry, West Virginia, we were joined by 500 members of the United Steel Workers of America for picketing and a rally. The Martins-Ferry plant produces coils and galvanized sheets of steel. Workers there have been successful in stopping coils from leaving the plant. Local union officials have gone to jail.

At Yorkville on the Ohio River massive coal piles have been stock-piled for use in blast furnaces and were brought in by helicopters.

Steubenville is where most of the basic steel production goes on and where much of the action of the strike is. Wheeling-Pittsburgh installed a new caster technology here in 1983. In 1985 they filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy and on July 17 tore up the existing contract and imposed a \$6 an hour wage and benefits cut on the workers.

This strike is not only crucial to those on strike. All of steel is watching. Some 200,000 steel workers will be having their contracts coming up soon.

Later we talked to a young Black worker from the Steubenville plant who told us about all the activity at the mill. He said that the militancy of the workers showed everyone that "we are prepared to go on until we get what we deserve." When we asked if money was the major issue another worker responded: "What's money got to do with it? What we are fighting against is that they want to take away seniority rights, health benefits, and they want to throw out the whole grievance procedure. And if the union had even told the rank-and-file to go back, with those kinds of concessions, we wouldn't. What this company has done to us has affected our whole community. In Steubenville, the school district is even bankrupt." The Black worker added: "We are fighting for the national labor movement, and actually for all the workers of the world."

After an hour-long bus ride from Steubenville we entered a tunnel which opened up on what is called the "Golden Triangle" at the entrance to Pittsburgh. It refers to the three rivers which converge at Pittsburgh—the Monongahela, the Ohio and the Allegheny.

The noonday rally and march in Pittsburgh had nearly 3,000 workers and their families and supporters. After a rally which had a number of union officials speaking there was a march from the Steel Workers international headquarters to the Wheeling-Pittsburgh corporate headquarters.

Our bus caravan continued with stops at Monessen for dinner and a rally, and then at Allenport. At Monessen there is a very modern basic steel plant, but today it lies idle, while at Allenport there is a plant that employs 1,200 workers in the production of seamless tubes. We joined the Allenport workers for a night solidarity rally on the picket line.

Coming home on the bus we had a chance to talk to some Chicago area steel workers. A woman who had worked at a small shop in Chicago said: "I've had 25 years in the plant, yet, what a worker gets in return for those 25 years is nothing. They took all the years of my youth and squeezed them out of me."

A Black worker who had been in the union movement for more than 30 years spoke of the trip we had just taken: "In my opinion, it's going to take a lot more than this rally. What is needed is a total reconstruction in the union movement. We have to go back and regain control of production. Because when the union gave that up to gain wage increases, we started on the road that has brought us to this point."

—Lou Turner and Diane Lee

# The undeclared and ongoing civil war in South Africa

(continued from page 1)

was only in 1950—and not, as most people think, from the beginning of the cutting up of Africa—that apartheid first became law...

**TODAY, THE UNDECLARED CIVIL WAR** in South Africa is still thought of only as protest. This makes it easy to "sympathize" with the marchers who are unarmed, facing the barbaric might of the South African rulers—not only armed to the teeth, but not satisfied unless they also show their savagery with horsewhips and murder. Every revolt for the past 30 years in apartheid South Africa has faced genocide, and yet the revolts, far from stopping, are reborn in ever more intense forms. It was Soweto that finally made the world conscious not alone of revolt but of the philosophy of revolt.

The Idea—Black Consciousness—was born out of Pan-Africanism, whose ground had been laid by the new, independent countries of West, East, North and Central Africa, whose revolutions were reshaping the map of the whole world...

The new epoch of struggles that emerged in the 1950s when a new stage of production—Automation—was born and was met by the Miners' General Strike in this country, could be seen in East Germany in the 1953 Revolt for "Bread and Freedom," and was not limited to Europe and America. It emerged in South Africa. Listen to I. B. Tabata, one of the leaders and main theoreticians of the Society of Young Africa, in his opening address to that Conference, on Dec. 21 1951: "The ideas are the weapons with which you cut your path in the barbaric jungle of South African society today...We go into the struggle not simply to save the youth, not only to save the non-Europeans. It is a question of the preservation of all society. Our struggle here in South Africa is part and parcel of the struggle of humanity as a whole."\*\*\*\*

**JUST AS THE STRUGGLES** in East Europe developed throughout the 1950s, so they did in South Africa, whether that was against the introduction of Bantu education in 1953, or the strikes in 1954 and 1955. They reached a climax especially in 1956, when 20,000 women converged on Pretoria. Aug. 9, 1956 has ever since been known in South Africa as "Women's Day." The two-way road between U.S. Black revolts and those in Africa reached a climax in 1957 when, inspired by the Montgomery Bus Boycott, walking 20 miles to work and trudging another 20 miles back to their townships for three solid months, they won their strike against the rise in bus fares.

But it took the bloody Sharpeville Massacre of 1960—when thousands of Africans shouted "Izwe Lethu" (Our Land), burned their passes and demanded to be arrested for having violated the apartheid laws—to make the world conscious of this ongoing struggle. That, too, didn't stop in the 1960s. Everyone knows Soweto, 1976, because it was this that was not just a stage of struggle but a quantum leap into revolutionary method and ideas that inspired a Soweto youth to proclaim: "Go and tell the world that the process of Black Liberation, which nobody can reverse, has begun in South Africa." It was the birth of the Black Consciousness Movement.

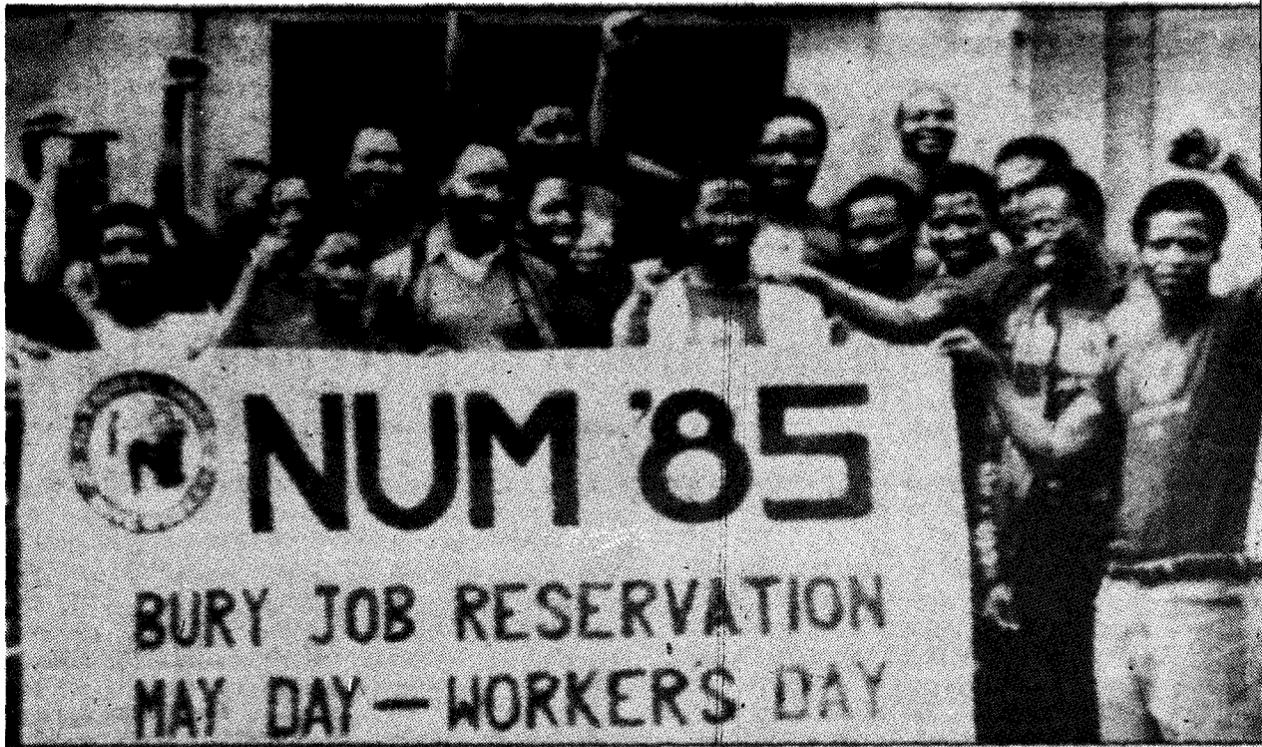
The struggle didn't end in the 1970s, either. What the 1970s were great in was the birth of a great new Black trade union movement, which has just threatened a general strike in gold, coal and diamond mines.

It is in this context that we need not only to look again at the barbarism and massacre that is being perpetrated by the apartheid rulers, but to face that this is the "new" stage of Hitlerian barbarism, Botha-style, that will be our reality if we survive at all the nuclear war our rulers are fashioning for us. Theoretically as well as practically it is that which must fashion the framework for a second look at the global struggle, and only then plunge into our tasks, unseparated from those struggles.

## II. The Two Worlds in Each Country — West, East, South, North — vs. Ronald Reagan's Creation of Hunger and Star Wars

Ronald Reagan, in refusing to endorse the UN resolution on sanctions against South Africa, manifests the close affinity he has to that apartheid land, as he moves against the masses, be they in the U.S., in Nicaragua, or in South Africa. This does not mean that Russia is any different. What we have established ever since World War II, when we analyzed Russian society as a state-capitalist society, was that state-capitalism was a world stage, the latest retrogressionism of capitalism itself...

1944 was the year when the Red Army stood outside the gates of Warsaw as Poland rose up against the Nazi invasion for the second time. The first was the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943. Because we were always watching and solidarizing with the second world in each country, we hailed those revolts and, at the same time, raised the slogan "All Roads Lead to Warsaw." This did



In South Africa National Union of Mineworkers on strike in early Sept.

not in any way affect our opposition to the imperialist war, in which we opposed all rulers. Instead, we developed what was emerging from the revolutionary practice of the masses. Because that was and is our Marxist-Humanist ground, as American revolutionaries our immediate enemy is Reaganism — both in its imperialist tentacles abroad, and in retrogressionism at home...

**WHAT EVERY RULER**—especially U.S. imperialism with its tentacles in Latin America—refuses to face is the simple truth and plain fact that the counter-revolutionary outreach into foreign lands is precisely what produces revolutionaries. It is that struggle against imperialism that forges revolutionary leadership.

In the case of Nicaragua, the U.S. never stopped invading until the one the Nicaraguan masses have rightly called "the last Marine"—Somoza—succeeded in murdering the rebel leader, Sandino. Somoza was then the Commandant of the Guardia Nacional, the paramilitary police force which the U.S. Marines created to help murder Sandino, who had been fighting them for six long years. Sandino was at that point invited to an alleged "peace conference," which was actually the plot that trapped him. That year, 1933, was when U.S. imperialism finally felt confident that Somoza would take care of their interests. Somoza did precisely that as he built his murderous, exploitative, counter-revolutionary, corrupt, greedy Somoza dynasty. The U.S. continued its strong support for this dictatorship for 46 long years, until it was finally overthrown by the present-day Sandinistas in 1979.

The year 1985 will go down in history as the year of infamy. It is the year when Ronald Reagan succeeded in brainwashing Congress—which had the year before stopped funding the contras, who had openly declared they were out to overthrow the duly-elected Nicaraguan government—to OK \$27 million for so-called "humanitarian" aid...

That does not mean that there is nothing to criticize in the present-day Sandinistas, or that they are not forced by the imperialist policies of the U.S. to seek the support of Russia or any other country that will help their struggle for independence. But the unvarnished fact is that there was an indigenous, genuine, revolutionary mass movement which succeeded in overthrowing the Somoza dictatorship; which has introduced the beginnings of truly independent life, in its land reform, in better conditions for the workers, and in its successful fight against illiteracy; and which is continuing the opposition to any U.S. domination over their land...

## III. Marxist-Humanist Tasks as We Keep an Eye on the World Objective Situation

...The preparation for our most important proposal this year—the transformation of *News & Letters* into a biweekly—is hard and demanding and so crucial that we need a whole year to prepare the ground for that

decision at our next year's convention. We are asking for the establishment of a special fund for that. Her wish: 1) to develop further the motivating principle which will help us become practicing dialecticians both in theory and in practice, in the projection of Marxist-Humanism; and 2) to develop the expansion of our activity with others, both nationally and internationally...

The all-important first point, regarding our becoming practicing dialecticians, has to be related to the kind of classes we are projecting as a combination of workshops and theory and for organizational growth. For these classes, there can be no separation between Marx's Marxism and Marxist-Humanism. The ground for that is deeper digging into the whole period since the Marx Centenary, focusing on this year, 1985-86.

**THE NEWNESS OF** the classes as workshops is, to merely imitate a N&L editing session, and yet both practically and theoretically, it has an affinity to the editing session in the sense that it must relate to a current event, preferably one that happened that week and yet, at the same time, also be steeped in theory and philosophy...

The missing link of philosophy has plagued post-Marxism ever since the death of Marx in 1883 until Lenin's rediscovery, at the outbreak of World War I, Marx's roots in the Hegelian dialectic, which produced the Great Divide in post-Marx Marxism. Lenin, however, did not show the process of arriving at those great revolutionary conclusions, did not make public his Philosophic Notebooks. After Marxism and Freedom, which first disclosed the Great Divide, and after Philosophy and Revolution, which spelled out Absolute Idea as New Beginning, came the latest grappling with the dialectic in Chapter 11 of *Rosa Luxemburg Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, "The Philosopher of Permanent Revolution Creates New Ground for Organization," which ended with a sum-up of Marx's theory of permanent revolution, 1843-1883, in the context of this age, on the relationship of organization to philosophy. It disclosed that there was still need of the dialectic as Second Negativity, as the total uprooting. It is that which determined the creation of the final Chapter 12 on the trail to the 1980s, which climaxed in a final section, "A 1980s View."

It is necessary to re-emphasize this. It was only as we were coming to the conclusion of this work and calling Marx's "new moments" the trail to the 1980s that we nationally summarized Marx's Marxism and not only Hegel's Absolute Idea both as totality and as a new beginning for our age, as organization and philosophy, dialectics of revolution and of thought, the whole of the dialectic. It spelled out, at one and the same time, the catching of the continuity with Marx's Marxism and seeing that the hundred-years' discontinuity between the ages was Marxist-Humanist continuity or working out of Marx's Humanism for our age.

**IT IS THAT LOOK** at the totality of Marx's Marxism as new beginning, that new look at Marx's archives, that also led us to see the Marxist-Humanist archives in a new way. It is this discernment which produced the uniqueness of the final, fourth section Chapter 12—"A 1980s View"—and prepared us for extraordinary sales of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* founders of Marxist-Humanism on the Marx Centenary tour. Anyone who doesn't discern the Marxist-Humanist uniqueness of that section can hardly be expected to sell the new book, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, not as salespersons, but as founders.

(continued on page 5)

## HEAR RAYA DUNAYEVSKAYA ON TOUR IN NEW YORK

● Thurs. Nov. 7th, 8 PM  
New School for Social Research, Grad Center  
65 Fifth Ave.

● Tues. Nov. 12th, 7 PM  
Broadway Presbyterian Church  
Broadway at 114th St.

● Wed. Nov. 13th 7 PM  
New York University  
Loeb Student Center  
566 LaGuardia Place

\*\*\* This "Opening Address" by Tabata is printed in Vol. II of *From Protest to Challenge* (Hoover Institution Press, Stanford, Cal. 1972). It is included in our pamphlet *Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought*, p. 16.

# New revolutionary moments in Latin America

by Mary Holmes

## Bolivian general strike

Bolivian workers began an indefinite general strike the first week in September against the "new political economy" introduced Aug. 29 by recently-elected President Paz Estenssoro. Workers shut down mines, factories, agricultural enterprises and the petroleum industry. Tens of thousands marched through La Paz on the eve of the strike.

Communications and transport workers joined the strike and, in the second week, a group of women from the Veinte tin mine complex began a hunger strike in La Paz, a form of defiance soon followed by union leaders, striking workers and student supporters.

The Bolivian Workers Federation (COB) had called the general strike Sept. 4 against Paz Estenssoro's planned restructuring of the Bolivian economy which has had drastic immediate effects. When the government devalued the peso in August by 95%, food prices skyrocketed. Bolivia's inflation rate of 14,000% is already the highest in the world. At the same time, the government cut its subsidies for food, petroleum products and other necessities. A 90-day wage freeze holds the monthly minimum wage at a starvation \$20. The government lifted long-standing regulations on hiring and dismissal of workers in both the public and private sectors.

The heart of Paz Estenssoro's program is decentralization of the state-owned mines and petroleum industries, and dissolution of state-run agricultural, transport and metallurgical enterprises. This reaches back to the 1952 Bolivian Revolution; ironically, it was Paz Estenssoro who headed the first government after the Revolution, which presided over the nationalization of much of the Bolivian economy. The workers today perceive "economic denationalization" as ultimately aimed at destroying their movement. On Sept. 19, the 16th day of the strike, Paz Estenssoro declared a state of siege and moved to break the strike.

Police invaded the places where over 1,500 union leaders and workers were holding out on hunger strike. Hundreds of workers were arrested and most of COB's leadership has been sent to internal detention in remote areas of eastern Bolivia. Open political meetings and demonstrations have been banned, and workers in the public sector threatened with dismissal unless they return to their jobs.

In La Paz, police and soldiers surrounded the University of San Andres to rout a group of workers and students on hunger strike there. The chain of union radio stations which had been broadcast-

ing information to mines, factories and petroleum workers, and to the peasants in Oruro, were taken off the air by police. Still, COB was able to publish a message asking workers to "radicalize the extent of pressure" on the government.

From the start of the stage of siege, miners have refused to end the strike. Whatever the outcome of the government repression in the weeks to come, the Bolivian workers and peasants will not soon end the struggle they began in September.

## Chile contra Pinochet

The largest anti-Pinochet demonstrations in a year took place in Chile on Sept. 4. Thousands marched in Santiago and other major cities. The most militant protests took place in the working class poblaciones, where people built barricades and fought with the military and police. Students occupied the Engineering School at the University of Chile in Santiago. At the University of Concepcion, several thousand students held a two-day moratorium after military and police evicted their occupation. Students have also demanded the resignation of Pinochet-appointed university officials who are often themselves part of the military.

Sept. 4 was designated as the day of protest because

## Anti-apartheid, anti-Reagan



Detroit anti-apartheid rally had 10,000 marching.

Detroit, Mich.—By the thousands, Detroiters came out in August to show their support for the liberation struggle going on in Azania (South Africa) and voice their opposition to Reagan's U.S.A. that is propping up apartheid rule there.

In response to the repressive State of Emergency in South Africa, 5,000 gathered here for a march and rally. As against Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, who spoke in the rally about Blacks in South Africa striving for "the same rights that George Washington fought for in 1776" (though Washington, a slavemaster, never moved to end slavery), hundreds of youths, teenaged and younger, were the spirit of the rally. Throughout the march down Woodward Avenue, they chanted "Freedom Yes, Apartheid No!" One carried a sign that read, "Freedom is a birthright." Another held a sign that said, "Boycott South Africa, Not Nicaragua."

That aspect of the protest—the other America challenging Reaganism—came out when a young Black woman commented when she opened to the Women's Liberation page in *News & Letters*, "The right-wing fundamentalists say they're pro-life. But you don't see any of them out here supporting life in South Africa. And you don't see them doing anything about nuclear war."

Even more people, perhaps as many as 10,000, came to Hart Plaza, during the African World Festival, to see Zinzani Mandela, daughter of jailed freedom fighter Nelson Mandela, accept an award for her father from the NAACP. Earlier in the day, 500 gathered in the hot sun to hear Randall Robinson, head of TransAfrica. It was the lobbying organization which had brought hundreds to the South African consulate in Washington, D.C. to commit acts of civil disobedience and be arrested.

Though Robinson rose to prominence in the past year as notable Black, civil rights, and labor leaders took their turns at arrest in Washington, one Black youth in the audience commented that he was tired of hearing only the "appointed Black spokesmen" give direction to our solidarity.

For example, Robinson repeated his support for the goal of "one man, one vote in a unitary state" in Azania. He backed it up only with calls for corporate divestiture and pressure on business and government leaders here to change policies, rather than exposing how this system relies on allies like apartheid South Africa.

On the other hand, we sold out of copies of *American Civilization on Trial*. The title of the introduction, "A 1980s View—The Two-way Road Between Africa and America," we pointed out, has come alive in these protests against Reaganism at home which have been regenerated by the Azanian freedom struggle. One man pointed to the pictures of Marx, Fanon, Tubman, Douglass, Sojourner Truth and John Brown, and commented, "It's unusual to see these people on the cover of anything," noting how important is a new stage of consciousness for this new stage of struggle.—Jim Mills

prior to the Pinochet counter-revolution against Allende in 1973, it had been the date of presidential elections. A broad spectrum of opposition is now calling for an end to military dictatorship, but differences are emerging as to methods, aims, and what happens after Pinochet.

## Guatemalan mass protests

When the military regime headed by Gen. Oscar Mejia Victores authorized a 50% increase in the price of bus tickets on Aug. 29, it was the last straw for workers, students and the poor in Guatemala City. Protests swept the capital for days, with youth in the forefront of marches and rallies, fighting the police, barricading their neighborhoods against soldiers, and torching buses. In the working class barrios, people banged on pots in protest during the night on Sept. 2, a day after the government also allowed increases in the price of milk and bread.

Shortly before midnight Sept. 3, Guatemalan soldiers in a convoy of troop carriers entered the University of San Carlos campus, site of student clashes with security forces over the price increases. In a two-day occupation, soldiers ransacked offices and classrooms in a purported search for arms and subversive literature. Although government spies operate on the campus, students and faculty at the University have maintained its autonomous status ever since the 1944 national revolution which overthrew the dictator Jorge Ubico. It is one of the few places in Guatemala today where an open dialogue on revolution and the future can take place.

The military regime has used death squads in the past to repress dissent at the University. In the past two years, as student organizing increased, 36 students and 10 teachers were murdered or disappeared. The military also shut down classes in the public schools.

Mejia Victores was forced to rescind the bus fare increase and freeze other prices, but not until at least 1,000 protestors were arrested, hundreds wounded and at least two people killed. Guatemala is experiencing its worst economic depression in 50 years. The military claims to be ready to hand everything over to civilians after the upcoming November elections. But the recent revolt would indicate Guatemalans are not aiming to reform what is, but to fundamentally change their lives.

## GM bans workers' reading

Oklahoma City, Okla.—This last week was the first week we came back from changeover at the GM plant. They handed us a little slip stating that they were going to take away all our homemade chairs off the line, so that when the line goes down we won't have any place to sit. They are also taking all of our reading material from us while we are on the job. If they enforce the rule they have laid down right now in the body shop, the only time we will be able to read is on our breaks or lunch period.

I can't remember all the rules they have issued. They are all typed out. The person who brought this about in the plant, the foreman or superintendent, or whoever, didn't even sign it. It was just signed "management of the body shop." This is the kind of repression workers had to live under 15 or 20 years ago, when I first went in. It is like what Denby talks about in *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*.

Oklahoma is Reagan country with defense plants and Tinker Air Force Base. This big air force base has got this building they call the One Mile building, 5,280 feet long. It caught on fire a few months ago; the roof burned off it. This roof has a lot of asbestos. So immediately after they got the fire out they went in and started cleaning it up. OSHA (Occupational Health and Safety Administration) knew that asbestos was in the roof, but they sat back and said they were waiting for a complaint from the workers before they would move in. Just a few days before that, the general who was in charge of overseeing production gave a speech saying the quicker we clean up the mess and get back into production rebuilding jet engines, the less chance we have of sending the work somewhere else.

On the one hand you had people not wanting to go in there because they had asbestos and on the other to save their jobs they may have to. —GM Worker

## Civil War in S. Africa

(continued from page 4)

It is this which determined the presentation of our Archives as the Marxist-Humanist body of ideas at the March 21 meeting organized by the Archives Library at Wayne State University, as well as the actions that we then continued until the present Perspectives, which found their concrete highpoint in the proposal for the transformation of *News & Letters* into a bi-weekly, to be decided upon at the next Convention, and our proposal to lay the ground for extending Black relations with a new edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto*, and *American Black Thought* with a new Introduction, by January first...

Thus we express the urgent need to uproot the counter-revolution, whether in the form of Botha or Reagan, so thoroughly, theoretically and practically, that it will create the humus for actual revolution, toward which the American Revolution is most crucial.

## Marxist-Humanist Perspectives

1985-86

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Part One

Aug. 31, 1985

- I. Hitler's visage in apartheid South Africa shows the future the rulers hold in store for all of us
- II. The two worlds in each country vs. Ronald Reagan's creation of hunger and star wars
- III. Marxist-Humanist tasks

Part Two

Sept. 1, 1985

The self-thinking idea in a new concept of and relationship to the dialectics of leadership, as well as the self-bringing forth of liberty

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## SOUTH AFRICA AND AMERICA: IN NEW STRUGGLES AND IN MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES

"Freedom Now." "Revolution Now." were the spirited chants we shouted at the demonstration in front of the U.N. and the South African Consulate Aug. 14. The crowd swelled to 30,000 as people got out of work and came. Even though the demonstration was called by the union bureaucracy to "support the Black Trade Union movement," the demonstrators were diverse and passionate. The crowd was at least half Black, including Black youth with their bicycles. The Haitians were very present, with two beautiful banners and spirited chants in Creole. In fact, they were the first ones I heard who started to chant in Creole "Revolution in South Africa." Only after that did others chant "freedom" and "revolution."

One guy I talked to who had a homemade T-shirt against apartheid said he was from South Carolina. His folks were civil rights activists, his sister had been in the Black Panthers, so he grew up with all that. He said it was time for him to take a stand against apartheid...

Protester  
New York City

Week after week I find myself rushing home in the evening to watch TV news to learn the latest on South Africa. An ongoing liberation struggle is the most exciting thing in the world. But I also found myself agreeing with the statement in the "Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives" (Aug.-Sept. N&L), that for "us as American revolutionaries, it is Reagan's retrogressionism at home that is the immediate enemy."

I don't think the two are in conflict. We who are active in the Free South Africa Movement know that Botha and his crowd will never be uprooted except by attacking Reaganism in America at the same time. And we are beginning to understand that the relationship between the thought of the liberation movement there and the thought of activists here is, as N&L says, a "two-way road." I think your "Organizational-Philosophic-Journalistic" conclusions are ambitious ones. But they are necessary.

New reader  
Chicago

I thought you'd be interested in seeing the enclosed review of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* which appeared in *Idealistic Studies*... It is hard to cope in Reagan-land while the world is revolting. Our dumb president has no understanding of South Africa and probably would have fostered Hitler too!

Philosophy professor  
Oswego, New York

What impressed me about Dunayevskaya's coverage of the International Women's Decade Conference in Kenya in the Perspectives is the direction that it pointed to. I had read a great many reports of the Conference and one could have concluded, as many did, that it was a great get-together of women but things are worse than before. All that is true, but so what? What Dunayevskaya did by singling out the one woman who spoke of going back home to her village in Kenya to tell everyone "how we can be ourselves—no longer just have babies and have babies dying," was to show part of the universality of women's fight for freedom.

Women's liberationist  
Illinois

In the next to last paragraph of Raya's article on Bitburg (June 1985 N&L), she says "we are still living under the consequences of this continuing theoretic-philosophic void in the Marxist movement." My concern about that statement is whether or not Dunayevskaya was giving herself any credit at all for filling that void over the past 35 years. I realize there will be no final word on the dialectics of revolution/liberation until a new society is firmly established, but if you take Dunayevskaya's statement literally, it seems to in-

clude Marxist-Humanism. I don't think it should.

Subscriber  
Florida

When I first saw the "Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives" headline on my copy of N&L, I was surprised. I didn't have any idea why you would be devoting most of the front page to Mikhail Gorbachev. But after I studied it, I felt that what you were posing was the possibility of a new alliance between Russia and China, in which the two were more like real allies than they were under Stalin and Mao. That would change all global politics, I think.

It deserved to be on page one.

Subscriber  
Boston, Mass.

The idea that N&L might become a bi-weekly in 1986 is terrific. There is just no way to cover all the events in the world today in a monthly. I don't like having to wait so long for my paper. Does this mean that you would be asking subscribers to give more money? If so, I'll be happy to help out.

Long-time reader  
San Francisco

The Draft perspectives this year created an exciting category by the very title of its third section: "Organizational-Philosophic-Journalistic Conclusions." Who but Marxist-Humanists would dare to link philosophy not only with organization, but with journalism? Yes, I am sure some of the "Left" laugh at such a linking. But if the working out and projection of Marxist-Humanist philosophy isn't at the heart of this provocative proposal for a bi-weekly News & Letters, then it will only mean a redoubling and more of efforts, instead of new points of departure which bring full social transformation closer. I, for one am very anxious to hear from some of our readers about what they think of such a proposal and how they might aid us in writing, in distribution and financially.

News & Letters Committee member  
Chicago

### DEFENDING NICARAGUA

About 250 protesters from "Utahans Against Contra Funding" gathered Aug. 30 to protest the speech of Contra leader Adolfo Calero. An audience of about the same size paid \$5 to hear Calero supposedly "clear up some disinformation" which associated Contras with the views of Somoza's ex-national guard. Outside, the protesters were subjected to harassment by the FBI who took pictures of demonstrators. The crowd became enraged when several marines stood with placards which said "Anti-Contras are pro-Communist."

Calero's forked-tongue speech for "democracy" and "humanitarian aid" was belied by the policies of the right-wing "National Center For Constitutional Studies" which sponsored him. That group had called for the repeal of the amendment which gave women the vote!

Protester  
Utah

### 'THE CHILDREN'S REVOLUTION'

When I think about youth I think about when I was 17 or 18. It was a painful time of life, because you're always trying to find yourself. Finding your identity makes you want to change your surroundings. I was looking for a revolutionary organization, because I grew up in Alabama in the Civil Rights Movement, and I wanted to continue to develop.

This year is the 20th anniversary of the Watts revolt in 1965. You find yourself asking what happened 20 years ago and what is happening today. Charcoal Alley in Watts has been rebuilt. There's a new shopping center, and they have it fenced off. Within a block they have 40 security guards to keep people under control. They're ready for the next re-

# Readers' Views

volt. This time it will definitely be on a higher level.

At a recent demonstration Bishop Tutu's daughter called the movement in South Africa "the children's revolution." That's important. At the demonstration in Los Angeles against Reagan's \$1000 a plate dinner, leftists were saying we'll never see the revolution until the working class decides to change society. They wanted to completely ignore the youth. I like the statement in the News & Letters Constitution that shows youth alongside workers as builders of a new society.

Black worker  
Los Angeles

**Solidarity**

Just after the 1981 proclamation of the state of war in Poland, Robert Chelacz and Tomek Lupanov, both aged 18 and apprentices in the Warsaw area, tried to organize an armed resistance to the dictatorship. The emotion of the first days of martial law, the bloody fights in the Silesian mines, made them believe that an insurrection was about to happen. As the popular slogan then said: "Winter is yours, spring will be ours."

Arrested on March 4, 1982, tortured during their questioning, Robert and Tomek were condemned on Sept. 8, 1982 to 25 and 13 years of prison respectively. Two other members of their group got six years in prison. The "amnesty" proclaimed in July 1984 had no effect on them. A movement for their liberation has started in Poland. To join this movement in North America, please write:

Polish Workers Solidarity Cte.  
PO Box 284, Main Station  
St. Catharines, Ontario  
L2R 6T7 Canada

### BLACK HISTORY: THEN & NOW

I do not know whether anyone is alive today who could tell you things about the founding of the great *Journal of Negro History* in 1916, which John Alan took up last month in N&L. But I can tell you about 1925, when Carter G. Woodson, who began that journal, finally won from the New York State legislature what he had been fighting for over a whole decade—capitalizing the word, "Negro." That was also the year when Negro labor in Chicago established the American Negro Labor Congress to fight for new unions for Blacks. The *Negro Champion* was founded as its organ to champion that goal. The whole period from 1916 through the 1920s, when the Garvey movement was at its height is still far too unknown today.

Intellectual  
Chicago

Blacks, whites and Asians of all ages jammed into the Second Baptist Church in Detroit for the Aug. 8 Hiroshima memorial, "Never Again." By holding the meeting at this historic church the Nuclear Weapons Freeze organizers stretched a hand to the Abolitionist Movement.

Debbie Hejl, a Nuclear Weapons Freeze spokeswoman, spoke about the relationship between the Abolitionist movement and the anti-nuclear movement. She referred to John Brown's and Frederick Douglass' meeting in 1859 in the Second Baptist Church where they discussed Brown's plans for the raid on Harper's Ferry. Hejl distorted history, however, when she said that Douglass then "fled" to Canada and wrote a letter saying each had to fight in his own way—using Douglass to "endorse" her own reformism.

While Hejl's misconstruing the rela-

tionship may support the Freeze's retreat from confrontation, it obscures Frederick Douglass' own words: "Until this blow was struck, the prospect for freedom was dim, shadowy and uncertain...When John Brown stretched forth his arm the sky was cleared." The real focus of the event was today's movement to end war. Yet doesn't that focus get blurred if Black history is used by organizers to serve narrow tactical purposes rather than to "clear the sky"?

Anti-war activist  
Detroit

### WORKERS AND FARMERS

We are talking about going on strike here. I fear going on welfare, but if we do not risk our bread we may die working, just as 23-year-old Tim Wroblewski was killed at Tri-Mark last week. Did you hear about it? He was cut up by an exploding hot water tank. Three women that work with me were talking about it, mad as hell. They said it's part of factory work to risk your life to live. One Black woman said "If a worker gets to live out a full life, they're lucky".

Working woman  
Detroit

The "Farm Aid" concert/benefit on TV was fascinating. Not so much for the music, but the politics. I don't know when I've heard so many class-conscious statements on TV. You heard singers who grew up on farms speaking about how "farmers and workers have to get together against the big corporations." You heard many moving stories about the destruction of the family farm and the evils of the banks. There was even quoting from Populist slogans of the 1890s. But there was also plenty of confusion: call for protectionism, the involvement of politicians—including some conservative Republicans.

I don't know what it all means, but it certainly shows that there are a lot of white, working-class Americans who aren't satisfied with the system.

Reader  
Illinois

### NEW FORMS OF SOLIDARITY

I thought you might be interested in knowing about a recent protest at the Federal Building here by John Lorenzini, the head of People With AIDS, and Thunderhawk, an Oglala Sioux. They chained themselves to the doors of the building to protest the shifting of funds from Indian Health Services to increase AIDS research. The protest wasn't even mentioned in the straight press.

As a gay person, I was very glad to see People With AIDS refusing to be selfish with funds taken from other deserving communities. What a perfect example of one group being pitted against another—and what a display of solidarity!

Gay feminist  
San Francisco

### IRAN-IRAQ WAR

The Iran/Iraq war still goes on. This war has damaged the revolutions in the Middle East. Where once the war was between the rich and the poor, it is now between the Third World races. When I was in Bahrain I had a chance to talk to Iranian workers. At the time I was for any radical change, but these workers told me about the betrayals of the Tudeh Party (the Iranian Communist Party) during the nationalization of oil in the 1950s and again in the '79 revolution. They told me that Black people in the Persian Gulf live in terrible areas, are mostly illiterate, have poor health, and always have to emigrate to other areas in the Persian Gulf to find any jobs other than fishing.

Young Somalian  
California

WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND THE DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION: FIRST VIEWS

I am using our stationery to show and tell you about SISA—Sisterhood in Support of Sisters in South Africa—an organization that I founded last year. I have just re-subscribed to N&L. I like to have the paper during the term because it is so useful in the classroom, particularly in bringing a different, and in my opinion "correct," perspective to issues of race, class and women. As a matter of fact, SISA was inspired by the insensitivity of the Women's Feminist Study Group at my school. Their politics were just too white middle class for me. I am in direct contact with the women who head up the self-help groups in South Africa...

I follow the articles in N&L about women, especially Black women, very closely. There is so much that needs addressing in that arena...

I wish I had the opportunity to discuss the Nairobi conference with you. I liked the article by the editorial board—their comments on the Nairobi conference. I also appreciated Diane Lee's review of Allende's House of the Spirits. It sounded like a difficult book to review and she did a credible job in making it understandable. I will be teaching a course this fall entitled "Black Feminist Theory and Practice." I would like to have Raya's latest book, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future, for it...

Gloria Joseph Massachusetts

My interview with Raya, a small portion of which was included in her new book, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, was entirely self-motivated. I did the interview specifically because I wanted to get her unique perspective on Rosa Luxemburg, Clara Zetkin, the "woman question," and especially, the herstorical roots of International Women's Day.

I do not subscribe to any doctrine or philosophy that puts one gender ahead of or over the other, nor do I support any group or organization that does not recognize and support the existence and rights of Lesbians. I was born a Lesbian and will die one, and there are fewer things more personally, politically, or

professionally abhorrent to me than men taking credit for what women do. Unfortunately, this is still very prevalent in leftist organizations and appears to be increasing as the pendulum swings back toward the '50s. There can be no women's "liberation" without self-respect which only we can give ourselves. If we don't live our politics, who will?

Katherine Davenport Berkeley, Calif.

When I read the "Introduction/Overview" to Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution, I noticed that Dunayevskaya talks about the miners' wives in the 1949-50 general strike. It reminded me how the women at the Greenham Common anti-nuclear encampment learned so much from the miners' wives in the miners' strike in Britain last year. They learned that it is not women's liberation alone that is needed, but also uprooting class relationships. But on the other hand in my classes Marxism is only talked about as economics.

Student-activist U. of Michigan

Recently I talked to a N&L subscriber who is active in NOW about that organization's election of Eleanor Smeal as President. "We have recognized that Reaganism has done a real number on us," she said, agreeing that Smeal's election represents a more activist direction for NOW. But she also questioned Smeal's autocratic method of decision-making.

We discussed how the world-wide Women's Liberation Movement has tried to work out "organizational answers" to women's oppression, and to develop organizational forms that would realize the goals of the movement. She was interested to know that an entire section of Raya Dunayevskaya's new book, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Liberation, addresses that question.

Feminist Michigan

Recently I had the opportunity to read Sheldon Liss' book Marxist Thought in Latin America, and then

to read Raya Dunayevskaya's latest book. I wish that these two writers knew each other. Liss writes of the late Argentinian Marxist Silvio Frondizi, who was drawn to "humanistic dialectical materialism" and to Marx's German philosophical roots. But I don't think he knows about the important correspondence between Frondizi and Dunayevskaya in the 1960s, when Frondizi sought to translate and publish her 1957 work, Marxism and Freedom.

It is crucial, I think, to have this kind of dialogue between Marxist thinkers in North and South America today, when the problem of the unfinished revolutions throughout our hemisphere looms so large.

Political science student Los Angeles



KANAK LIBERATION AND HISTORY

After hearing Susanna Ounei speak on the Kanak people's liberation movement, I wondered if she had named the liberation group she founded in 1969, "The Red Scarves", from Louise Michel's act of solidarity with the first Kanak rebellion against French colonialism in 1878. Michel, exiled to New Caledonia after the defeat of the Paris Commune, had given half of her red scarf from the Commune to the Kanak freedom fighters (N&L, March 1985).

When I mentioned Louise Michel, she exclaimed, "Louise Michel is very historic. She was imprisoned in the same jail that I was!" We then discussed Dunayevskaya's book, Marxisme et Liberte', which begins with the French Revolution and describes Karl Marx's passionate support of the Paris Commune.

Susan Van Gelder Detroit

ABOUT THEORY/PRACTICE

I am one of those concerned students in our university who realizes the need

to actively counteract the intrusion of "bourgeois ideology" in the physical sciences. The methods used in the physical sciences strike deep ideological roots—biological determinism which is consistent with a "technocratic" understanding of the world...I question the way science is being handled without regard to the dialectical relation between science and society...

In this regard we find it will be useful for us to study one of your publications—The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts. We want to discuss this with one of our allied student groups, the Math Club. I hope a line of communication will be established between us and your great newspaper. Please do not misinterpret us as a student group involved only in theoretical practice rather than political practice. We would like to think that there should be a dialectical relation between the two.

Student Manila, Philippines

You know what I like about News & Letters? "Readers' Views." This is very unique. It reminds me of when I was in Spain when Franco died. No one read the newspapers during Franco's rule because all they had were propaganda. When he died, the newspapers printed letters from all kinds of people, not just intellectuals. That's what I thought of when I saw a whole section of readers' views in N&L.

One question I have is this: in the section called "Who We Are and What We Stand For," what does "those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor" mean? I understand breaking from the bureaucracy of capital, but what about labor?

New Reader Ann Arbor

Ed. Note: Every worker in production today knows "the ruling bureaucracy of labor" all too well. You have to fight them whenever you have a grievance. You meet them when the company dishes out "discipline." It isn't that rank-and-file workers are anti-union; it is that they want the union to be a place where they can fight the company. For a full development of this theme, as automation intensified it, see Ch. 16 of Marxism and Freedom.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
Eleanor Marx in Chicago by Terry Moon 15¢ per copy
Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
Working Women for Freedom by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
Latin America's Revolutions Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought by Lou Turner and John Alan \$1 per copy
Marx's "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies by Raya Dunayevskaya 50¢ per copy
Constitution of News & Letters Committees 20¢ postage
Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitriyev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy
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A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism - 1941 to Today; Its Origin and Development in the U.S. \$1 per copy
Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95 (\$38.50 hardcover)
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Marxism and Freedom ... from 1776 to today 1982 edition. New introduction by author by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao 1982 edition. New introduction by author by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
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# A major new work by the Marxist-Humanist philosopher Raya Dunayevskaya

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

### ■ Part I: Women, Labor and the Black Dimension

"The uniqueness of the Women's Liberation Movement is seen also in this, that even the women in the revolutionary movement are saying: We are not waiting for tomorrow to get our freedom. We're beginning the struggle today. We are not leaving it to the men comrades to gain freedom 'for' us. We're struggling for it ourselves. We refuse to subordinate it to another movement; the Women's Liberation Movement itself is a revolutionary force toward total liberation for all."

### ■ Part II: Revolutionaries All

"Sojourner Truth and sometimes also Harriet Tubman are dutifully mentioned, condescendingly admitting their bravery—and of course their suffering as slaves—but never as Reason which drove the educated to face reality: that the Black women were the orators, generals, and, yes, thinkers, whereas they, the middle-class intellectuals, were but subordinates."



### ■ Part III: Sexism, Politics and Revolution—Portugal, Poland, China, Latin America, the U.S.—Is There an Organizational Answer?

"In the 1960s the discussions around the New Divide—the Cuban Revolution—were nearly totally uncritical both because of the great enthusiasm over its success against both Batista and that Goliath 90 miles from its shore, U.S. imperialism, and because of the hope that it would initiate a new age of revolutions on no less than a tri-continental Third World range. But the new question posed in the 1970s was how could it be that Cuba—which made its revolution by its own force and its own Reason which Fidel had declared to be "Humanist"—was now so blatantly tailendist to Russia, globally, as to declare Ethiopia a "land going toward socialism" and oppose the Eritrean liberation struggle Fidel had so long championed?"

### ■ Part IV: The Trail to the 1980s: The Missing Link—Philosophy—In the Relationship of Revolution to Organization

"It is true that new paths to freedom are not easy to work out; each generation has to do it for itself. Doing it cannot be achieved without a philosophy of revolution as well as the actuality of the revolution itself. That little phrase of Marx—'revolution in permanence'—points to the only philosophy which can assure that the revolution will not stop when power is won, but will continue into the kind of self-development in which the individual freedom and the universal freedom are one; indeed, will continue until the division between mental and manual labor is once and for all abolished. It is this Promethean vision of Marx that transformed Hegel's abstract category of 'the self-thinking Idea' into the concrete masses in motion who were "making" the revolution not only as force but as Reason. It is this and this alone which paves the way for the development of an 'Individualism that lets nothing interfere with its universalism, i.e. freedom.' This is the reason why Marx, instead of isolating organization in a separate realm, created that philosophy of revolution as ground also for organization. It is this challenge which post-Marx Marxists have not met."

### Introduction and Overview

"Every one of the historic periods recorded here discloses the existence of both a new revolutionary force and a new consciousness—Reason itself—no matter how different the situation or the country in which the events unravel, and no matter how hidden from history, past or in-the-making, it has remained."

"It is not only academics or like-minded colleagues, in my mind, who should be brought into the process of working out the ideas of a book. Rather, ideas have to be submitted to the scrutiny of workers, intellectuals, women, youth—that is to say, the forces of revolution—both as one develops a book and after it reaches completion. This was done with every one of my major theoretical works. The final section of the last Part of this collection presents letters written during the process of writing Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. It likewise presents the first lecture given (on Dec. 13, 1981) when the book was completed."

"As will be 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."

### Interview with Dunayevskaya

The following are brief excerpts from an interview with Raya Dunayevskaya that appeared in the March 15, 1985 issue of the Chicago Literary Review.



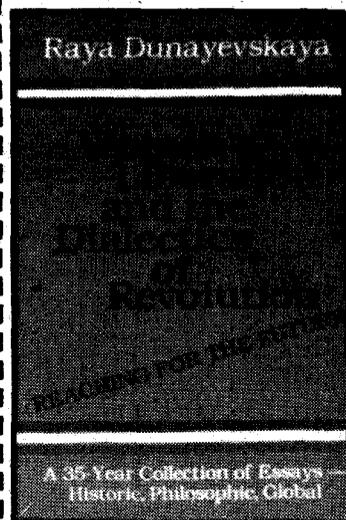
What I believe characterizes our epoch is what I have called the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. Women's Liberation is one very important manifestation of this movement from practice. What I mean by this is that movements of our age, be they in the U.S., East Europe, or the Third World, have brought forth new revolutionary forces who at the same time have acted as Reason, as thinking subjects. Their mature demands, in turn, have posed a challenge to all philosophers, to work out the new stage of cognition-philosophically.

For example, I look at the Black women from the period of the Abolitionists to today, and their magnificent leading role, which has been so historically and philosophically ignored—particularly as to the direction it can give to the movement—by feminist theoreticians.

The problem is: that state-capitalist ideologues calling themselves Communists for too long have tried to keep hidden the relationship of the Hegelian philosophy to Marx, and have tried to attribute Marx's Humanism to some idealist left-over from the "mystical" Hegelian "negation of the negation." Why do you think they have bothered to take issue with Marx's Humanism so strongly? Not because they are afraid of Hegel who died more than 150 years ago, but because they were afraid of the revolts in East Europe, which refused to accept that Communist totalitarianism was the same as Marx's Marxism. The first revolt against that totalitarianism was in East Germany in 1953, while the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 actually brought Marx's Humanist Essays out into the open and presented them to the world.

I think it is important for the Women's Liberation Movement to come to grips with what Marx's whole concept of "Revolution in Permanence" meant. It was based on the fact that unless revolution continues through to full human self-development, we will not be able to get rid of all the alienation and frustration and exploitation that capitalism has left us with, in the mind as well as in reality.

You need a revolution for the overthrow of the old and you need a revolution for the creation of the new. This double rhythm of revolution is what is so critical about the Hegelian dialectic, and how we constantly have to return to Hegel and then take that concept of negativity and concretize it for your own age. Your own age is what you concretize it for, not as an abstraction, but by showing that you are very solidly rooted in the ground and want to change this society.



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# Saturn's 'new' norms: a vicious spy system

by Peter Mallory

The UAW bureaucracy, long noted for its give-away programs, has finally given away the whole store with its new contract with GM for the new Saturn plant in Tennessee.

For the first time in labor history the union has signed a contract for workers, who will not be employed until 1990, at 80% of the wages now prevailing in the auto industry. The contract was agreed upon by a 25-member executive board without any consultation or consent of UAW members.

In an attempt to emulate the miserable conditions under which Japanese auto workers produce cars, the workers will work for salaries, rather than hourly wages. Eighty percent of the workers will be guaranteed steady jobs and allegedly participate in decision making in the plant. It is the hidden gimmicks that will increase exploitation.

The workers will be responsible for production in groups of 6 to 15 workers. "Production Norms" will be established which the workers are expected to maintain or suffer losses in pay.

History has two precedents for such a system. In

Great Britain prior to World War II a group of semi-fascists called the "Cliveden Set" sponsored such a system which was called "Group Incentive" and put into effect in the U.S. in General Electric plants, among others. The net effect was for each worker to spy on his fellow worker and urge him on to increase production. The new term "Peer Pressure" only disguises the old speed-up system. I remember my father's complaints, when he worked at GE, how the system set worker against worker and left tensions that lasted far into the night.

The second most notorious example was Stalin's system of Stakhanovism. Under that system Comrade Stakhanov, who was a coal miner, was provided with ideal conditions for working. His tools were laid out for him, sharpened by others, the coal he dug was shoveled by others and he set incredible records for production. His records were then set as the "norms" and other coal miners under less than ideal conditions were expected to meet his "norms." Stalin's system failed in the long run and the British fascist system was thrown out when the CIO organized American industry.

That I have lived to see the day when the formerly progressive UAW would introduce this vi-

cious spy system into a union shop and make it a model for future contracts, is appalling.

The union bureaucracy will try to introduce the system as "workers' control of production." Nothing could be further from the truth. The same union bureaucrats that control shop conditions today will collaborate with management to achieve the Saturn norms. Under the contract the production workers are even expected to maintain the complicated automated machinery, now maintained by specialized maintenance workers who receive higher pay.

If ever the future Saturn GM workers are permitted to vote on the contract, I hope they will reject it overwhelmingly. When the new contracts come up at Ford and Chrysler, workers beware!

Since the contract does not cover construction of the new plant in anti-union Tennessee, in a town of about 1500 persons, it may be expected that GM will pick a non-union contractor to construct the plant. Then the fight with the building trades will begin.

## Shop reality vs economist's fantasy

Los Angeles, Cal.—There has been a lot of talk from economists about the necessity of "increasing productivity" as a solution to the economic problem. Let me tell you what "increasing production" means to workers in my shop.

Everything to the bosses is hours of work. Even safety is measured in how many hours of production might be lost. Thus they make you come in even when injured so as not to have a lost time accident. I was told of one worker who broke his arm while at work. He was patched up and asked to report back to work, doing light duty pushing a broom.

I have talked to many workers who have hurt their backs, pulled muscles, or received burris from the hot asphalt we work with. None were allowed time off after being checked by the company doctor. This roofing company is in competition with other companies, and the competition is really over how much labor they can extract from workers over thousands of hours of production time.

This is part of the anti-labor mood under the Reagan Administration, designed to bring about economic growth through increasing production and through paying less wages to workers by introducing two-tier wage systems. I was reading one capitalist economist, Martin Feldstein, who stated, "The gap between productivity and wages would be closed more rapidly and with less pain if productivity were rising faster. One way to achieve this would be a higher rate of investment in plant and equipment." But the reality is that the more machines you bring into a factory, the more workers are thrown out of work. High productivity doesn't end up fighting unemployment.

I think that if this bourgeois economist was in my plant we would prove the falsity of his ideas against the real life experiences of the workers. Just recently my shop shut down for two weeks to service the equipment. But during the two weeks before we shut down management attempted to increase our productivity. They did so by increasing our hours of work from two 8-hour shifts five-days a week, to two 12-hour shifts six days a week. This increase in hours of work was how the company decided to increase productivity and not lose an ounce of profit. The real production value lies within the workers themselves, their sweat and blood.

During the last few days of this hectic schedule the line started breaking down in part due to machine failure because of workers' acts of resistance. Even the line foreman knew that the workers were tired to the point of exhaustion. He said, "We are not gaining money, we are losing it. These people can only take so much."

All these big words about labor productivity become on the shop floor the reality of sweating it out of the workers, or throwing them out of work by introducing new machinery. Either way the workers lose. The only real solution will be the active mind of the workers who can put the nails in the coffin of Reaganism.

—Eugene Ford

## Runaway shops are part of new capitalist technology

Chicago, Ill.—From steel mills to toy factories, shops are closing, some permanently, others moving away. It is not only here in Chicago, but throughout the country. Workers and working-class communities have formed organizations to try and prevent these shut-downs. These confrontations between capital and labor are taking place as capitalist production has reached a new level of technology, characterized by capital mobility, which enables capitalists to close factories and open others with considerable ease. They can either change locations producing the same commodity or change commodities altogether.

This ability is the result of specific technological developments designed as a weapon to discipline workers. In his age Marx spoke of "a revolution in the general condition of social process of production, i.e., in the means of communication and transport." In the 1980s, the development of technology directed at achieving higher capital mobility has brought about the following:

Computer-linked telecommunications devices enable capitalists to transfer printed documents, graphics and videos via telephone lines, fibre optics or satellite, so that a corporate executive can coordinate world-wide operations from virtually any location instantly. With a push of a button, financial capital can also be transferred instantly anywhere in the world.

In transportation, wide-bodied cargo jets can move machinery and commodities at the speed of sound. Railroad cars that can also act as truck bodies or modular ship cargo containers have greatly increased the number and location of possible shipping routes.

Automation not only makes it possible to produce more with fewer workers, but it has also de-skilled American industry so that capital is no longer as dependent on a trained and experienced work force.

Thus, by the 1970s, many of the old assumptions about the importance of transportation costs, the need to locate near interrelated industries, the need for locations near management and financial centers, were all beginning to diminish.

Corporations began pushing labor for concessions, with the threat of plant closings if they did not comply. Throughout the 1970s there was a great deal of capital movement. Within the U.S. there was a decline in the manufacturing activity in the Northeast and Midwest and some gains in the Southwest and on the West Coast. But there was also more and more movement to locations outside the U.S.

The need for capital to discipline labor is one of the factors causing widespread disinvestment in the U.S., capital flight, high and persistent unemployment and a preponderance of lower paying "service" jobs over manufacturing.

These new economic realities have brought forth a number of developments among workers: First, the growing tendency of workers to reject concession demands even if it means that the boss will tear the factory down. Secondly, there is the growing opposition to factory closings. Thirdly, the massive problems of today's trade unions is seen not only in their declining power and membership, but in their, at best, reluctant participation in the opposition to factory closings. When capitalists can simply close their doors and go elsewhere at any time, contract unionism and organization based on a single plant or geographical area loses any pretense of representing labor as a class. This fact is not lost on many workers.

The combination of automation/robotics with the rapid transformation of the means of communication and transportation has of necessity opened up a new stage of class struggle.

—Dave Park

## BLACK WORLD



## Civil rights battle ground

(continued from page 1)

cial is blatantly ignored. And only those political activists who have sought to wrest economic as well as political control from the hands of the racist white power structure by simply helping Black people to vote are targeted for indictment.

According to Albert Turner, former aide to Martin Luther King, "Powerful white politicians in Alabama, in the South and in Washington are worried and have reason to be worried about the unanimity of Black voters." What that "Black unanimity" is directed at is the breakup of the prevailing "Boss-Black relationship" in the South.

### BREAKUP OF 'BOSS-BLACK RELATION'

Since the post-Reconstruction era the persistence of the "Boss-Black relationship" has determined the state of Black underdevelopment in the South. Indeed, in a state where one out of five occupied dwellings is substandard and dilapidated; and in a state in which 21 of its 67 counties have 40% or more families subsisting on the lowest income levels in the nation; in a state where sharecropping no longer exists but the hovels that croppers once inhabited are still used by their descendants—where these conditions persist in 1985 there is no escaping the fact that the century-old "Boss-Black relationship" still holds its exploitative sway over Black life.

That state is Alabama, and the Black condition in Alabama is the state of Black life for the poor throughout the South. That is why the outcome of the present struggle has far-reaching consequences for the Black South.

Historically, local white officials have always intimidated Black folk seeking to exercise their right to vote.

And for the most part, Blacks have come to political power since the enactment of the 1965 Voting Rights Act as administrators of unincorporated rural areas, while whites have retained control of the counties' economic power in the incorporated urban and industrial centers. As John Zippert of the Greene County Economic and Industrial Board noted: "Blacks in Greene have had political control in the county for approximately 12 years, and there has been progress...However, this political control is somewhat a false impression because whites control Eutaw, the county seat. Whites also control the economic base of the county."

The battleground in the struggle against Reagan racism has shifted to Sumter County. It is the home of the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, a Black agricultural collective which recently merged with the Emergency Land Fund. Most members of the Federation are Black farmers owning under 50 acres of land, none with more than an annual income of \$5000 or less. Between December, 1979 and May, 1981 the Federation came under federal intimidation with a grand jury investigation which was dropped. However, it became apparent then that local and federal officials could carry out a legal lynching of Black political and economic initiatives by entangling activists and Black organizations in lengthy and costly litigation. The Federation incurred \$1 million in legal fees fighting to clear itself of false charges.

What the Reagan Justice Dept. and the local white power structure in the Black Belt fear is that the outcome of the present struggle will not only test the extent to which Black folk can successfully beat back Reagan's racist retrogression, but the extent to which they can shake up historic, exploitative social relations of the South itself.

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# In-person report: • South Africa Freedom Journal.

*Editor's note: With "South African Freedom Journal" we open the pages of News & Letters to the new voices of the liberation struggle now unfolding in South Africa.*

## Banning student groups

Students have for many years been barometers of Black society's feelings and pacesetters of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

The banning of the Congress of South Africa Students (COSAS) was an unwitting acknowledgement of this and it was a reminder that student organisations have been the most banned organisations in this country. The ban has also highlighted the impact of students on South Africa's political development and the futility of trying to silence or demobilise them.

Young people at school meet new ideas and theories and they see the discrepancy between these ideas and what is happening around them. They become more articulate and better able to express their aspirations. They are driven by a burning desire to apply their newly-acquired knowledge. They do not consider time spent in prison as wasted time.

COSAS has so far been banned three times. On the first two occasions it was banned in Transkei. Other student organisations that were banned before are the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), South Africa Students Movement (SASM), Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC) and the Soweto Students' League (SSL).

Recently about 1,000 students of the University of Bophuthatswana demonstrated against the visit of the State President, Mr. P. W. Botha, in the first demonstration ever held in Bophuthatswana's capital. The demonstration surprised many who thought Bophuthatswana was a good example of the advantages of homeland independence. Some of the students said that other than the state of emergency and the continued incarceration of Nelson Mandela, the demonstration was inspired by the banning of COSAS.

On June 16, 1976 it was the students' protest against Bantu Education that led to country-wide unrest which was responsible for the Government's initiation of a process of "reform."

Numerous students who skipped the country during that time swelled the ranks of the ANC's military wing, Umkonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) and of the PAC (Pan-Africanist Congress). The PAC has since then mounted numerous attacks in South Africa.

## The Watts Rebellion— an idea that exploded

by Eugene Ford

Los Angeles, Cal.—With the opening of the new school year there has been an attempt to balance out the overcrowded school situation. One result was the ninth grade students from predominantly Latino South Gate High School were shuffled two miles across the railroad tracks to predominantly Black Jordan High School in Watts.

Racism flared, as 50 Latino South Gate parents protested outside Jordan High declaring, "Jordan is dangerous and they have low test scores," and "Jordan is not our idea of the promised land." One student who had attempted to go in said that she was pushed around and that the school "is full of murderers."

Watts does have a lack of decent educational facilities due to poverty and racism, substandard buildings and books, and some uncaring teachers. This is the reality 20 years after the Watts ghetto exploded one August night, an historic, national idea, a mood and attitude that inflicted fear and hate into the hearts and minds of an oppressive nation.

For seven days, in 1965, the people of Watts engaged police, sheriffs and National Guardsmen in fierce combat. And when the battleground had cooled 34 lay dead and many more were wounded. Four thousand brothers and sisters were arrested, and the estimated property damage was \$40 million.

Watts today is still unliveable. It lacks educational facilities, while unemployment for Black youth stands at 50%. We can see how little we have gained since the 1965 revolt when today the conflict over school boundaries exists not between Black and white, as 20 years ago, but between two minority groups, Black and Latino, within Watts.

The Watts Revolt was the real education. It was the beginning of an Idea of Freedom from the grassroots level of urban unrest that swept America from Watts to Harlem, Detroit to Newark. In today's urban ghettos, Watts included, there still exists a defiant Black consciousness, searching for direction.

The Black mind's desire for liberation is the movement today. We will need another Watts revolt to finish what was started—not just a face lift limited to new housing or a shopping mall, but a new human being, new life blood to a dying world.

While the Government might ban student organisations, the fundamental cause of their rebellion—apartheid—remains. Unless apartheid is scrapped, bannings will not achieve anything, except to sharpen student militancy.

## Union unity talks

After four-and-a-half years of planning, a date has been set for the launch of a new "superfederation" of trade unions which will represent more than 400,000 workers from almost every major industrial sector in South Africa.

Among the unions due to attend the inaugural congress planned for November 30 are FOSATU's (Federation of South African Trade Unions) eight affiliates: General Workers' Union, Food and Canning Workers' Union, Cape Town Municipal Workers' Association, Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union, National Union of Mineworkers; 10 unions aligned to the United Democratic Front (UDF); and the 11 affiliates of the 11,500-strong Natal-based National Federation of Workers.

## Black British youth uprising

"This is a war, not a race riot," said one Black youth commenting on the recent revolt in Handsworth, Birmingham. Handsworth is a ghetto of Birmingham. Once a thriving British industrial city in the midlands, it is now a city of 70% unemployment. It's a continuous war for youth in Britain's inner cities, to survive, penniless, and constantly harassed by the police.

On Sept. 10, the war got reported but there had been outbreaks all along. This time it started when an Asian motorist was stopped by police who subjected him to a torrent of racist abuse and threats. West Indian youth came to his rescue. Later 1,000 youths, Black and white, gave vent to their anger. The next day, Douglas Hurd, who recently became Home Office Minister after a year of training for the job in Northern Ireland visited Handsworth, but didn't get very far before he was bombarded with stones and bottles.

Living in Handsworth is like living on the edge every minute of the day. Only four out of every 100 youths will find a job when they leave school. As one youth said: "They have training programs. It keeps the government happy but it's pretty meaningless to us." The dilapidated slum housing with sometimes up to 15 people in one room is "worse than the Third World."

A day before the revolt, community leaders and police had danced together in a carnival, patting each other on the back with the good job they had done in keeping control in the community. They are a million miles away from the youth. Douglas Hurd snorts that nobody is starving, as if a potato and bread diet is the measure of life in so-called civilized Britain. The youth have a different hunger, they want to be free from this rotten society.

—Nigel Quinten

It seems that the divisions in the emerging union movement have now been clearly drawn between the non-racial unions and those which espouse the Black Consciousness (BC) ideology. The BC Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) and the Council of Unions of South Africa will not be part of the new federation.

Observers have expressed surprise that the UDF unions have agreed to unite with FOSATU and its affiliates. But sources at the planning meeting describe discussions between the two groups as the "most constructive ever."

Two of the most controversial areas of disagreement between them have been resolved. In line with policy decisions that the federation should consist of "broadly-based industrial unions," it has been agreed that the general unions will continue to set up industrial structures. Furthermore, there are plans to accelerate moves toward mergers of unions operating in the same industry.

The UDF unions have dropped demands that the federation's draft constitution be revised before the new organisation is established, agreeing instead that any proposed amendments be debated at the inaugural congress.

## Letter from township comrade

When your country is not at war and you look through your window to be chilled by the sight of strapping young men, athletic in their military outfits, menace carefully cradled on the arm, and the various war paraphernalia hanging loosely from sturdy waists, with one slightly more grim-looking young chappie raising his hand like in the movies, you get a creepy feeling this is a show of some dramatic sort.

So it was with me last Sunday. I opened the curtains rather with silly haste when the kids woke me, and came face to face with the barrel of a gun. My family and other families went onto the steps to check this extraordinary thing out. People, curious as they always are with babies on their arms, stare with some trepidation at these young men.

Am I mistaken to think that some of them look distinctly uncomfortable, even unhappy? Or am I extrapolating my feelings onto them?

The young man majestically lifts his arm (just like in the movies, I repeat) and the convoy moves on. Moves on with silent menace, not doing anything, not saying anything. Quiet as hell. The message sinks in: This is showing the black bastards what we mean when we say they must not push us too far.

To me this is an exact replication of the arrogant military stance I have observed from people like the president and various police chiefs I have met. To you it might be the exact reflection of white South Africa's view of Blacks.

They were not born with that view, that mind. It is a re-inforced response; laid on by history, by politics, by privilege and prejudice, by hate and chiefly by fear. It is a most unfortunate view, but it is there as vividly as that convoy of troops in the streets of Soweto.

## BLACK-RED VIEW "New America" for free S. Africa

by John Alan

Ronald Reagan's sudden announcement of limited sanctions on South Africa, by executive order, is just a political maneuver to dampen, at least in Congress, any criticism of his policy of "constructive engagement" if he vetoes more stringent Congressional sanctions. The truth is that the President can no longer shield himself and Botha behind "constructive engagement," a policy which essentially means giving credibility to the false idea that the Botha Government wants to reform the apartheid system of Black oppression in South Africa.

Bishop Desmond Tutu is certainly correct when he said that "constructive engagement" or "active engagement" is a matter of playing with semantics. Reagan has no intention of pulling the rug out from under the apartheid government. He said as much when he spoke to reporters, after announcing his "sanctions" by characterizing them as "sanctions not in the sense of meaning the economic kind...that would hurt the economy there."

This means that the President is still committed to his position that Botha is a "reformer" who only needs to be urged forward by a symbolic tap on the wrist—a position that originates in the Chester Crocker/Jean Kirkpatrick formula of two types of dictatorships—authoritarian and totalitarian—the former being supportive of U.S. imperial interests, therefore acceptable.

However, it would be shortsighted to view the differences over sanctions between the President and Congress as a "private affair" when both sides are reacting to external forces that they don't control. First, the very idea that there should be an alternative to the charade of "constructive engagement" was put on the national political agenda, not by Congress, but by the growing anti-apartheid movement in this country. This move-

ment has manifested daily protests at the South African Embassy in Washington by a divestment movement that received popular support when a new wave of Black revolts began in South Africa last September, and above all by the anti-apartheid student strikes that swept across this country after the Uitenhage massacre.

Second, the most important force and reason that powerfully influences what the President and Congress might do, are the Black South African masses. For 18 months they have conducted spontaneous, evergrowing, mass opposition to apartheid. During this time hundreds of Black men, women, youth and children have been wantonly killed by the security police, and each funeral has been a starting point from which the resistance has deepened, until the remotest Black township is now involved in the struggle.

At this moment, South Africa may well be in a near-revolutionary state, one which could both transform South Africa and open up a whole new beginning for all of Africa. It is this which has brought into the American movement the dimension of youth who readily identify themselves with the Black mass struggle in South Africa. It is this movement that gave Congress the courage to challenge Reagan's policy.

Earlier this year, Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, called this movement a "new America." He added: "I'm referring to, first, the fact that the South African question has been the subject of such profound debate in America, starting from Congress down to the universities' protest. I'm referring to the Free South Africa movement which has spread phenomenally. I'm referring to the fact that in several million homes South Africa has been a topic from the point of view of what is to be done to bring about an end to the apartheid system."

# YOUTH

by Ida Fuller

The Internationalist Marxist-Humanist Youth Committee met recently in Chicago in conjunction with the national News and Letters Plenum. Below are brief excerpts both from my report to the Youth Committee and from former youth columnist Peter Wermuth's contribution to the discussion.

So intense is the passion and thought of freedom of South African youth in revolt that children, literally children under 13 years of age, are now battling police arrests in their continued boycott of schools. Indeed it has been South African high school students who have borne the brunt of the police arrests since a state of emergency was declared on July 21 and it is Black youth who have fiercely battled police daily and who have marched, thousands strong, in front of Pollsmoor prison demanding the release of Nelson Mandela.

## LANGUAGE OF THOUGHT

These actions have brought to fruition what a 16-year-old Capetown high school student, Miriam Gafoor, had spoken of in 1978: "Apartheid has become an insult to our human dignity. Our whole being rebels against the whole South African experience...I am 16 years old and have been locked up, refused food and interrogated...We, the youth of South Africa reject the subversive heritage that has been handed down to us."

It is this type of expression which Marxist-Humanism calls the language of thought, the language of Black thought which is so deep in its search for freedom that it has made South Africa the highest stage of the youth movement today.

In America, ever since the month of April which marked the beginning of a new upsurge on the part of American youth, that passion for freedom has expressed itself in the youth's renaming their college halls Mandela and Biko. And it expressed itself in this very room where I am speaking, when, on April 18, over 100 students gathered to hear Raya Dunayevskaya speak on "Dialectics of Revolution, American Roots of Marxism and of Marxist-Humanism."

What this makes us realize is that today we are meeting under conditions different from any other year. It is a year in which youth's passion for ideas of freedom and the two-way road between Africa and America is very explicit. It is this which makes us ask, How can a new generation of revolutionaries be born today? That how is a question not only of a new beginning in activity but a new beginning in thought.

## BIRTH OF A NEW EPOCH

In my presentation today I would like to look for the answers to that question, and to how Marxist-Humanist youth can play a role in bringing the new generation into being, by discussing the new work by Raya, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*.

What strikes you from the moment of reading the first sentence in the very first paragraph of the first essay in the book is how Raya traces the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries in our age not to the 1960s, but to the 1950s. In singling out two specific events of the 1950s—the Hungarian Revolution and the Montgomery Bus Boycott—as ground for the birth of an earlier generation of revolutionaries, she is actually pointing to how a new generation of revolutionaries can be born today.

Thus, in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, we see that birth in the youth, virtually children, not accepting the myth of Marxism being equated to Communism, and having such passion for total freedom that they could not fully express it without going back to Marx's Humanist Essays which young intellectuals discussed with workers.

Raya's putting the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott, on

\*For a further discussion of this new book as it relates to youth, please see "A 1980s View of Youth as a Revolutionary Category" by Peter Wermuth in the 1985 News & Letters Youth discussion bulletin, available from News & Letters for 50¢.

## Youth in Revolt

Five thousand students occupied the Autonomous University of Chihuahua in Mexico in the first week of September, demanding the rector's resignation. They charged that the rector had been elected fraudulently and that his administration was corrupt.

On the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, hundreds of participants in the International Peace Camp in Aarhus, Denmark, occupied two nearby NATO airbases. Hundreds were arrested and 81, when interrogated, gave their name as Hiroshima, and their birthdate as August 6. They were demonstrating against a treaty that allows deployment of American troops and nuclear weapons in Denmark under certain conditions.

Students at Univ. of California, Berkeley began the quarter by acting against the militarization of campus life. Thirty blocked ROTC recruitment tables on Biko Plaza, while an equal number disrupted an indoctrination session for new ROTC students.

## How can a new generation of revolutionaries be born?

the same level as the Paris Commune of Marx's time and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution again shows that it was the Black youths' search for total freedom that helped to make the beginnings of the Civil Rights Movement. And with that category we see that today's struggle in South Africa also has its roots in that new stage in the 1950s.

The fact—whether we are conscious of it or not—that today's youth movement has its roots in the new epoch of freedom that began in the 1950s, and the fact that the epoch was itself inseparable from Marx's Humanism, needs to totally change the nature of our discussions with youth in the 1980s. Instead of beginning with the 1960s and the needed critique of its pitfalls, we can begin with the 1950 youths' affinity to Marx's Humanism as it was reborn in those 1950s. It is then that we can really see what is our task today, in a revolutionary, historic and philosophic light...

by Peter Wermuth

I want to stress that the Absolute of human freedom, Marxist-Humanism, is not separate from youth experiences, and we need to show that or it will remain an unfinished task. The point is to show Marxist-Humanism as imperative, or nobody will listen to us...

The passion for a total uprooting was born in the 1950s, because the new stage of revolt came at the same time as a new stage of cognition. There are dualities within youth as a revolutionary category that make the quest for freedom buried...When you see how quickly youth can be pulled to these tendencies, the philosophy of revolution must be projected or the passion for freedom is checked.

Raya was showing in her "30-year retrospective of News & Letters," that at each historic turning point, even with the best of revolutionaries, it will be incomplete unless a moment of Marxist-Humanism is concretized, like at the 1959 Milan conference (of those with a state-capitalist position).

Asking how Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution can be the basis for our activity is not a matter of saying what page relates to youth. For example, look at how with Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution we discussed Luxemburg as revolutionist and anti-militarist, yet what was stressed was post-Marx Marxism. With Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution what is important is the structure of the book, which begins with the nature of the epoch but doesn't end there; rather it continues through all moments of the dialectic, especially when you get to the difference between unilinear and multi-linear pathways to revolution.

## U. of Michigan protests

Ann Arbor, Michigan—Forty-nine protesters, most of them students at the University of Michigan, were arrested when they refused to leave the office of U.S. Representative Carl Pursell on Sept. 23. Before getting dragged out, they had occupied the office for several hours while about 60 more rallied outside.

"It's part of a four-day pledge of resistance against the U.S.-supported air war in El Salvador," one participant said. "They are bombing in the liberated zones, wiping out the population. We chose to occupy Pursell's office because he voted for aid to El Salvador and aid to the Contras in Nicaragua. We want to break the silence in the media about what the U.S. is supporting in El Salvador." The leaflets that the Latin American Solidarity Committee issued for the protest said, "No more waiting for the invasion."

This demonstration is not the only kind of protest against Reaganism at Michigan since classes began three weeks ago. Meetings on South Africa, Central America and campus military research have been attracting as many as 150 students, many of them new to the movement.

On Friday, Sept. 20, fifty students attended the university regents meeting in Ann Arbor to testify against university investments in South Africa and against weapons research on campus. First they heard the regents vote to reduce, but not eliminate their investments in South Africa. Later, when a vote was finally called on "free" (sic) campus research, (that is, no restriction on military research) it took all of 20 seconds for the regents to take a unanimous stance supporting Reagan's militarization.

Angry students in "Campus Against Wars in Space" called a meeting two days later to decide how to respond. Already a conference is planned for Oct. 4-5 and they are urging professors to join the growing number of academics across the country who have signed a pledge refusing to engage in weapons research. But some students want to protest the regents' decision immediately. One woman said, "I don't want to wait until they meet again next month. I want to do something right now. Several of us are meeting to decide how to respond immediately." —Activist, Ann Arbor

## Fight militarism, censorship at WSU.

Detroit, Mich.—"The South End will not accept any United States military advertising for the duration of the 1985-86 school year." Such was the opening sentence of the first editorial of the fall semester, written by Patricia Maceroni, editor of *The South End*, the Wayne State University (WSU) newspaper. The Sept. 3 editorial has brought a threat of dismissal for Maceroni and reinstatement of military ads from the Student Newspaper Publications Board that oversees the paper.

Maceroni ended military recruiting in the pages of *The South End* because, she wrote, "The U.S. government is instituting a policy of terror and sabotage not only on the governments of Central America, but on the people as well...If by refusing to publish recruitment schedules we save one person from being 'the few, the proud the dead,' the campaign would have been worth it."

The board that supervises *The South End* claims it should have been consulted before the ban. Yet support for the ban has ranged from student council resolution in favor of the ban, published in *The South End*, to a stream of letters to the editor expressing support. The anti-militarist policy has sparked discussion and heated arguments on campus about Reagan's militarism.

A letter to the editor by the WSU News and Letters youth committee stated, "When we sponsored a lecture by the Marxist-Humanist philosopher Raya Dunayevskaya this March, she spoke of her founding in 1955 in Detroit, a new kind of revolutionary journalism and newspaper, News & Letters, to give expression to the voices for freedom then being stifled by McCarthyism, and to articulate a philosophy of liberation...Isn't that tune (of McCarthyism) being heard at Wayne State as the 'student' pub board moves to punish Maceroni?" The letter concluded with an invitation to all who agree, to join the youth committee when it shows the video tape of Dunayevskaya's lecture.

—News & Letters at W.S.U.

## Students seek to link anti-nuke, divestment, labor

Los Angeles, Cal.—The effort to force the University of California to divest itself of stock in corporations that do business in South Africa joined with the anti-nuclear struggle, Sept. 20 in Los Angeles, when over 100 students picketed the Board of Regents meeting at UCLA. The regents were meeting to renew a five-year contract with the two largest nuclear weapons laboratories in the country and the students demanded that all university connections both with South Africa and nuclear weapons be severed.

Though as expected the regents voted to continue the university's ties with the Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories (both of which are now engaged in Star Wars research), the students insisted that the battle is far from over. "I think the whole issue of South Africa is so much on students' minds that they are going to get more active now, and that will make it harder for the university to continue to do war research," one student said.

The students also entered the regents meetings and shouted slogans against apartheid during the regents' short discussion of divestiture, which it still refuses to agree to. In addition to the UCLA students who participated last spring in the anti-apartheid protest at "Mandela City," the protest also included several dozen students who came down from UC-Berkeley. Along the way, the Berkeley students stopped off at a strike at the Watsonville cannery and frozen food company in Santa Cruz to show support for over 1,000 workers who have been on strike there for two weeks.

The Berkeley and UCLA students ended the day by holding a protest at the South African Consulate which was joined by activists and students from several other high schools and colleges. Though these protests were not massive, the links they established between anti-nuclear, South African solidarity, and labor movements point to some new directions for student activism in the year ahead.

—Participant

Chicago Readers—

**OLGA DOMANSKI**

National Co-Organizer,  
News & Letters Committees  
speaking on

**WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND  
THE DIALECTICS OF REVOLUTION:  
REACHING FOR THE FUTURE**

- Wed. Oct. 16, 4 PM, Blum Kovler Room  
Roosevelt University, Chicago
- Thurs. Oct. 17, 1 PM—509 Circle Center  
University of Illinois at Chicago

## OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Francois Mitterrand, in the deepest international crisis of his Socialist government, has dug in his heels, Reagan-Thatcher style, and appealed to the rankest French chauvinism to cover over his government's crimes in the French "empire." From the moment that his "state terrorists" bombed the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior and murdered one crewman in Auckland, New Zealand, where the ship was preparing to sail into waters of France's upcoming Pacific nuclear tests, all questioning of official denial of involvement was attacked as an insult to the dignity of the military.

Mitterrand demonstrated his "firmness" by traveling to French Guiana to witness an attempted satellite launch, and to the Pacific isle of Mururoa to observe a nuclear bomb test.

He demonstrated his firmness also by the government's consistent denial of any role in the bombing, and non-cooperation with any outside inquiry. Even the proof of high-level military involvement by *Le Monde's* investigation, which forced the resignations of Defense Minister Hernu and espionage chief Admiral Lacoste, has not changed the government "stonewalling", admitting to nothing unless it was common knowledge.

Premier Fabius refused to name additional agents involved in the Greenpeace bombing (because, in a phrase borrowed from the Nazis, they were "only following or-

ders") and on the other hand has refused to pursue to the end the ones who first gave those orders.

The whole appeal to the most reactionary, racist elements of France's military and society testifies to the distance Mitterrand has separated himself from the millions of workers and youth who voted Socialist expecting something different from the old Gaullist parties. It

reinforces the direction Mitterrand has already taken, to side with settlers against the Kanak freedom movement in New Caledonia and to align himself with colonialist elements in what is left of France's possessions.

Neither will he stop the Pacific nuclear testing. Will the French youth, who have built a massive anti-racist movement, allow Mitterrand to continue unhindered?

## Guadeloupe's victory over French racism



Six days of general strike and barricade fighting with police by the Black masses of Point-a-Pitre succeeded in freeing independence leader Georges Faisans from a French prison. Faisans (above, with his family) had received a three-year sentence for assaulting a white teacher in this French colony after the racist teacher had kicked a Black student.

When Faisans weakened and was hospitalized during a hunger strike on July 22, Guadeloupe exploded. Even pro-independence, Left and labor groups who had called

for demonstrations and strikes were stunned by their size and militancy, as thousands of poor and unemployed youths literally took over the capital.

Youths on the barricades condemned the sentencing of Faisans as racist and attacked their crisis-ridden society: "There is no work, there's too much injustice," they cried. The protesters included other Caribbeans, immigrants drawn to Guadeloupe's slums by its relatively more prosperous economy: Dominicans and Haitians.

Three points of reference for 1985 were voiced by all: (1) the memory of 1967 when French police massacred 60 Blacks in Guadeloupe after riots broke out when a Black union was refused the 2% raise they had demanded; (2) the example of the South African youth, seen on TV daily; (3) the example of the FLNKS independence movement in New Caledonia, whose representatives attended a meeting of independence fighters from throughout France's colonies, in Guadeloupe in April.

## China: dissent remains

The pensioning off of ten Politburo members and nearly a fifth of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, many of whom had gained prominence during Mao Zedong's Cultural Revolution, was reported favorably by the Western press as proof of an air of relaxation in China. Commentators were impressed that Deng Xiaoping could patiently wait to remove political opponents without force.

But to other voices as diverse as Wang Xizhe, imprisoned for his writing just as he had been under Mao for his co-writing of the "Whither China" proclamation; Fu Yuehua, imprisoned and slandered for her activity with peasant protests; and Wang Ruoshui, removed as an editor of *People's Daily* for his advocacy of the humanism of Marx, Deng has reacted quite differently.

Over 25 years ago the symbol of Mao's "Great Leap Forward" was a backyard blast furnace run by peasants on the commune in their spare time. We are told that the individual entrepreneur symbolizes Deng's modernization, using his flat either to run a restaurant or build computers. What the two have in common is attempting a shortcut to industrialization by enlisting mass participation; one more by forced labor, but neither having anything to do with "freely associated labor."

## Polish women lead strikes

On Aug. 27, 1985, noting the anniversary of the historic strike in Gdansk shipyards, Lech Walesa commented: "Five years ago we took a huge gulp of democracy... No nation, and in particular the Polish nation, will give up freedom for slavery and democracy for dictatorship."

Solidarity ideals are concretized anew in the ever new forms emerging in opposing the present crisis.

Women have used the same form of strike that was

successful at Rosa Luxemburg factory (see May, 1985 N&L). In Zyrardow Stella textile factory the women refused to turn on their machines after the breakfast break. When other workers became aware of the silence in one department they came over too. The striking women refused to talk with the factory director and laughed out of the hall the prosecutor who threatened them with jail for staging an "illegal" strike.

When finally a representative of the Ministry of Labor and Wages came they refused to send representatives to talk with him about terms. Instead of a strike committee all women took turns speaking for everybody. They got the wage raise in two days, and the management of Poikres factory in Zyrardow agreed to reinstitute free Saturdays as soon as the demand was made.

## Thailand's ongoing crisis

Jitters went through the ruling class in September when, with a deepening economic crisis gripping the land, one faction of the ruling military tried to overthrow another. But the deeper worry was over the oppressive living conditions of the masses in a society so poor, and so reactionary toward women, that peasant families sell girl children into prostitution for \$50. Such practices have helped to make Bangkok into a prostitution capital, complete with brochures advertising "sex tours" endorsed by the king and queen.

One song by Carabao, a new singing group, laments:

Poverty—who can stand it?

Her father is very old. Her mother is ill.

Her sisters and brothers must go on living.

She is the scorn of all others...

Youth and urban workers have been flocking to hear them.

In 1973, the rulers remember, the student youth and the urban poor overthrew the government, and briefly established a measure of democracy.

## Libya expels workers

Libya's Kadafy has attempted once again to destabilize his neighbors, especially Tunisia, by suddenly expelling tens of thousands of foreign workers from Libyan soil. Tunisians, Egyptians, Mauretians, Nigerians and other nationalities were kicked out, while Moroccans and Sudanese—whose governments Kadafy is courting—were allowed to stay. Tunisians were given the choice of adopting "Libyan Arab" nationality or of leaving immediately.

As one expelled worker put it: "To become Libyan would mean not only abandoning my nationality, but probably also my bricklayer's trade, in order to go into the army and maybe, who knows, then being sent to Chad or Lebanon. Because I refused, the Libyan revolutionary Committee gave me half a day to pack and refused to let me have the \$2500 I'd saved."

The largest number affected are the Tunisians: 27,000 out of 80,000 in Libya have been expelled so far. They go back to a country which already has 250,000 unemployed. Most are from the impoverished southern part of Tunisia, where anti-government food riots broke out in 1984.

The independent General Union of Tunisian Workers (UGTT) condemned the "inhuman and repressive measures, unjustified politically and morally, taken by the Libyan authorities," and stated that "the workers categorically reject all foreign intervention" in their country. While agreeing to work with the Tunisian government to alleviate the plight of the unemployed and the newly expelled workers, the UGTT at the same time refused the government proposal to give up their own economic and social demands because of the crisis.

This is one fruit of the Libyan-Morocco accord at Oujda one year ago, which stunned U.S. and French imperialism. Will a Libyan-Sudanese accord be next?

## WORKSHOP TALKS

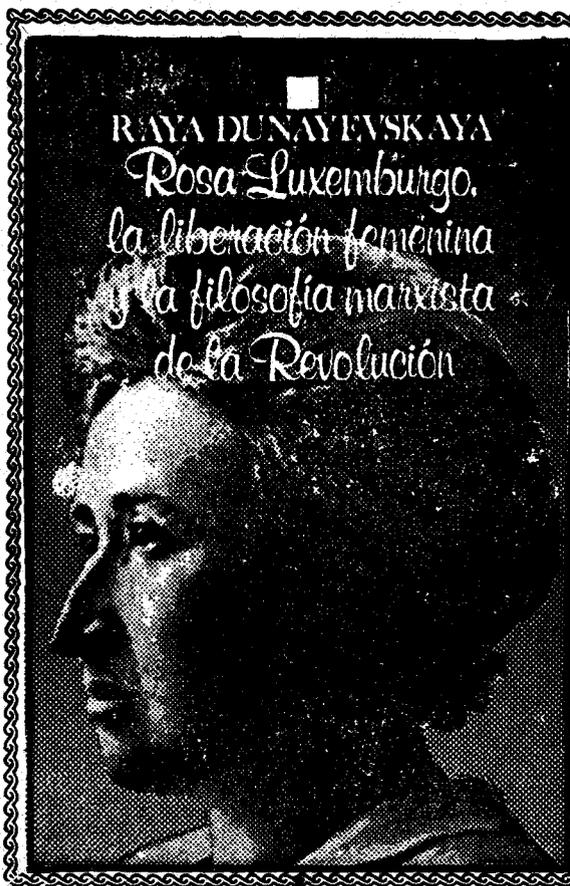
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When they tell you to "buy American," they sell you a Japanese car with a Chrysler nameplate, or an American car whose wiring harness was assembled in Mexico, and other parts from other places. Capital has no trouble being international in its search for greater profits. Will we be as international in our search for solutions?

It is as a contribution to internationalism that I am so excited about the new Mexican edition, just off the press, of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. I am sure this book can be an important force in developing this kind of solidarity between workers in the U.S. and Mexico, and indeed, all Latin America.

The deep digging Raya Dunayevskaya does, especially in the neglected last decade of Marx's life, rescues Marx's new world vision from what all his would-be followers have made of it. She shows that for Marx there was no iron wall between industrially developed nations and the undeveloped.

As against either the union leadership's view of other countries as the enemy or the narrow solidarity of solidarity committees and the Left here as just helping another people "over there," this book is a powerful education on possibilities for new relations and new allies between labor movements North and South of the border. The first step in creating those new relations is getting our heads clear on the path to solutions of the crisis. This book shows you how "everywhere the paths to freedom are open before us."



Ahora en español

Rosa Luxemburgo, la Liberación Femenina y la Filosofía Marxista de la Revolución

por Raya Dunayevskaya

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- *Segunda Parte* El movimiento de liberación femenina como fuerza y razón revolucionaria
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