

EDITORIAL

Top Reagan's Acts of War!

acts of war by any other designation — and Ronald Reagan chose to christen the bombings of five cities in Libya as a "right of self-defense" — are acts of war. In the middle of the night 2,800-nautical-mile journey of Force F-111 bombers from bases in England to the shores of Libya brought death to over 100 Libyans. Among the dead was the fifteen-month-old daughter of Muammar Qaddafi; among the injured, two of his young sons. Was one purpose of this raid an attempted assassination of the terrorist Qaddafi, even if it meant the lives of dozens upon dozens of innocent Libyans?

Ignoring the warnings against such military actions by most all of the European NATO members, finding a pretext for the long distance bombing scheme in Britain, Prime Minister Thatcher, informing Congressional leaders well after the F-111 bombers were on their way only shortly before the actual bombing raid as his service to the War Powers Act, Reagan had his 20 minutes of state terror bombing carried out, and then timidly spoke to the American people about "duty" to carry out such a deadly mission.

The outpouring of opposition to the bombing, most especially in Europe, was immediate. Not only were there large demonstrations in a number of countries, among them Italy, Greece, France and especially West Germany, but in England, Thatcher was subdued to attack both in mass opposition and within the halls of Parliament. Here in the United States there have been small protests and certainly much stonioning.

The leader of one nuclear behemoth, Reagan, has slapped down the Libya of Muammar Qaddafi. But the implications are global. Ronald Reagan, Commander-in-Chief, seems determined to be in command of a war. Is this act alone aimed against Libya, or is it preparatory for war against Nicaragua? Was the message directed to Qaddafi, or to Russia's Mikhail Gorbachev,

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Black World

Crises in
Black
Thought

by Lou Turner

In March, of this year, a group of Black scholars criticized the direction and intent of a proposed \$1.7 million study of Black America, commissioned by the National Academy of Sciences and the Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education of the National Research Council. The study, which proposes, in the most basic terms, to "paint a broad portrait of Blacks in American society" since World War II, is being jointly funded by the Carnegie, Ford and Rockefeller foundations, as well as several other corporations. In addition to committees to deal with various aspects of Black life, a committee on the Status of Black Americans, composed of such prominent Black intellectuals as John H. Franklin and Eleanor Holmes Norton, has been established to "draw conclusions and make recommendations." Recommendations for what?

MARXISM & BLACK INTELLECTUALS

Since the study would generate no new data, but only re-examine existing reports in the same areas of research, "it will be their intention to analyze existing data differently," concluded Prof. Bernadette Chachere, an economics instructor at Hampton Univ. and National Research Council-Ford Foundation fellow. According to Chachere, "If that is true, there is nothing in the study to indicate what the study's theoretical framework will be. We just don't know the role a study of this magnitude will play during the conservative shift in national policy that this country has undergone."

What we need to look at is not only that the Reagan administration is sparing no effort to ideologically bolster its attack on Black America (a recent Rand study on the status of Black America, extolling the upward mobility of the Black middle-class as the measure of "progress," is the latest addition to Reagan's ideological arsenal), or that major corporate interests

Mexico in ferment: strikes, protests, discussions, challenge ruling powers



Thousands demonstrate in Mexico City demanding government assistance to those left homeless by last September's earthquake.

by Peter Wermuth and Anne Jaclard

Mexico City, Mexico—Industry and poverty, mass struggles and government repression, oil riches and unreconstructed earthquake damage, are all dualities that reveal the depth of the crises gripping Mexico in 1986.

On a recent trip to Mexico, we were able to get a first-hand look at the crisis and at the freedom struggles in Mexico. Visiting Mexico soon after the publication in Spanish of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, we found a new generation of revolutionaries who are looking for new activity as well as a philosophy of revolution to ground their activity. Teachers, telephone workers, high school and college students, neighborhood organizers, health care workers, economists and the unemployed—all were involved in struggles and eager for a discussion on what Marx's Marxism means for today, whether as expressed in Marx's *Capital*, or in the development of Marxist-Humanism in our age.

DEMONSTRATIONS AND STRIKES

One of the most important of recent events was a demonstration of over 40,000 workers in March, led by the electrical workers. Though rallies of this size are common in Mexico City, this marked the first time that so large a rally had as its main slogan the total cancel-

lation of the foreign debt. Workers insisted that the constant layoffs and cutbacks in public services had to stop.

Just as significant is the six-month strike of the Oaxaca teachers in southern Mexico. The strikers brought their struggles right to the capital by engaging in hunger strikes and protests during our stay, thereby forging new links between urban and rural struggles.

One activist told us, "The Oaxaca teachers' strike is totally political, totally over democracy in the union, with no economic demand in spite of the fact that teachers in the region are poorly paid. The Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de Educacion (EL SENTE), like all unions in Mexico, is run by *los charros* (union bureaucrats) who do the bidding of the government party, the PRI. A dissident caucus, La CNTE, has 35,000 of the 38,000 union members in Oaxaca, but was denied control over the union. The strike marks a qualitative change."

A leader of La CNTE and a telephone worker told us of new labor struggles, where the fight is not only over

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Philippine youth begin a freedom dialogue with American youth. Youth, p. 2.

Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts, a century of neglect. Essay article p. 9.

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On the 100th Anniversary of May Day

Labor's struggles past and present

The centennial of the first May Day, when 350,000 U.S. workers struck for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1886, comes at a time when today's organized labor movement is in almost total disarray. While 80,000 workers marched through Chicago streets on that first May Day, today we witness such spectacles as leading union bureaucrats working with Hormel and the state to try to halt marches in Austin, Minn. and force striking meatpackers back to work.

Where in the 1880s the AFL vowed to wage successful strikes in trade after trade by enlisting all other trades in support, in the 1980s in the era of Reaganism, the AFL-CIO internationals have shown more respect for no-strike clauses drawn up by company lawyers than for union picket lines. Witness the air traffic controllers of PATCO, the Phelps-Dodge copper miners, the Greyhound drivers—despite the militance of their strikes, all of them were left isolated to be defeated. Little wonder that the percentage of workers in unions has plunged to the lowest level since the formation of the CIO.

It is these sharp contrasts that make us return to the first historic May Day and the Haymarket martyrs of May 4 in Chicago, not as mere commemoration, but to see how the voice of labor militance a century ago might speak to the impasse of labor today.

AMERICAN ORIGINS OF MAY DAY

In truth May Day is an American holiday. The 1884 convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (the predecessor of the AFL) met in Chicago and declared that "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886." That idea was subsequently adopted in the labor movement inter-

nationally.

Organizing and self-organizing of workers in industry after industry engulfed America. The general strike of hundreds of thousands of workers on May 1, 1886 was to be a first step that would be followed by one trade or industry at a time, financially supported by the rest of labor, staying out until they gained the eight-hour day, and in turn helping to support the general strike of the next trade. That May Day demonstration of workers' power frightened the capitalists, because it was clear that nothing short of social revolution had been raised.

Karl Marx had died in 1883, on the eve of this movement for the eight-hour day in America. But 20 years earlier, he had caught what would become the workers' agenda from the moment of the defeat of slavery. "The first fruit of the American Civil War was the eight hours' agitation, which ran from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California, with the seven-league boots of the locomotive."

The International Working Men's Association, which Marx had worked to found at the beginning of the Civil War, on the principle of opposing British intervention on the side of the South, made the American workers' struggle international by putting the eight-hour day on its own agenda in 1866.

On the first 1886 May Day thousands of workers did not limit their strike to May 1, but stayed out as well on the next work day, May 3. That same day in Chicago, police fired on pickets at McCormick Reaper and killed two workers.

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Meridel Le Sueur writes Raya Dunayevskaya

Editors note: We are proud to print below the full text of a letter written by Meridel Le Sueur to Raya Dunayevskaya after Le Sueur read Dunayevskaya's book, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Meridel Le Sueur, writer and rebel, was born in Iowa in 1900. After participating in struggles across the Midwest from Kansas to Minnesota, she wrote North Star Country in 1945. It was republished in 1984. The author of many books and stories, she is still writing and fighting today.

Dear Raya Dunayevskaya,

On Nov. 11 in Bisbee, beside the ravaged open pit mine of Phelps Dodge, I died and was resurrected, (*The author has just recovered from a very serious illness—Ed.*) so didn't respond to your wonderful book on Rosa Luxemburg, and the strange opening out of the experience of the first world war and the socialists and how the women in the midwest knew about and loved Krupskaya and Rosa and Zetkin...and knew about the betrayal of the German working class in supporting the war.

I was at the 1916 meeting of the Socialist party in St. Louis where they split on the war. My father was one of the founders of the Non-Partisan League in North Dakota which came out of the Socialist party. Also the midwest followers of Debs believed in the consciousness of the working class as the basis of revolution; the elitist leaders were in the east, Hilquit et al.

But what is so illuminating to me, and I was not conscious of it, was how my mother and the socialist women knew Rosa Luxemburg. Kate Richards O'Hare, the great socialist organizer in Oklahoma, gave a lecture on

'Call Me Woman'

Call Me Woman, by Ellen Kuzwayo, Spinsters Ink: San Francisco, 1985, 267 pp., \$7.95

Ellen Kuzwayo's autobiography captures the history of the Black South African woman. This lucid account of her 50 years of struggle in the movement reflects the various stages of consciousness that the movement has transcended in its fight against apartheid.

She began her activity with joining the Youth League of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1946. The Youth League was founded by Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Oliver Tambo as a reaction to the leadership of the ANC which they characterized as "an organization of the Black elite." Instead, Kuzwayo, who became Secretary of the Youth League, writes that they aimed at building a mass grass-roots movement.

BCM AND YOUTH

In the mid-1960s Kuzwayo embraced the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), which literally began to take shape in her home as Steven Biko, leader of the BCM, and Kuzwayo's son, Justice Bakone, were close comrades. In 1976 she became closely involved in the events of the Soweto rebellion, and later became the only woman member of the prominent "Committee of Ten," a local grass roots organization formed to take up the grievances of the youth in Soweto. Of the events in Soweto and the burning of the beer halls she writes:

"The young people had long expressed their frustration and rage at the fact that liquor robbed families, particularly mothers and children, of the fathers' wages...When the children burned down the stores, they believed that they were destroying a symbol of apartheid and oppression."

Kuzwayo writes of women's many—faceted struggles in South Africa: she writes of her own marriage which she left—leaving her two children behind; and she writes of the situation of women political prisoners, as she was imprisoned along with all the other members of the "Committee of Ten."

THEORETIC PROBLEM

The problem I had with the book, however, was a theoretic one. In rejecting the system of apartheid and criticizing the ethnocentrism of the early European missionaries who totally dismissed the indigenous culture, Kuzwayo seems to take the theoretically not so opposite position of expressing blanket approval for all aspects of the Black African tradition and heritage. Why, for example, does she speak in defense of the horrible practice of female circumcision as part of the initiation process of 'Labolla'?

So many African and other Third World revolutions, including the Iranian Revolution of 1979, were aborted because in rejecting the West or sometimes even the Russian or Chinese state-capitalism, a 'pre-colonial' culture or religion was espoused as the alternative. But culture or primitive society has never been an 'undifferentiated entity.' It certainly was not so for Marx, as he showed in his *Ethnological Notebooks*, and it can't be so for today's revolutions.

Instead, the new direction for today's revolutionary movement in South Africa comes from the aspirations of the revolutionary masses, the young men and women in Soweto, whom Kuzwayo describes so beautifully. They are demanding not only an end to apartheid, but new human relations at home, beginning with the emancipation of the African woman and new relations with fathers, husbands, brothers and lovers.

—Neda Azad

Rosa and Clara Zetkin and Kollontai. It must have been through the *Appeal to Reason*, that had the biggest circulation of any paper in the U.S. A full file of this paper is in the University of Pittsburg, Kansas.

This history is not known even by the radicals, the history of Socialism in the midwest. Oklahoma was a socialist state and Arizona. The constitutions of these states of the midwest are radical documents. The setting of German Marxists in Wisconsin and Minnesota elected Lincoln. Weydemeyer and Schurz, and the Hegelians in St. Louis recognized the importance of the Indian communal structure. I am writing a short novel of the Green Corn Rebellion in Oklahoma against the war and their revolt in the corn, of Appalachian poor and Indians and blacks in solidarity. They thought with the European workers who would not be for the war.

The history of the third parties, anti-monopoly parties, the organization of farmers and workers in the midwest from the democratic socialist grass roots struggle, has not been told.

I am sending you my book *North Star Country*, which was published in 1945, an attempt at a history of the midwest radical people...it should be carried on. Debs and the midwest socialists and the IWW. My father was an organizer of the 1905 convention. Their belief in the permanent revolution and the rising from below.

Your book illuminates this international consciousness and especially the women like my mother and Kate Richards O'Hare and Mother Jones and Elizabeth Flynn. The story of the IWW-led strike on the iron range is untold. The railroad strike against Hill centered in St. Paul with Debs and Hill meeting. Debs was the great Marxist Humanist. The history is now rising out of the furrow, the sod, the organic memory. The Homestead strike and the farmers movement now is the reappearance of history buried, the perpetual consciousness of freedom. The prairies like the great grain elevators rise like cathedrals of memory alive as corn. Also my book, *The Girl*, was harvested from the women in the depression. I went to Africa to the women's meeting and for the first time third world women flooded over the white racists puritan women...

I wish my mother could read your wonderful book that is an illumination. There will be an international women's union to organize the sweatshops where 70% of world production will be out of the bodies of women.

When the socialist party split during the war, the middle west stood against the war and we were tarred and feathered, imprisoned and killed. We had to flee Fort Scott, Kansas when the Peoples School was physically destroyed. We fled the back roads to get back to St. Paul where the Non-Partisan League still had an office and where Lindbergh's father also fled the mobs who threw red paint on the parade and he fled across the pasture in Red Wing and a train with a Non-Partisan League engineer stopped the train and picked him up just before he was attacked by the mob. Our books were burnt in our yard in St. Paul. Minnesota was like a fascist state.

Workers' history is never lost. Found a man sitting on

WOMEN IN THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT

Organized Struggle in the Workplace
1886-1986



Haymarket Martyrs' Monument



Lucy Parsons

This new series of nine postcards honors women labor activists from the past and present. It is published now in recognition of the centennial of the Haymarket Tragedy in Chicago, and the first international celebrations of May Day, which took place in 1886.

Beautifully printed in black, red and blue, with detailed biographies on the backs, the 4 1/4 x 6 cards come with handsome folio and bibliography for \$5.00

Order from Helaine Victoria Press, Inc.
4080 Dynasty Lane, Martinsville, IN 46151.

As we go to press, we have just learned of the death of French feminist author, Simone de Beauvoir. We will print an In Memoriam in our next issue.



Meridel Le Sueur

a hill outside St. Louis who remembered the Green Corn Rebellion when they crossed that bridge and the militia wouldn't fire on them. They were like Easter rebellion. Ameringer and the intellectual socialists tried to get them to stop...but like Connolly said you had to keep the rebellion alive and the people alive for the people.

Your contributions are so great, illuminating memory comes up green like corn found in caves for thousand years, moisture and heat and they make again.

This concept of revolution springing green and perpetual from the proletariat is now becoming a reality. Thank you deeply. Deepest solidarity,

Meridel Le Sueur



women worldwide

Three days after the government banning order against her was lifted for the first time in 24 years and she returned to her home in Soweto, Winnie Mandela called for "direct action against the Botha regime." Speaking at a funeral in Brandfort, April 5, she said: "We no longer come to the funerals of our young heroes to cry...the time for crying is over...the government the terrorists...(they) will not free your leaders. You the ones who must free your leaders."

In Berkeley, Cal., 500 women and men marched through the University of California on the night of April 15, "take back the night." The women objected to a curfew imposed on us by the fear of rape. Before the march one speaker told about her experiences of sexual harassment by a professor. Others called for "shut the night," not letting men own it. The march was the culmination of the week's rape-prevention activities.

For the second time in a year, legislators in Kuwait rejected a proposal, March 20, which would have given women the right to vote. Officials said the rejection was based on a religious ruling from the Ministry of Education and Islamic Affairs.

An Ohio law requiring doctors to notify parents of married minors seeking abortions went into effect March 24. Federal District Judge John Manos refused an ACLU request for a temporary restraining order pending ACLU lawsuit charges that the law interfered with medical practice and could drive young women to seek illegal abortions.

Triangle Fire remembered

New York, NY—The 75th anniversary of one of the most shocking tragedies in American labor history, the Triangle Shirtwaist Fire of March 25, 1911, was commemorated last month. Over 1,000 union activists and at least one survivor of the fire gathered at the corner of Greene St. and Washington Place, New York, where 146 workers died in less than 20 minutes. Most were young immigrant women, many of whom plunged to their deaths, jumping out of windows to escape the ninth floor inferno.

The officials of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) held a ceremony in Brooklyn where the seven fire victims whose bodies were not identified are buried in a common grave. There was a candlelight vigil in Washington Square Park, New York, for those who had escaped the fire but waited for work by their co-workers, friends and relatives in the shop.

At the main ceremony, ILGWU Pres. Sol Chaiken said that the union did not want to live "in the backward glance," and recalled the "achievements" in safety that resulted from the public outcry over the locked doors, narrow stairways, lack of sprinklers, overcrowding which led to the disaster. What he did not say was that conditions today in many New York garment shops are as bad or even worse than those at the Triangle Shirtwaist in 1911. In crowded Manhattan and Bronx basements, immigrant women work at piecework rates for less than minimum wage, with no benefits and no safety protection. Yesterday they were from Italy and East Europe—today they are from Asia and Latin America. And the possibility of another Triangle Fire still looms.

—Suzanne Ca...

5,000 rally to Hormel strikers' defense

Austin, Minn.—The voices of many participants in the Hormel strike were raised the weekend of April 12, heralding a new day for the labor movement. It started with the response of picketers to the escalation of police on Friday morning, as tear gas was used to disperse the picketers of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9, and moved through many multi-dimensional discussions Saturday as 5,000 rank-and-file workers gathered in Austin to assess the total situation of labor in America today and work out a new beginning for a national rank-and-file fightback against concessions, one that does not stop short of full freedom for working people. The weekend culminated with Rev. Jesse Jackson's endorsement of the Hormel boycott.

Friday morning, 500 picketers decided to block off the intersections leading to the plant, rather than disperse their forces at each gate. They parked their cars to block the intersections and formed a circle to protect themselves against the police attack, which concentrated on the North gate, which is the main entrance to the plant.

The police arrested six people, but met with the most heated resistance to arrest of anyone by the entire crowd that has yet developed in this strike. The police were forced to withdraw when the picketers themselves fought to prevent any arrest. After the police regrouped, they returned with tear gas canisters, which they threw into the crowd to disperse it.

This tactic did not work as well as was expected. The picketers picked up the canisters and tossed them right back, as the picketers defended themselves against what all recognized as a police riot. Seventeen were arrested during the heroic struggle to shut down the plant, which succeeded in delaying the scabs until 9:30 a.m.

Saturday, the day I arrived, was the most inspirational day of my life. Feelings ran especially high as 5,000 people met in the ice arena to hear speakers from ongoing strikes such as the TWA flight attendants and GE, and from many union locals around the country

LTV pact and steel's future

Chicago, Ill.—On April 4, LTV Steel Corporation workers across the nation approved by a 60-40 margin a contract that requires workers to give up \$3.60 an hour in wages and benefits. In exchange for the concessions, the company offers profit-sharing, stocks and some limits on overtime and the practice of contracting out work to non-union shops.

"The limits on the overtime and contracting are good," commented one Chicago worker, "because it can mean the recall of workers on layoff. But the price is too high."

The LTV vote is expected to set a pattern for contracts with all other steel companies, which are up at the end of July. But more importantly, the steel contract negotiations have become an arena for a battle of ideas concerning how to reverse the decline in jobs and working conditions throughout the industry.

On one side are the steel companies, government agencies, economists and the union who promote the idea that concessions are needed because steel is a declining industry—part of the "rust bowl" of the Northeast and Midwest. On the other side are a growing number of workers who argue that further concessions will both enhance the ability of steel mill owners to break their organization and destroy jobs, while at the same time make remaining jobs more dangerous and unpleasant.

The LTV contract included layoff and pension benefits for those who see no future for themselves as steel workers. Nearly a third of those eligible to vote on the contract are on layoff with little hope of getting called back—the day before the contract negotiations were to begin last January, LTV announced that they were permanently closing Chicago's blast furnace and laying off 775 workers.

Despite such obvious efforts at intimidation, 63% of Chicago workers voted against the contract. Chicago steel workers have seen first hand the result of concessions. At U.S. Steel's South Works, after concession upon concession, the workforce has been reduced from 10,000 to 500. Workers have also seen the impact of concessions on safety standards.

As United Steel Workers President Lynn Williams looks at the contract and states that the concessions are really "investments," a significant number of rank-and-file workers seem to be ready to draw the battle line. The union may be on the other side. At a similar juncture in the 1930s, at a time of severe depression in the steel industry, rank-and-file steel workers replaced the union which once represented them by organizing United Steel Workers during the birth of the CIO.

Today the battle lines are drawn between those who are willing to submit to the pessimistic line of the industry and government and those who see the answer in worker militancy and organization.

The LTV contract is only the first skirmish. One black Chicago steel worker put it this way. "What is needed is a total reconstruction in the union movement. We have to go back and regain control of production."

—David Park

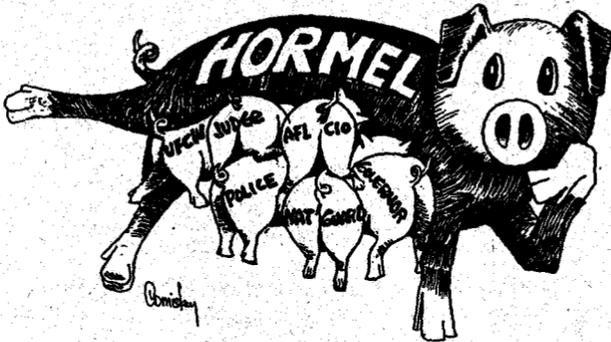
who are facing the same issues in new and up-coming contract negotiations. I was very moved when the woman spoke who organized the effort to bring the boycott issue to the Minnesota Education Association, which has voted for 200,000 Minnesota teachers to endorse the Hormel boycott. She announced that they intend to take the boycott to their national convention in Louisville next month, and drew a roar from the assembly when she predicted that two million teachers nationwide will soon be abstaining from Hormel products.

PATCO was on everyone's mind. The treachery of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy when they stabbed PATCO in the back has weighed like an incubus on the minds of many with whom I spoke, and they said they came down to Austin because now is the time to turn everything around. I was very moved when I approached a table manned by PATCO strikers. Their button has a plane in a holding pattern. It says, "REMEMBER PATCO, 1981-1986, STILL IN HOLDING."

I had countless discussions with people of all ages, from all parts of the country, and Canada. What all had in common is a sense of reaching for the future.

Saturday, April 5 was a most exciting day in Austin, Minn., as hundreds of working people gathered to support the food caravan. The feeling of having enormous power to fight-back was in the air, and everyone was in high spirits. Hundreds of people lined up to unload the food from three 40-foot semis and 5 pick-up trucks.

UFCW workers from Madison, Wis. had been able to purchase and collect 100,000 pounds of food for



They will learn that the workers feed Hormel.

the caravan and 35,000 pounds came down on a semi from the Twin Cities.

I spoke to a P-9 worker who said that he has been fired for his activities on the picket line, where company stooges photograph and identify picket supporters for later reprisals. He was especially disgusted by the blatant collaboration between Hormel and the UFCW International to break the strike. He had not received one of the many letters directly from the company inviting workers to come back to work.

Neither did he receive the letter from the UFCW inviting workers to crawl back on their bellies to the Hormel personnel manager and beg for a job. To him, this was direct proof of the incestuous relationship between Wynn and Hormel. He has 20 years with the company, and had been put on "light" work because of the many injuries which he had suffered on the job. He is sure that he will never be rehired if the UFCW manages to impose a yellow-dog contract on Local P-9.

Whatever happens in Austin, the solidarity that has developed between UFCW workers at Ottumwa, Iowa and Fremont, Neb. and strike supporters in the Twin Cities, Madison, and Milwaukee; and the new questioning of the bankrupt policies of the UFCW and the AFL-CIO that P-9ers are bringing to workers throughout the country as they take their story directly to their fellow rank-and-file members, will remain as permanent gains long after this strike is settled. If events in Austin have proved nothing else, they have demonstrated that American workers do not want to live in a two-tiered society, and that we are prepared to do something about it.

—St. Paul strike supporter



The dollar decides life and death

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

No matter how much you know something, it's never the same as when you actually experience it. We have all heard about the cutbacks in health care by the Reagan administration and the constant drive to reduce health benefits in contract concessions. But it wasn't until my wife was admitted to the hospital that I realized how total is the crisis of health care in this country.

My wife has been having health problems recently, and she was experiencing a lot of back pain. It was obvious that she needed hospitalization. But my doctor told me, "First I have to get in touch with your insurance company to get permission to admit her." When the insurance company said my contract didn't cover the cost of her hospitalization, she was sent home.

AT THE MERCY OF A COMPUTER

I have worked for General Motors 20 years, fought two wars, and paid into Blue Cross-Blue Shield through all of them so that when I or my family got sick they could be taken care of. When anyone in my family needed to go into a hospital before, I never had to first get permission from some insurance company. But since the give-backs and concessions that have been tied to our contract, all that is changed. Workers are just at the mercy of a computer at an insurance company.

A few days after she was sent home, my wife got so ill she had to be sent back to the hospital: this time the doctor overruled the insurance company. But I wonder how many other workers have been crippled or killed because of these kinds of policies.

Workers produce all the wealth of this country, but when it comes to being sick look how they are made to suffer. When I think of all the parasites who live off the production of the workers but who get all the best health coverage, like Ronald Reagan, it makes me sick.

We used to say in GM that we had one of the "best" contracts when it came to health benefits. But if things have come to this point with us, what about all the workers without such "good" contracts? What about all the workers with no union at all? The inhumanity of this system is insufferable.

Reagan is trying harder and harder to cut away at health care in order to feed the military. The White House just announced that Medicare may "go bankrupt" by 1993. Reagan failed to get away with cutting Social Security the way he wanted to, so now he is going after Medicare in order to "balance the budget."

When I look at all the workers being forced to accept wage and benefit give-backs and two-tier wage systems I have to ask myself, what will they be in for down the road when they get sick and old? It's not only a question of lower wages. It's also taking away your health and life by these concessions.

I think this is one reason workers in some places are now fighting so hard against concessions, even though they know it is not going to be easy for them to win. The Hormel strikers are refusing any more give-backs: the TWA attendants say they have had enough of giving up benefits. These kinds of struggles are now becoming life and death struggles.

HOSPITAL ASSEMBLY LINES

And it isn't limited to fights against give-backs. Near my home a hospital is building a new annex where patients can come in for surgery and then be shipped home the same day. They aren't doing this to save workers money. They are doing it to charge a fortune for an operation and then keep you out of the hospital, so they can lay off more hospital workers. They are turning these hospitals into assembly lines.

All of this has been a continuous development since the 1974-75 economic crisis proved there would be no more booms. Ever since then capitalism has been trying to finance its reproduction by lowering wages and living conditions of working people. Is a missile more important than human beings? Is Star Wars more important than your medical care? I'm not crazy for asking these questions, but the government leaders, union bureaucrats and capitalists are crazy for forcing us to ask them.

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ESSAY ARTICLE**A second look at****Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts**

by Franklin Dmitryev

When *The Mathematical Manuscripts of Karl Marx* (London, 1983: New Park Publications) were first published in English, Ron Brokmeyer's original Marxist-Humanist analysis showed that they bear tremendous significance for our age, when mathematics, that most abstract of sciences, no longer seems remote from reality but has direct application in the design, development, and use of computers, and thus in the new "high technology" whose purpose is the destruction of jobs—the automation—or the destruction of life, such as "star wars."

In the ensuing wide-ranging discussion¹, I was a contributor. Recent attempts to pervert Marx's mathematical writings to Stalinist ends have compelled me to return to them.

The significance of the study Marx made of mathematics in the last years of his life is not only a critique of math, or even of science in general. In Marx's hands the very abstractness of math leads straight to questions of methodology, questions of immediate concern to revolutionaries today.

Why, then, were these manuscripts neglected for so long? In attempting to answer that question, this essay will trace the gulf in attitudes to mathematics and dialectics between Marx and post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Friedrich Engels and extending to today, when only Marxist-Humanists have connected Marx's critique of math to capitalist forms of computer technology.

HEGEL'S DIALECTIC

It is impossible to comprehend how the *Mathematical Manuscripts* illuminate the self-development of the Idea in mathematics without seeing how heavily they rely on the Hegelian dialectic. This is precisely what all post-Marx Marxist commentators on the *Manuscripts* either ignore or directly attack. But the fact is that Marx's analysis of differential calculus is based on Hegel's critique of it in *Science of Logic*² (including the works cited there), and Marx takes it further with Hegel's own concepts of transformation into opposite and negation of the negation.

Several of the manuscripts trace the history of differential calculus, which Marx divides into three periods. The first, that of Isaac Newton and Gottfried Leibniz, he calls "mystical differential calculus," because they did not derive differentials but assumed them as a starting point. Criticizing the same mathematicians' method as an "illusion of a framework of proof," Hegel had written that "success does not by itself justify the mode of procedure...much has been accepted as proof, especially with the aid of the nebulous conception of the infinitely small (infinitesimals), for no other reason than that the result was always already known beforehand..."³

SELF-DEVELOPMENT VS. FORMAL LOGIC

Through Marx's manuscripts can be seen how later mathematicians, despite having eliminated the infinitesimals, had still introduced other unnecessary (contingent) elements because they pursued particular previously known results rather than the self-development of the Idea as such.

This transformation of thought into a tool is the basis of the branch of math known as formal logic. Formal logic is that kind of "logic" that consists of rearranging what is already known, where anything truly new can only come from outside. It is precisely what a computer can do, even if it's dubbed "artificial intelligence."

Marx went further by using Hegelian categories to investigate the process of development of calculus. Marx's manuscript, "On the Differential," focuses on how the algebraic method, in which the derivation is worked out algebraically and then given a symbolic name, is transformed into its opposite, the differential method, where "the symbolic differential coefficient becomes the autonomous starting point whose real equivalent is first to be found" so that calculus "already operates independently on its own ground" (p. 20). In a draft of the manuscript, Marx observes that "no mathematician has taken account of this inversion, this reversal of roles" (p. 50).

Negation of the negation was a crucial category for Marx, which he had singled out in 1844 as "the greatness of Hegel's Phenomenology...the movement of history." Recreating the dialectic with labor as the subject, Marx named negation of the negation as proletarian revolution, not only in his 1844 *Essays* but in the very conclusion of *Capital*, Vol. 1.

In another manuscript, "On the Concept of the De-

vised Function," Marx began by showing that "First making the differentiation and then removing it therefore leads literally to nothing. The whole difficulty in understanding the differential operation (as in the negation of the negation generally) lies precisely in seeing how it differs from such a simple procedure and therefore leads to real results" (p.3).

In 1955, long before these manuscripts were known in English, but when the objective situation had the Russian Communist V.A. Karpushin launch a sudden attack on "the first and second negation," Raya Dunayevskaya claimed that this was no academic discussion but rather a reaction to what had been started in the 1953 East German revolt and would soon continue as the Hungarian Revolution. (See *Marxism and Freedom*, pp. 62-66.)



Dialectics is at the heart of the difference between Marx and all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Engels, who in "Anti-Duhring" reduced negation of the negation in math to the trivial example of multiplying two negative numbers to get a positive number, which is a return to the beginning without having gained anything new. Further, Engels equates dialectics in mathematics with calculus and variables, that is, with a fixed particular stage of mathematics.

Engel's mechanical view of development, divorced from subjective human activity, laid the ground for other post-Marx Marxists to substitute what Marx called the "abstract materialism of natural science, a materialism that excludes the historical process" for dialectics.⁴ Clearly, even so great a post-Marx Marxist as Friedrich Engels was not Marx; to make our way toward liberation in our age we need to clear the debris left by post-Marx Marxists and base ourselves on the totality of Marx's Marxism.

ONLY FRAGMENTS PUBLISHED

Shortly after Marx's death, both Engels and Paul Lafargue wrote of the importance of Marx's mathematical writings and the need to publish them. Neither ever did. David Ryazanov of the Russian Marx-Engels Institute had some of the notebooks as early as 1914, and by 1927 it had all that are now known, coming to 1,000 sheets. And although the Institute published Engels' unfinished and undialectical *Dialectics of Nature* in 1925, it took until 1968 to publish about one tenth of Marx's mathematical writings, under the editorial direction of the Russian academician and mathematician Sofia Yanovskaya.

Half of the 1968 Russian/German edition was published in German in 1974, in Italian in 1975, and in English in 1983. Every single edition has been burdened with the introduction and notes of Yanovskaya and a review by Ernst Kol'man, the Stalinist disciplinarian of science. Their pontifications fill nearly half the book. Despite some commentators' desire to be independent of Stalinism, the only critique of Kol'man's and Yanovskaya's perversions of Marx's Manuscripts was that in *The Fetish of High Tech*, pp. 16-20.

Kol'man's review is devoted to confining Marx to what can be used by "a planned socialist (sic) society...which...is a commodity economy" (p. 223). Therefore, he wants us to believe that Marx's method is "algorithmic, in the sense that it consists of a search for an exact instruction for the solution, by means of a finite number of steps, of a certain class of problems" (p. 232). The algorithmic method is the method of formal logic, the opposite of Marx's method. It is fundamental to computer science, and through it machine capabilities are constantly extended without altering their position of domination over the human being.

Yanovskaya similarly wants to strip Marx of any human, that is, revolutionary significance: "the heart of

the matter is the operational role of symbols in the calculus" (p. xviii). That is the same claim made earlier by the Stalinist mathematician Dirk Struik.

Kol'man and Yanovskaya were only carrying out the philosophic direction set by Nikolai Bukharin, who, as Stalin's theoretician of "socialism in one country," was guided by the objective pull of state-capitalism. Let's turn to 1931, when Bukharin led the Russian delegation to the Second International Congress of the History of Science and Technology. It was at the 1931 Congress that Kol'man became the latest to announce the imminent publication of Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts*.

Whether through the welfare state, fascism, or the Plan of the Communists, all capitalist countries were turning towards state-capitalism, in part as a way to mitigate the economic crisis of the Depression and avoid revolution. Bukharin's answer to the capitalist crisis was to substitute the planned economy, personified by the ruling intelligentsia, in place of the subject:

"(T)he plan (is) an expression of 'recognized necessity.' Consequently...cognition is directly bound up with practice...for the plan is active: it is at one and the same time a product of scientific thought, laying bare casual regularities, and a system of purposes, an instrument of action, the direct regulator of practice and its component part...The most striking expression of this is the question of the planning of science."

The planning of science takes the place of the goal of ending the division between mental and manual labor. Bukharin had reduced history to abstract change with the Plan as subject and the masses as object because he had based himself on a philosophy of formal logic, rejecting Lenin's return to Marx's revolutionary roots in the Hegelian dialectic (see *The Fetish of High Tech*, pp. 22-26).

The same philosophic currents drive Kol'man's two speeches to the 1931 Congress. So why do translators like Michael Meo and Charles Aronson, who wish to be independent of Stalinism, slavishly include in the English edition of Marx's *Manuscripts* all the Stalinist attacks heaped on Marx's method by Kol'man and Yanovskaya?

Even the years of labor to present Marx's own mathematical writings did not overcome the pull of post-Marx Marxism on Meo, for whom the only philosophic question seems to be the need to attack an unspecified idealistic conception of science. For him too dialectics is reduced to calculus as a stage of math, and he runs away from negation of the negation, complaining it gives him "mental cramps," so it becomes quite natural to declare Einstein a "dialectical materialist." (See "Interpreting Einstein's General Theory of Relativity in the Light of Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts," presented by Meo to the 1984 West Coast Conference of Marxist Scholars.)

MYSTIFICATION OF MARX

Thus the translators leave the field wide open for the modern-day Stalinist interpreters such as Paulus Gerdes, author of *Marx Demystifies Calculus* (Minneapolis: MEP Publications). Like all post-Marx Marxist commentators who do not openly attack Marx, Gerdes studiously avoids any mention of Hegel, even where Gerdes quotes Lenin's summary of Hegel's discussion of calculus, as if Lenin were commenting on a quote Gerdes adduces from Engels!

Again like all post-Marx Marxists, Gerdes finds it convenient to pretend that Marx's only critique of math was that of the mysticism of Newton and Leibniz, and once "demystified" by removal of infinitesimals, everything was just fine. The administrative mentality of our age cannot face Marx's critique of the alienation of thought itself in mathematics because it leads to facing the division of mental and manual labor, which is the foundation of the administrative mentality itself.

Gerdes so totally reduces dialectics to change and motion that he can call all mathematics dialectical. Therefore, negation of the negation no longer has anything to do with the new, but is merely a way of looking at any mathematical problem, from bisecting a line segment to finding a formula for the tangent of the sum of two angles (see *Marx Demystifies Calculus* pp. 88-89, 99-102).

The burning significance of Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts* for our age is not a matter of solving calculus problems. That is not what points the way to the 1980s, when the materialization of alienated thought in the form of computers appears as the antithesis of human life, with deadly new "high tech" weaponry unseparated from the new production technology that is an integral part of capitalism's current war on labor to extract concessions.

What brings Marx's *Manuscripts* to life today is indeed not the post-Marx Marxist rubbish clinging to them, but the beacon of Marx's dialectic, which on again shows its affinity to the Hegelian dialectic. Marxist-Humanism, "negation of the negation" signifies revolution in permanence. Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts* certainly deserve a great deal of discussion; yet neither we nor anyone else has done more than scratch the surface. We invite further discussion.

1. *The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts* by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya, et al. (Chicago: News and Letters 1985). Available from N&L for \$1.00

2. See A.V. Miller's translation (New York: Humanities Press) pp. 240-301.

3. *Science of Logic*, pp. 242, 273.

4. For a discussion of formal logic as related to Marx's *Mathematical Manuscripts* and capitalism's division of labor today, see *The Fetish of High Tech*, esp. pp. 2-4, 6-8.

5. *Capital*, Vol. I, p. 493 n. 4.

Native Americans in US, in Nicaragua

by Shainape Shcapwe

Detroit, Mich.—Larry Anderson, Jane Bicady and Ron Bellecourt spoke in Detroit on March 27 at a raiser for the Big Mountain Legal Defense Committee. They spoke about the struggle of Dineh (Navaho) Hopi people in the Big Mountain, Arizona, area to get on their land. They have been fighting government attempts to relocate them under terms of a U.S. law, which has been publicized as an "impartial" settlement of a land dispute between some Hopi tribal leaders and Navaho tribal council. It is really a vicious move to evict thousands of people from their homes and land. Arizona Sen. Barry Goldwater, who originally sponsored the legislation, has said that even if they have to evict them from the National Guard they will force people off their land. I was glad the meeting took place now so that anyone who wants to go to Big Mountain on July 7, when the relocation is scheduled to begin, they can plan now. Jane Bicady, one of the older women residents of the area, spoke about how the Mormon Church is heavily involved with getting Indians to move off that land. Many of the church hierarchy are on the Board of Directors of Peabody Coal, the company trying to redevelop the land into strip mining. The Mormon Church is trying to influence Indians to move to places like Salt Lake City by offering "incentives" like helping people find a place to live and a job. They're not fooling anyone. People are almost as scared of getting hurt by the Mormon Church as by any governmental action. Jane Bicady spoke in her native Navaho tongue for a few minutes and then it was translated by her son. Because it was so long, it couldn't possibly be a direct translation. Much of what she needed to say was lost. She was speaking from a long history of living in the area. She said about 60% of the residents are older people, who don't intend to leave just because some company says so. When I talked to her later she said, "We women can't afford to take a back seat to the men in this struggle. We have to let people know what's going on with regard to the legislation and the pressure the coal company is putting on us. We have to be keepers of the spirit." Ron Bellecourt, who is a leader of the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.), related the struggle at Big Mountain to his work with the International Indian Treaty Council, which is partially sponsored through the United Nations. I was encouraged by what he said about Russell Means' support for the contras, though he didn't mention Means by name. He said there are always people in the movement who will work against it, but like there were Indians who allied with Custer when they fought the battle of the Big Horn. He said

you have to remember that element exists that will support the contras, but it doesn't speak for the movement.

But what was too bad was that he then glossed over the problems between the Sandinistas and the Miskitos, Sumus and other indigenous groups in Nicaragua. In his slideshow, he showed the relocation camps for the Miskitos, but he made it sound a lot better than it is, that they have educational and employment opportunities, as if it had been a smooth transition. Yet we've read elsewhere how hurt people were.

It's not that you have to criticize just to criticize, but that part of the struggle for self-determination is working out what the differences are, what your rights are and what you want them to be. The way the meeting was structured by the sponsors, in the whole four hours the audience had no chance to participate, to ask about those differences.

I was glad to go to the meeting and felt the speakers dealt with where the American Indian Movement is today in a helpful way. You can write or send a contribution to the *Big Mountain Legal Defense Committee*, 2510 N. 4th St., Suite 18, Flagstaff, Arizona 86001.

Direct from Prague

Czech CP Congress

Prague, Czechoslovakia—The congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party was followed in Prague not without interest, though more for what was not said and "resolved" than for what it did tell. Czechoslovak society — perhaps more than the economy — is in need of renewal, of deep reforms.

But the very word "reform" is banned from any public discussion. The reason is clear: the present top leadership is still the same that came to power because of the defeat of Prague Spring back in 1968. Indeed, at least three of the top men belong to the small group which called in the Soviets "to help defeat the counterrevolution." Because one of the most important programs of Prague Spring was economic reforms, this notion must not be mentioned publicly.

Premier Strougal spoke at the congress about "new quality of economic growth," of "well thought out changes of the whole complex of planning and management," on "a complicated process of an overall perfecting not only of economic, but also of social relations including deeper democratic forms of participation of the working people in the management of social processes." This vague rhetoric was, of course, to cover the fact that there are no "complex" plans at all.

The only contribution worth quoting is probably that of a "hero of socialist labor," Kubes, an ironfounder in one of the major Prague factories. He told the other delegates: "At the workplace, lack of both raw and other materials continues to manifest itself more and more. We have to face deeply ingrained stereotypes on all levels of management..."

"Our generation," Kubes continued (he is a man in his fifties), "is, with few exceptions, used to the working environment being the same as it was 30 years ago and takes all this as something that does not affect us as oppressively as the new shift which succeeds us. They are not willing to enter such an environment." After giving some examples of bureaucratic delays and workings in his factory, the hero said: "The number of workers in our factories continues to fall without being replaced sufficiently by new technology. Our engineering and metallurgy trades are ceasing to be attractive for the young generation. We are asking often why this is so?"

"Wherein lies the reason of the general dislike of factory labor? We believe the reason is, too, in the decline of not only the social, but also the political standing of the working class. We are convinced, therefore, that there is an urgent need for the political, social and state authorities to pay more attention to the situation and preparation of the working class in solving its problems. This is not a question of prestige but it is solicited by the historic mission of the working class."

Oppose toxic wastes!

Detroit, Mich.—Residents of the Southwest Detroit neighborhood at the entrance to the vast Crystal Salt Mines have organized a daily picket line to protest its proposed conversion to a toxic waste storage site. Mr. Tomy, the mine owner, who is also President of both Wayne and Michigan Disposal Companies, says the mine is dry and that there is no opposition. But geologists and former mine workers cite weak structure, a history of water leakage, and its proximity to a populated area as causes for concern.

The recently formed Oakwood Environmental Concerns Association has also asked people to write to state and local leaders, Congressional Representatives, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and the Michigan Department of Natural Resources (DNR) (which receives toxic waste storage applications). But community residents also have ideas for using the mine as a tourist attraction, to spark a return of businesses and restaurants in the neighborhood.

Another group of citizens opposes a planned \$450-million trash-to-energy steam generating plant. For financial reasons, the city is unwilling to add \$17 million worth of pollution control devices to the plant. And there already are two widely different "expert opinions" on the projected increased cancer risk to Detroiters living near the plant site.

A public hearing was held on April 9. One participant said: "Four hundred people came, and 100 more were turned away. One hundred speakers took 8 hours to testify. Afterwards they voted to retain the permit, without the additional pollution controls. But after hearing the various experts give all that contradictory testimony, all I could think of was, 'These are the same folks who brought you Challenger.'"

One Southwest Detroit activist summed it up: "That salt mine was built for production, not toxic waste storage. They took all they could and left a fragile shell. It's time industries were more responsible in getting rid of wastes. I worked in Nike missile repair during the Vietnam war, and I know the speed-up that went on. When they balance human life and health—and to me no risk is 'acceptable'—against money, profit—it becomes a moral issue, too." —Detroit resident

No aid to the contras

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Saturday, April 5, over 2,000 people massed in the rain outside the Federal Building in Westwood, chanting "No Aid to the Contras," and demanding that the Nicaraguan revolution be allowed to live. This rally came less than two weeks after another 2,000-strong anti-contra aid rally, March 25.

At the rallies, the spirited demonstrators did not limit themselves to a critique of the legality of U.S. intervention of the affairs of another sovereign country, but identified with the Nicaraguan revolution's efforts to forge new pathways to freedom. Discussions we had focused on attempts to work out the contradictions troubling that revolution under the twin pressures of the priority of military defense and the pull toward a Cuban-style state-capitalist framework.

At both rallies a small flag-waving gang of contra supporters were present. They were not, however, the normal Bible-thumping goons who appear at every demonstration in Los Angeles. These seemed to have a much more "mainstream" Yuppie style. While railing against the Sandinistas as "terrorists," they showed their own terrorist bent, ripping signs from the hands of demonstrators and tearing buttons from our shirts and jackets.

The crowd was neither intimidated by these right-wing goons nor afraid to face Reagan's claim that those who oppose his drive to war are Communists. The McCarthyite ground he has attempted to impose on the political scene was rejected. The most frequent conclusion of the demonstrators was not a support of branding the revolution Communist, but an identification with the revolt against exploitative U.S. capitalism that we ourselves face at home.

—Wayne Carter and Gary Clark

Seniors protest CTA fares

Chicago, Ill.—An April 9 protest of some 200 senior citizens at the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) monthly Board meeting to oppose the effects of the A's fare increase and new transfer policy on the elderly and poor made the Board revise its new policy and some transfer restrictions for senior citizens. Although the protest seemed to come out of the blue, anyone riding the buses in Black, Latino and poor white communities could hear daily complaints about the A's policy of restricting the use of transfers to only one connection and for use on only a one-way fare. The demonstrators, many in their 70's and 80's, stated that they were going to "Blow the whistle on the CTA." Two busloads had come from the Latino neighborhood of Pilsen, a busload was organized by the South Austin Community Coalition on the West Side and a group calling itself Metro Seniors in Action, which published its own newspaper, had a contingent. What was so evident was the tremendous passion of the senior citizen who spoke out at the impromptu rally in the CTA cafeteria following the protest at the Board meeting. And despite the fact that only a few elderly youth were present, one retired working woman stood up and got the attention of everyone with her ringing declaration that "We're not going to let anyone wedge a wedge between us and the young!" —CTA rider

EDITORIAL

(continued from page 1)

to the U.S. now appears prepared to challenge throughout the Third World, not excluding nuclear dueling? Was this a testing of weapons for global distances needed to wage war, even nuclear war, if one has no alternative? It is precisely because of the global implications, including those here at home against the American masses, that we must make our opposition to the terrorism of a Reagan unequivocal. We cannot allow the savoriness of a Qaddafi to impede the necessity of a total opposition to Reagan, especially here in the U.S. To oppose Reagan in Libya and globally is inseparable from opposition to the despicable acts of Qaddafi's regime. We need to stay the nuclear, imperial, terrorist and of Reaganism ideologically and by mass activities. Only then can masses everywhere, including in Libya and here in the U.S., open doors to full freedom.

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- CHICAGO:** Sundays, 3:00 P.M.
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- DETROIT:** Thursdays, 7:00 P.M.
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- S.F. BAY AREA:** Sundays, 7:00 P.M.
3122 Shattuck Ave. (rear),
- LOS ANGELES:** Sundays, 6:30 P.M.
People's College of Law
660 S. Bonnie Brae
- NEW YORK:** Mondays, 7:00 P.M.
Grace & St. Paul Church
123 W. 71st St., Manhattan
- SALT LAKE CITY:** Mondays, 7:30 P.M.
U. of Utah, Olpin Union
Room 311

REAGAN'S WAR ACTS SHOW NEED FOR BI-WEEKLY N&L

On March 24, Reagan launched the Gulf of Sidra incident, and a week later I got my copy of N&L. It said: "Ronald Reagan must be stopped! If he is not stopped now, will his obsession with being Commander-in-Chief in an outright war lead to a full-scale attack on any country, especially a Third World country like Libya or Nicaragua?"

This has turned out to be horribly true with the massive bombing raid on Libya April 14. But I don't know if it is even finished now, whether that "obsession" is satisfied. Is Nicaragua next, now that the public has been "softened up?" It seems clear to me, but at a recent protest I attended, against the attack on Libya, no one seemed to want to include protest against "contra aid." Why the separation?

Protester
Chicago

The headline in the last N&L: "Counter-revolution and Revolution" was very powerful. It made you realize that Libya and Nicaragua, Haiti and the Philippines are all happening at the same time. And the fact that you put "Counter-revolution" first in the headline keeps me from getting caught up in enthusiasm about Marcos, etc. The threat of counter-revolution is real.

New reader
Michigan

On March 31, 70 veterans sponsored by the Veterans' Speakers Alliance marched up a steep, winding road to President Reagan's Santa Barbara ranch. Their purpose was to present a petition against contra aid signed by 160 veterans from both the Vietnam era and World War II. One-hundred crosses representing people killed in Vietnam and Nicaragua were carried by the marchers. The petition was presented to a gate guard at Reagan's ranch who refused to accept it.

What concerns these veterans the most is that the lessons we learned from Vietnam—the needless deaths of nearly 60,000 young men (on the US side) and the emotional and physical maiming of hundreds of thousands of others—not be lost.

Veteran
Los Angeles

Reagan says Qaddafi is a "mad man." Probably true. But in this case, it is a situation of two in the same nut house. The difference is that Qaddafi's power is very limited, while Reagan's can blow up the world. If you saw a nut on the street with a gun, you'd call the cops. What do you do about Reagan?

Older worker
Grand Rapids, Mich.

I was moved by the appeal. N&L is moving to an important new stage with its proposed bi-weekly issues. I am going to tentatively pledge \$5 to \$10 a month for the coming year. But my financial situation for the past three years has been difficult. (I should say "money has been funny" since working class people never have enough to consider it "finances.")

The link between such incidents as the shuttle tragedy and the Hormel strike, the Philippines and the contras, is becoming increasingly clear to many despite the intimacy between the media and the government...N&L is the only one among the Left doing anything (indeed the only Left grouping in the past 30 years who ever did anything revolutionarily feasible).

Laid-off autoworker
Los Angeles

I understand the difference that a bi-weekly N&L could make, and want to become a sustaining subscriber. Could I start at \$45 a month? I very much appreciated John Marcotte's column in the March N&L for stressing that while the immediate issue in a strike might be wages, what workers talk about on the picket line is harassment.

In March, (as if to prove the point), the transit workers of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA) struck. While SEPTA tried to convince the public that the issues were

solely monetary, the workers were clear that the basic issue was harassment by management. One headline in the Philadelphia Inquirer finally read: "Tauss (the union president) brings issue of worker 'dignity' to the fore." In the four day strike, the workers won some improvements in the arbitration procedure as well as in pensions and wages.

Working woman
Philadelphia

I would like to suggest, as an alternative to the idea of a bi-weekly, quarterly special editions as a supplement to a monthly publication. These could be on special topics where writers and readers would have more time and space to "see" activities with Marxist-Humanist "eyes." Too often activity and theoretical articles lie side by side in the paper. I'm concerned that a bi-weekly will exacerbate this situation by increased deadlines and production time.

Supporter
Chicago

I'm glad N&L is going to a bi-weekly publication. If my financial situation improves, I hope I'll be able to send something. I'm glad I still receive N&L; it's still the only leftist newspaper I am able to read. I don't always agree with everything in it, but after all of my years in the Movement, I'm increasingly grateful for the diversity and range of dialogue...

Laid-off autoworker
Los Angeles

The April N&L really gave impetus to the goal of a bi-weekly newspaper, not just as a political urgency, but as the necessity of the epoch. On one level, there is the necessity of acting in the face of Reagan's outlaw reign, treating N&L as if it were a daily. On another level, with the new "Introduction/Overview" to Vol. 12 of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, when Raya speaks of what the dialectic method and Marx's Marxism achieved at turning points in history, one can see what it meant to sense both the next highpoint after 1917 being the Spanish Revolution AND having to create something new, beginning with state-capitalist theory, because of all the diversions away from Marx's Marxism...

The re-awakenings of the '80s can have a home in N&L as organization and as newspaper...The meeting we had last night on the new "Black Thought" pamphlet was also indicative of how attractive News and Letters Committees can be in this time of retrogression. We had nine visitors, all Blacks. Only three were prior acquaintances; the rest were after-work students who are not youths...

Jim Mills
Detroit

HAVE YOU SENT IN YOUR CONTRIBUTION?

See Appeal Page 10

MARX'S THEORY AND REALITY

As you know, the referendum to continue Spain's membership in NATO was passed. People who had been working hard against it were disappointed, but there was a lot of creativity and enthusiasm in the "NO" campaign...

My favorite readings now are on the Civil War and the Spanish Revolution, as well as those dealing with the influence of 1917 and the Second and Third Internationals on the origins of the present Left parties. Still I have the feeling that the influence of Marxism in Spain has been from the beginning rather weak. It is very clear that socialism came to Spain with a very strong anarchist influence.

I feel there is not real Marxist theory. Either we did not put together Marxism with our own reality, or maybe we are not good theoreticians. I remember friends from India telling me that they were always surprised how militant

Readers' Views

Spanish people have been if we compare it with the little theory that has come out of Spain...

Correspondent
Zaragoza, Spain

At the small parts plant where I work you can only work with the permission of the capitalists. This is what Marx says in the Critique of the Gotha Program, which I've been reading. Workers want dignity; the unemployed want it too. We have to wait till we're called to be able to go to the bathroom. The unemployed have to wait in long lines. Already four women have been disciplined in my plant for not obeying the foreman on when to go to the bathroom.

In the Critique, Marx criticized the "Marxists" of his day for wanting to put "equal rights" into their program the way the bourgeoisie means it. Any worker today can understand what he was saying. It's like the foreman who complains about the other workers, saying: "You made 100 parts and the other worker made 200. You got to do more." But every person is not the same. Someone may not be feeling well, or is not strong enough. We don't all have the same labor power. We are going to have to undo this whole society someday.

Woman autoworker
Detroit



CONTRA
AID
PROTESTS

There were 118 of us arrested in a demonstration at Congressman Purcell's office in Ann Arbor the week before the House vote on aid to the contras. It was exciting to see so many new people there. We have to keep demonstrating.

I'm really at a point now where I feel we need to go beyond this congressional dialogue that the movement has been getting caught up in. The Democrat-Republican debate about Nicaragua is so far to the right there's not even any talk now of what is actually going on in Nicaragua, what people are thinking there, what is revolution.

Student activist
Univ. of Michigan

LABOR'S ONGOING BATTLES

The economy in southern Arizona is in shambles since the strike against the Phelps Dodge (PD) copper mines. The company is operating with scab labor, and we are hearing stories that the scabs and the non-union salaried personnel are experiencing problems. Here in Douglas, the unions are coming together with the environmentalists and are fighting the pollution created by the Douglas PD plant. This area is called the "grey triangle" because there is so much pollution that it affects people's health and is also destroying vegetation.

I enjoy reading your newspaper since it gives me information I don't get from the dailies. Your article on Hormel was the first time I read that it wasn't only a wage controversy. And your article on the Challenger explosion really tells it like it is. I've yet to hear anyone blame the administration for applying all that pressure to NASA to send those people up without the proper safeguards.

Reader
Douglas, Arizona

The story of the Hormel strike has been told in a new 15 minute videotape directed by Academy award nominee Pamela Yates. Through interviews, music and action footage, "We're Not Gonna Take It" tells the story of P-9's fight against concessions and how it has become a rallying point for millions of other workers who find themselves in the same boat.

The price is only \$20 (postage included). Jim Guyette, president of Local 1 said: "I urge you to buy a copy and show it to every organization and individual you can." You can order from:

National Rank and
File Against Concessions
312 21st
Newport, MN 550

I went down to Wapping to support the printworkers on strike against Murdoch's newspaper empire. It's very frightening; the place has been built with lots of barriers. There has been an attempt to organize mass pickets but they are constantly harassed by the police. It's amazing to see the printers sitting in good spirits, sharing tea and rollers being sacked and attacked.

About 10 p.m. at the gate I was police horses charged into the crowd, pushing them into the road where they were confronted by police with riot shields and Special Patrol Group snatch squads. The news media is reporting all this as the response of the police to an attack on them.

Psychiatric Nurse
London

I've been looking for work, but refused to work for \$3.50 an hour—I'd have to work 60 hours a week to survive. I don't understand how people can manage it. We definitely need a change. It seems the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. It makes me mad! The way things are now, the capitalists are breaking all workers. I guess that's one reason I like studying Marxism. And I enjoyed reading Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart*. He wrote in a way I could understand the struggle of workers and Blacks.

Working mother
Oklahoma

POSTERS FOR MIDEAST PEACE

For two years, American children (mainly, but not exclusively Jewish and Arabs), as well as children in the West Bank, Gaza and inside Israel, have been creating original visions of peace. They have been using a blank poster inscribed around the edges with the words for peace in Hebrew, Arabic and English. The next major show will open June 16 at the Bureau of Jewish Education in New York City. We need more than 200 posters by May 30. For more information, and to order blank posters write:

Artists for Mideast Peace
144 Moody St
Waltham, MA 0215

HAITI AFTER DUVALIER

From 10,000-strong rallies in Port-au-Prince to the magnificent initiative of the Black city dwellers to clean up their tolerable refuse and debris which is so much a part of the very landscape of the capital city, Kevin A. Barry's excellent analysis of the Haitian situation (April N&L) surpassed all others I have read.

It showed the new being created in the uprooting (dechoukaj) of the old Duvalier regime—a revolutionary dimension that so many have disregarded so inbred is the view among radicals that the Haitian masses are backward. What Barry actually poses is the method of articulating a new historic-revolutionary category in-the-making. He sees this in Haiti because it is a powerful fact there. No one can match the Haitian masses themselves whose historic memory reached all the way back to the high point of their own 10th century revolution when they tore up Duvalier's tri-color flag, and raised the red and blue banner of the Haitian Revolution.

Haitian supporter
New Jersey

BLACK THOUGHT AND REVOLT—AFRICA, CARIBBEAN, USA

Over 100 people answered a "Call to Action: show our opposition to Dearborn's Parks Ban Ordinance." on April 5. But instead of an expected workshop in non-violent demonstrating, organizers Rev. Jim Holley and Joe Madison of the NAACP asked us to be court-watchers, because a recent restraining order prohibited organized protests in Dearborn.

As soon as Madison asked us to sign an oath of non-violence, one man jumped up and accused him of perpetrating a "slave mentality." Over half the participants did not want to call off demonstrations, and the planned training session became a vigorous debate.

Many Detroiters are now opposed to the leadership's reliance on legalism, and are demanding direct action.

**Working woman
Detroit**

Here's \$3 for Frantz Fanon, Soweto, and American Black Thought, plus an extra dollar—a donation to the struggle. As you say about Haiti, the 1979 revolution in Grenada wasn't a "mob"; it began before it began, with a newspaper, much like yours. The hardest thing was waiting til Friday—it came out on Fridays, and sold out immediately. There was a lot of corruption and people wanted to know what was going on. Eventually the newspaper developed into a movement.

* In 1979 we had a chain reaction of revolutions: Iran, Grenada, Nicaragua. Already in 1986 we have the Philippines and Haiti—what will the rest of the year bring? I would like a few more copies of N&L to show to friends.

**Grenadian friend
in the USA**

The Marxist government of Congo-Brazzaville (formerly French Congo) was rocked by student protest last November after it had, in the name of "austerity measures," decided to set up a competition for education grants. But the news is just now getting heard in the U.S.

At the opening of the fifth congress of the ruling party affiliate, the Union of Socialist Youth, students arrived

chanting "A grant for everyone, without competition" and "What have you done with the oil revenues?" They were attacked by security forces who stopped them entering. The youth immediately began stoning government cars, including that of the Minister of Education, who was forced to flee. The President himself had to run round to the back of the building to enter.

**N. Quinten
New York**

Thanks very much for sending us Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought. We will be going through the book in one of our study classes in the coming month and out of that discussion we will send you our comments on the book.

**Revolutionary Marxist League
Kingston, Jamaica**



**THINKING
ABOUT THE
WASHINGTON
PROTEST**

I wish the report on the massive abortion rights marches (April N&L) had started where it ended, with more discussion on the relationship of philosophy to the movement and how this could be a new beginning for the women's movement.

The importance of Marxist-Humanist philosophy is that it helps you think beyond the immediate and not separate the activity of the moment from the idea of revolution. While we fight for abortion rights, we see abortion as an agonized last-resort "choice" we are forced to make because we still don't have adequate sex education and access to safe birth control.

A choice you are forced to make, as women are in Russia, where abortion is legal but also the only means of birth control, is not a choice at all. If we are to really gain control over our own bodies, don't we need to uproot, for one, the whole medical system which is run for profit and loaded with elitism, racism, paternalism and sexism?

I am concerned that this type of uprooting and the role of philosophy in it

was not discussed at the marches and would like to hear from other women on this. While we all want "a better world," we need to discuss concretely what that means to each of us and by what method we hope to achieve it.

**Suzanne Casey
Chicago**

I was happy to see so many men at the abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C. last month. Of course "so many" is only a small minority, but I remember the last "Pro-Choice" demonstration I marched on, which was in London in 1978, and there was just a handful of men compared to last month. I came because I wanted to show my support of a "choice" in a choiceless situation. It is always very easy to repeat the slogan, "A Woman's Right to Choose," and leave it at that—as if it is just another "transitional" demand from some Trotskyist program. But you really can't separate this question from the sort of society we live in, where the choice is sometimes just a simple matter of not being able to afford a child...

**Marcher
New York City**

BOLIVIA'S REVOLUTION

I appreciated the way Peter Wermuth discussed "Bolivia's persistent revolution" (April N&L). He showed how philosophy enables you to be more concrete. The Trotskyists in Bolivia spoke of "permanent revolution," but without a philosophy of revolution, they left it as an abstraction; they couldn't see the new live, human subjects who would change Bolivia. The point to me wasn't the analysis of past revolution, but how to bring out the contradictions in those that are unfinished today, as in Haiti or the Philippines.

**Black activist
Los Angeles**

I found Peter Wermuth's article about the 1952 revolution in Bolivia interesting. Unfortunately, I strongly disagree with his conclusion attacking Trotskyism. First, he fails to mention that at that time the Fourth International had entered into a period of politically "back pedalling" as advocated

by Michel Pablo. This was the primary reason for the POR's involvement in the bourgeois nationalist MNR, which, of course, Wermuth is correct in saying was a major reason for the revolution's defeat.

But this was never a negation of Trotskyism, only a degeneration into opportunism, and away from the class struggle of permanent revolution by those who called themselves Trotskyists...

**Activist
Hamburg, Pa.**

GAY RIGHTS BILL

The ghost of Hitler that Deborah Morris noticed in the military's consideration of "identifying AIDS victims by 'Star of David' concept" (March N&L) found another stage in New York as a "civil rights bill for gays" was debated in the city. All sorts of homophobia, ranging from Cardinal O'Connor to Hasidic Jews to outright racism came out. At the same time the NY Times gave William F. Buckley a half page to call for "tattooing all AIDS victims."

The passage of the bill (it did pass) was a great step. But as Marx pointed out 143 years ago, when he wrote on civil rights for Jews: civil rights only brings the minority up to the level of society as a whole. What was and still is needed is a "human revolution."

**Subscriber
Manhattan, NY**

**THE QUESTION OF
SCIENCE**

The question of science and technology is a very central one at this time, and my own and Brokmeyer's objections to the March 1986 lead article on Militarized science require more than the easy dismissal which Walker gave them. I do hope that no reader takes that article to be any kind of basic or definitive Marxist-Humanist view of science and technology because it isn't. These questions will have to be discussed much more fully in a bulletin without fear of the results.

**Marxist-Humanist
Berkeley**

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BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future** 294 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95 (\$38.50 hardcover)
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Berkeley students defy police assaults...

Berkeley, Cal.—Since March 31, the anti-apartheid movement has come alive again at U.C. Berkeley. That was the day when activists set up a shantytown in front of California Hall to demand immediate divestment and the closing of the IBM computer store, which the Regents had opened in Moffitt Library.

The University refused these demands, declared the shanties a fire hazard, and at 2 a.m. on April 1 the police arrived in force, arresting 61 demonstrators and destroying the huts with heavy equipment. Their treatment of the protestors was so brutal that over 2,000 students rallied on Sproul Plaza at noon that day and decided to rebuild.

At noon, the following day, many more people participated in a rally and in building new shanties. Clerical workers came down with banners to support the protest. And at an open microphone, a longshoreman received thunderous applause (students had participated with longshoremen in a blockade in March to keep a South African ship from unloading in San Francisco).

By 1 a.m. that night, police began to show up from every city in Alameda County, except Berkeley, and surrounded the shanties. Arrests began at 3:30 a.m., but protestors and supporters surrounded the police barricades and held on until 7:20 in the morning, when the university bosses, seeing that they couldn't get the shanties out of there before 8 o'clock classes, ordered the police to plow through.

Many were hurt, 31 were hospitalized, while the 89 arrested were held in two prison buses. The cops really went nuts. I saw one Hayward cop dive into the

crowd with two batons, one in each hand. This violence was met by a hail of bottles, fruit, rocks and trash cans as the buses, windshields shattered, crept off to jail. Students arriving for classes got a sobering eyeful of broken benches, debris, and dozens of mean, ugly cops strutting around as living testimony to the real mentality of the university administration.



Arrested protester peers out of police bus.

All through that day the spirit was definitely not one of defeat. What was decided was a human blockade of California Hall. Many new faces were seen at this new wave of protests, as though a whole new crew of students came to relieve those who had been through hell. For the next couple of days the building was practically closed by protestors who walked around it holding hands and singing, some wearing "Outside Agitator" buttons in answer to the charges of the administration.

The whole atmosphere is much more exciting on campus now. In a small compromise, the Chancellor did close the computer store indefinitely. Furthermore, the whole question of education is now up for discussion: How does the classroom relate to the real world and how can a center of learning invest nearly \$2.5 billion in what is essentially slavery? What has also been of enduring value is the experience of facing the administration and testing your principles. That gain cannot be taken away.

—Marxist Humanist participants

...as Shantytown protests spread

● On National Anti-Apartheid Protest Day (April 4), about 75 students began building a shantytown at Yale University, symbolizing a South African squatter community "to protest the continued intransigence of the Yale Corporation on divestment." When Yale ordered them to tear down the shanties, workers who were supported by students in their 1984 strike refused to do so. Finally on April 14 the campus police were sent in and arrested 78 students and supporters who resisted the shanties' demolition.

● Between April 8 and April 12, 12 shanties were built on the Quad at the Univ. of Illinois in Urbana, and there were more protesters sleeping there than could fit in the shacks. After the administration threatened students with expulsion or suspension, they took down the shanties—for now. On April 10, 60 students and supporters were arrested for "disrupting" a Board of Trustees meeting.

● Twenty anti-apartheid students occupied the Dartmouth College library April 11 and 12, protesting a decision to reduce, by half, sentences given to right-wing students who had attacked shanties there with sledge hammers. The protesters ended their occupation after being threatened with suspension.

AFL-CIO S. Africa sham

Los Angeles, Cal.—I was enraged when the AFL-CIO sponsored a so-called commemoration of the March 21, 1960 Sharpeville massacre in South Africa—only to use that occasion to support Reaganism, by holding the rally at the police station in predominantly Black South-Central Los Angeles! Instead of recognizing the obvious racism that persists in this country, they droned out putrid clichés about America's "civil rights."

The real killer was that they praised the Los Angeles Police Department (L.A.P.D.) for allegedly not being racist or violent, with a speech by ex-cop Mayor Tom Bradley, who wants to campaign for governor again!

This transparent propaganda ploy was held just three days after the brutal, unexplained killing of an unarmed Black man by a California Highway Patrol officer, March 18, during a "routine traffic check." (And one week later, March 25, another Black man was shot to death by an L.A. County Sheriff's deputy, while being arrested for alleged narcotics possession.)

I couldn't stand it, so I went to the rally and stood across the street from the police station, holding a sign that said "L.A.P.D. no different—Stop Police killings in L.A." As I expected, many rank-and-file union members and community people came by, and told me they were "glad somebody told the truth."

In fact, I'm not alone. Protest marches on that same police station have been held for months and will continue as long as the L.A. police state does.

—Unarmed Black Citizen

South African Freedom Journal

Trade unionist speaks

Editor's note: The following interview with Motsomi Mokhele, publicity secretary for the Black Allied Mining and Construction Worker's Union, was held when he was on tour recently in the U.S. to raise funds for workers and communities effected by deadly asbestos mining in South Africa.

Our union, the Black Allied Mining and Construction Worker's Union has 59,000 members in asbestos, coal, platinum and gold mining. A major focus of our work is to get asbestos mining banned in South Africa. There are six asbestos mines operating now, effecting some 5,000 people in nearby villages, as well as miners.

At the Penge Asbestos Mine in the northern Transvaal, our members have been involved in a strike and a three day occupation. Since the company fired them, however, they haven't been able to get any other employment. That is one of the reasons the union has launched a self-help project.

We have set up a medical team of five doctors to serve the communities who are afflicted by asbestos related diseases. The project is a worker-controlled cooperative. Workers will run the cooperative independent of the union. There is also a poultry farming project where we hope to buy chickens to sell to the community. The money will be used to finance the clinic for the community, and to help support the workers that were dismissed.

Our union and AZACTU (Azanian Congress of Trade Unions) have also been involved in talks with CUSA (Council of Unions of South Africa) to launch a new federation. Our final agreement is for amalgamation before the end of July.

In our view, workers' organizations must be controlled by themselves. Though intellectuals are best capable of expressing the feeling of the Black working-class, they are not the working-class. They have a role to play, helping the working-class to assume leadership of the struggle. But the intellectuals and the workers cannot exist in a vacuum separate from each other.

Because the language that is used in the labor movement is that of Black Consciousness — the language of ourselves — we believe that we will be able to reconcile into one single national union one day.

To get more information on our project and to send support, write to: the Black Allied Mining and Construction Worker's Union, Abbey House - 2nd Floor, 51 Commissioner St., Johannesburg 2000, South Africa.

Direct from South Africa

New union spells trouble

Johannesburg, South Africa—To many employers, a pro-capitalist, anti-socialist, pro-investment union like the United Workers' Union of South Africa (UWUSA) may sound, in these times of sanctions and socialism, like manna from heaven. But it could also mean a new wave of labour turbulence, largely in the Inkatha (Zulu) stronghold of Natal, where competition between the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and UWUSA could get tough.

For workers, it will be a time of new choices, turbulence and possibly violence, if recent events are anything to go by. However, officially, UWUSA has stated clearly that its attitude towards COSATU is "not confrontational." It is early days for UWUSA but the formation of this alternative labour movement, assisted by Inkatha muscle and funds, could go down as one of the most important events in recent labour history.

Ironically, the official launch of UWUSA will take place in Durban on May 1, the date on which socialists world wide celebrate Labour Day. The new union plans to confront socialism on the day most dear to socialists and on a day which is increasingly being regarded by Black South African workers as a workers' day. The launch will be held at the same place—the Kings Park Rugby Stadium—as COSATU's launch on December 1 last year. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has been invited by UWUSA to deliver the opening address. All workers have been invited to take the day off to attend.

Membership to UWUSA is open to all workers, regardless of political affiliation or association. The basic theme of their drive has been to question COSATU's motives in calling for disinvestment. The UWUSA logic is that without a vibrant and healthy economy there can be no jobs; without jobs there can be no unions; without unions there can be no meaningful, peaceful change in South Africa.

UWUSA principles include: a free and democratic South Africa in which all participate in the formation of the Government; a campaign to liberate the free enterprise system from apartheid control to make it a vehicle for the progress of the working class; investment by foreign investors to ensure a healthy economy; and non-interference in business, union and labour affairs by political organizations or institutions, including Inkatha.

Editor's note: Our South African correspondent shows above the well-orchestrated attempt by apartheid stooge Buthelezi to undermine the new revolutionary union COSATU. For discussion of COSATU, see p. 12.

BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

are also anxious to finance such ill-conceived studies into Black life. Rather, what has to be asked is why Black intellectuals find it permissible to relegate their own more critical views to the ideological confines of Reaganism that these studies cannot help but express?

When researching the Marxist-Humanist Archives of Raya Dunayevskaya recently, I found that this question had been the subject of her critique of leading Black intellectuals who had uncritically contributed to the first such comprehensive study of Black America, entitled *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy*, directed by the Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal, published in two volumes with a sum total of 1,483 pages and financed to the tune of a quarter-of-million dollars by the Carnegie Corporation in the midst of World War II.*

LITERATURE AND BLACK REALITY

There was certainly no denying that the Depression made such leading Black intellectuals as DuBois, Charles S. Johnson and Ralph Bunche see that the crisis in the social status of Black America lay in the economic structure of American capitalist society, and that its solution would come from the revolutionary transformation of that society.

Nevertheless, what the bourgeois-sociologist Myrdal mockingly observed, then, of the "radical" social scientist Ralph Bunche is even truer of the Black intelligentsia now, namely, that "the academic radicalism of Negro intellectuals exemplified by...Mr. Bunche, can easily come to good terms with the type of liberal but skeptical *laissez faire* (do nothing) opinion so prevalent among white liberal social scientists, writing on the Negro problem... Since neither party is very active in trying to induce or prevent an economic revolution, it does not make much difference if the Negro radicals look forward to an economic revolution and the white sociologists do not."

As against this betrayal by Black intellectuals, Dunayevskaya pointed to the "portents on the horizon" that had begun to determine new Black literary expression. Her critique concluded by noting that "There is stirring in the Negro people in the United States today, a racial consciousness which has at present found its most extreme expression in the writings of Richard Wright."

So glaring a light does Wright's work of genius *Native Son* still cast on the actual state of Black America, more than 40 years after it was written, that Richard Wesley, the Black playwright who has adapted *Native Son* for a new film version shot in Chicago, warned of Bigger Thomas's progeny: "In 1986, Bigger Thomas III or Bigger Thomas IV is on the street at 63rd and Greenwood. He can stand under the El and maybe see a Black motorman driving the train, but he knows he has no opportunity of getting that job. Even though we're doing a picture set in 1939, when people come around, many of the people, men in particular, relate to the story. There's a certain resentment in people's eyes...they know that the South Side has changed so little that we were able to come there and hang up a few signs and other period touches and shoot the picture without changing anything else."

* See "Negro Intellectuals in Dilemma" (1944), in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection. Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its Development*, #271-274; on microfilm from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, MI.

THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U. S.

Editor's note: Below we are printing Part II of Raya Dunayevskaya's Introduction/Overview. See April N&L for Part I.

THE 1960S WERE as turbulent in the U.S. as anywhere else in the world and the new voices from below are well enough recorded in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection from the **Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves to the Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution.** (I co-authored the latter with Free Speech Movement leader Mario Savio and Eugene Walker from the Mississippi freedom schools.) The Black Dimension was by no means just an American question; the African Revolutions initiated a new world epoch, indeed a new world, the Third World. Whereas the European International Conference hadn't followed my suggestion to invite some African revolutionaries, I followed through with the Africans I met in England, especially Dixon Colley of the Gambia who had chaired my meeting in London.

The new correspondence that is now being added includes communication with Leopold Senghor, Sekou Toure, and Nnamdi Azikwe, as well as the letter to Thomas Kanza, UN Ambassador from the Congo, on the death of Patrice Lumumba. The trip to West Africa in 1962 is thus now more fully documented and shows more than just the fact that **Presence Africaine** published my article "Marxist-Humanism," which I had originally titled "African Socialism: Why not a New International?" That didn't impede my activities and writings on the American scene, as witness the new contributions we now make of my articles for **The Activist**, the student journal at Oberlin College for which I was both sponsor and writer, as well as a critic of some of their writings, like that of Tracey Strong on China.

The Third World was naturally not only Africa, but also Latin America, Asia and the Middle East. Most relevant and important here is my correspondence with Silvio Frondizi, the great Argentinian independent Marxist who was murdered by the fascist regime. He had in fact translated **Marxism and Freedom**, but was unable to publish it. Nearly all of my major works have now been translated and published in Spanish. Erich Fromm was instrumental in introducing my work to the publishing house, Siglo XXI.

The section on the battle of ideas speaks well enough for itself, whether it is correspondence with Silvio Frondizi or Alisdair MacIntyre, with Erich Fromm or Peter Bergmann, Jean Malaquais or Paul Piccone, Dixon Colley or John O'Neill, or even C.L.R. James and Grace Chin Lee, or whether it was with Leon Trotsky or Yoshimasa Yukiama. Indeed, the correspondence and some of the interviews would result in a chapter within a book itself. I am referring to a 1965 Hong Kong interview which became a part of a chapter of **Philosophy and Revolution**. The Chinese refugee I interviewed, "Jade," was so taken with my chapter "The Challenge of Mao Tse-tung" in **Marxism and Freedom** that she translated it into Chinese and sent it to the underground at Peking University, where she had been a student. That was in 1966, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution.

The trip I made to Japan has been reported in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection before, but the new that is added now is especially important for two reasons. It wasn't only my **Marxism and Freedom** that was translated and published in Japan, but also **News & Letters** pamphlets like Charles Denby's **Workers Battle Automation** and other new voices from the Black Revolution. The Zenshin (the Japan Revolutionary Communist League) sponsored my many lectures throughout the Islands. Also new is the typescript of my talk in Japan on Hegel.

WHAT IS OF THE essence in the 1970s were the new open doors in academia in the U.S. In 1970, the year of the 200th anniversary of Hegel's birth and 100th of Lenin's, the battle of ideas kept crisscrossing between the Left and academia. The specific essay which was to attract special attention was "The Philosophic Ambivalence of Lenin," which became the basis for my talk to a conference of the then young New Left philosophic journal, **Telos**. The Yugoslav journal **Praxis** then reprinted it, and so did the Italian journal **Aut**. That work was not just on Lenin, but on Hegel, and it became a part of the section in **Philosophy and Revolution** on "Why Hegel? Why Now?" This allowed me to present a paper at the 1974 conference of the Hegel Society of America. What is new in Volume XII is the documentation of the critiques of my views on Hegel that came from old radicals like Peter Bergmann (1974) as well as a critique of my interpretation of Hegel's Absolute Method by George Armstrong Kelly in his **Retreat from Eleusis** (1978). I answered Kelly in the introduction to my 1982 edition of **Philosophy and Revolution**. Also new is my letter to Bertell Ollman in critique of the academic classes in socialism, especially Marx's Capital.

The 1970s were in general characterized by a new mission for a philosophy of revolution. On the one hand, I was spurred by the fact that the 1960s revolutions

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

had been aborted at their highest point, 1968. On the other hand, it was the very counter-revolution of the early 1970s against Vietnam, when both Russia and China were rolling out the red carpet for Nixon, that made the youth, the Black Dimension, and even some old radicals begin to ask questions serious enough to have them attempt to work out a new philosophy of revolution for their age. At any rate, they were ready to listen and not to dismiss theoreticians on any superficial basis of age. Rather, they themselves wanted to see a continuity as well as a discontinuity in Marxism.

This became the more intense when finally Marx's **Ethnological Notebooks** were transcribed in the 1970s and the whole question of the relation of technologically advanced countries to underdeveloped countries was seen in a new light—the multi-linearism of Marx—as he turned anew to the idea of pre-capitalist societies and the then new science of anthropology. Just as this new objective/subjective situation led us to create the category of "post-Marx Marxism" as a pejorative in the 1982 publication of **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**, so the 1983 Marx Centenary Tour, with this work in hand, opened new doors, especially in the Black Dimension and Women's Liberation.

ALREADY HANDED IN at the March 21, 1985 lecture—though we then only had page proofs—was my latest book, **Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution**. Where it covered 35 years on the single subject of women's liberation, I have now completed my "30-Year Retrospective/Perspective of **News & Letters**" which is the history of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.—the paper, the organization, and the philosophic works, as well as the pamphlets. At the present moment I am in the process of working on my next book, **Dialectics of Organization: Philosophy, the "Party," and Opposite Forms of Organization Born Out of Spontaneity**.

The Black Dimension, which was central in **News & Letters** from its birth with a Black production worker, Charles Denby, as its editor, remains intrinsic to our body of ideas and has just been spelled out again in our latest publication, a new expanded edition of Frantz Fa-

non, **Soweto and American Black Thought**. This booklet includes appendices on **Negritude and Language** by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o as well as my **Political-Philosophic Letter, "Grenada: Counter-Revolution and Revolution."** It as well includes this recent communication we received directly from a group of South African revolutionaries:

"We can understand why the Marxist-Humanists felt a need to call themselves not just Marxists but Marxist-Humanist, because the humanism has been removed from Marx to such an extent that people thought they could come with certain theories and ideas just from the top—the intellectuals theorizing and telling the people how to liberate themselves."

February 28, 1986

Postscript, April 10, 1986 —

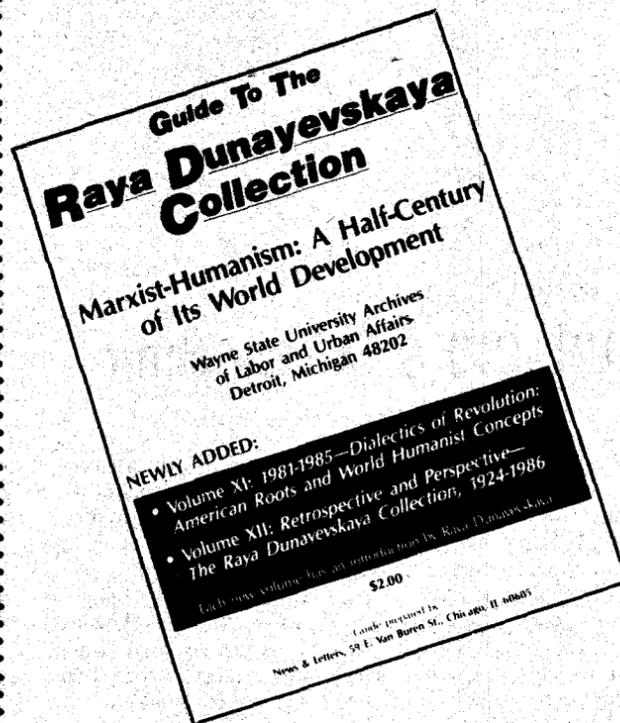
Between the time (February) when Volume XII was handed in for microfilming, and its release for public view by Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs (April), **News & Letters** has created a new cover for the Guide to the entire twelve-volume collection. This new title for the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—"Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development"—reflects the range of the new discoveries of old manuscripts predating 1941, as well as extending the collection to 1985/86. Put differently, the 1930s are the focal point now. The Depression signaled the end of private capitalism, while out of the Spanish Civil War there emerged a new kind of revolutionary who posed questions not only against Stalinism but against Trotskyism, indeed against all established Marxists. The 1981 Introductory Note to the Archives repeats what we said when we first handed in the Collection in 1969: "The entire collection is divided into two parts. Part One covers Marxist-Humanism in its origin as State-Capitalist theory...Part Two...covers the period 1955 to 1981, and details the development of Marxist-Humanism" as organization and as philosophy. With the addition of Volume XII, the new cover more fully reflects the whole range, "Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development."

On the 50th Anniversary of the Spanish Revolution Its Relevance for our Day

Read about it in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection

● Newly discovered documents from the 1930s

● New perspectives from the 1980s



"Some of us thought that the actions of the Stalinists were not only those of murderous bureaucrats 'factionally' getting rid of the Trotskyists in Spain as well as in Russia... What dissident Trotskyists were whispering was: couldn't this involve more than just Spanish fascism? Couldn't both Stalin's Russia and Hitler's Germany be testing their weapons for World War?"

"Now it is true that nothing comparable to the counter-revolutionary situation that followed the defeat of the Spanish Revolution—the outbreak of World War II—exists today. Nevertheless, the objectively reactionary situation in the U.S., whether it be over Libya or Latin America, or in the deterioration of thinking, shows us that the dialectic method is as urgent now as it has ever been..."

Special letter to comrades
Raya Dunayevskaya, Mar. 27, 1986

"The two greatest features of the Spanish Revolution that you are now studying are 1) its spontaneity, and 2) that the movement (the movement, not the parties that led it) aimed at a new stage of unity of economics and politics, higher than the 1917 Revolution whose preoccupation was politics, i.e. political power. By 1937 the workers were building not Soviets, but direct occupation of the factories..."

"I happened to have become Secretary to Leon Trotsky, because the international brigade organized to help the Spanish Revolution would not accept women. With Leon Trotsky, therefore, I felt I would at least be part of the formation of theory. Surely his position was better, comparatively, than anyone else's... But did he raise the question of criticism of Stalinism as a class nature opposed to the proletariat, or merely as 'bureaucratic distortions of a degenerated workers' state?' ...Did he test his own theories, not as 'abstract' permanent revolution, but concretely, for the Spanish Revolution, what is that new relationship of theory to practice?"

Raya Dunayevskaya, letter to Japanese revolutionaries, May 21, 1966
From Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, microfilm #9741

● This newly-expanded 10,000-plus page collection is available on microfilm. Five microfilm reels at \$20 each. The entire collection is \$100. Please write to: Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, 48202.

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

Mexico in ferment: strikes discussions, protests

(continued from page 1)

wages, but also working conditions. The telephone workers are involved in struggles against automation, which has affected every department in the aftermath of the September earthquake, since it has given the government the excuse to introduce new technologies at a faster pace, as several switching stations were demolished.

AFTERMATH OF EARTHQUAKE

The devastating earthquake came at a time when the Mexican economy was already in shambles (see Nov. 1985 N&L for an in-person report). The government tried to present itself as the hero of the earthquake by managing some of the relief efforts, but it has produced a different result.

The government has still not rehoused many people whose homes were destroyed, and it has concentrated on building new housing in the outskirts of the city. Because of the terrible transportation problems in this city of 18 million, workers have refused to be rehoused far from their jobs, and many people are camping out in front of their destroyed buildings, demanding that new housing be built right there.

Many factories were destroyed in the earthquake, especially small garment factories. Many operated illegally and paid neither unemployment benefits nor the minimum wage. After the buildings fell down, workers rushed to the factories where they saw the bosses digging out their cash boxes and machinery while leaving the bodies in the rubble to rot for days.

In response, a month later women held a protest demonstration of 10,000, and the National Union of Garment, Clothing and Related Workers 19th of September was born. After months of petitioning the government, they finally won recognition and the right to organize the employed. Eighty factories with 4,000 members are now involved in the union. Though the Left tried for 15 years to organize these workers without success, they organized themselves in one month.

"It was the first time we asked for justice, not as individuals, but all together," explained Evangelina Corona, General Secretary of the union. "Unfortunately, the factories fell down, but fortunately, it made us organize." (Her story will appear in next month's N&L.)

A News and Letters leaflet written by striking garment workers in New York City produced instant identification at union headquarters, a tiny structure in a lot full of homeless living in tents. The women are calling for international support for the fledgling union and spoke excitedly of the many women they met on International Women's Day.

During our stay 10,000 demonstrated for fair housing on the six-month anniversary of the earthquake, representing about half of those still living in tents throughout the city. Thirty thousand more are without permanent housing. The demonstrators demanded that the government not pay the debt and use the money for decent housing instead.

Small neighborhood organizations which existed in the shantytowns and other areas before the earthquake have grown, while hundreds of new ones have formed. There are now 46 organizations linked together in a Coordinating Council of victims; some represent one building, others as many as 300. One activist in the working-class neighborhood of Magdalena Mixhuca told us the government has done nothing to help those who lost their homes and their jobs.

One activist said, "This is a small movement, mostly incipient, but people are looking for alternatives, and really want to destroy this capitalist society. People in the neighborhoods have no faith in political parties, including those of the Left, which doesn't try to teach them anything and is only interested in how many people it can turn out for a demonstration. But small groups of people, in addition to demanding housing, have started classes in reading, on how they are exploited in the home and have started production and consumer cooperatives...the traditional Left fears this kind of organization, which leaves them without a job. We are trying hard not to reproduce society's class divisions in our own organizations." He himself is involved in a study group on Marx's Capital.

REDISCOVERING MARXISM

Such dissatisfaction not only with the government but also with the established parties of the Left has grown since the collapse of the independent union movement in the late 1970s, when students and intellectuals sought to unite with workers' struggles. One person active in this period said, "Many militants put forth only traditional 'worker demands' in those years, while the masses began fighting the crisis by combining immediate demands with far-reaching political ones. Many militants have been re-evaluating Marx in the past few years, returning to Marx himself after going through theorists who serve only for a month and nothing more.

"We are trying not to separate workers from intellectuals. Struggles over wages and working conditions need mediation so they don't fall into pragmatism. We're not against the fight for better wages—we are all workplace activists—just against the traditional methods. Daily life veils how capitalism functions. We don't believe in a vanguard or in spontaneity alone. There is the potency for revolution here, but for a possibility to become a re-

ality, we need consciousness, not of a small group, but of the masses. As Marx said, 'Theory becomes a weapon in the hands of the masses.'"

Another activist told us, "We are studying Capital—my group spent a year on chapter one—in order to prepare to participate more deeply in the movement. Our discussions with Marxist-Humanism are

May Day, 1886-1986: Labor's struggles past and present



The Haymarket police riot, May 4, 1886, followed the first May Day marches of 80,000 workers in Chicago.

(continued from page 1)

McCormick workers had won a strike in 1885 that restored a 15% wage cut. McCormick responded by introducing machines that eliminated the jobs of the iron molders who had led that strike, and then in February 1886 locked out all the remaining union workers and replaced them with scabs. Chicago police and a private army of 300 Pinkerton detectives had fought daily with picketing McCormick workers.

HAYMARKET IN CHICAGO

A rally to protest the murder of the two picketers was immediately called for May 4 at the Haymarket. When a mob of policemen moved to break up that rally, a bomb thrown by a provocateur which killed one of the policemen became the pretext for framing eight anarchists on murder charges and hanging four of them, and for shutting down Left and workers' newspapers in a general reign of terror.

Bourgeois newspapers trumpeted the lies that have continued for a century, that socialist ideas and workers' agitation were un-American, a foreign infection brought in with immigrants. But what the lies couldn't cover up was the mass workers' movement in the U.S. The mass movement was so overwhelming that anarchists such as Albert Parsons and August Spies, who later became two of the Haymarket martyrs, joined the eight-hour movement despite the fact that they had earlier belittled it.

But the police repression, newspaper lies and even lynch law of Haymarket could not stop the movement for the eight-hour day. The Knights of Labor had betrayed its union members on trial, and equally had betrayed its union principles, by pressing for death for the Haymarket defendants. But the AFL went on to propose to the Second International that from May 1, 1890, May Day become an international workers' holiday in the battle for the eight-hour day.

MAY DAY AND TODAY

Today the best testimony of the ineffectiveness of the organized labor movement in America is the fact that 5.5 million workers labor at jobs for minimum wage or less, many in sweatshops filled with Latino and other immigrant workers which unions have considered beneath their notice. Another 5.5 million workers are officially listed as having been unemployed so long that they draw no benefits at all. They range from ex-workers in the most basic industries in this country, from auto and steel to trucking, and include many youth—especially Black youth—who have never been able to find a job.

Chicago Tribune workers who have been locked out since July by a company that automated away printing jobs can relate to the McCormick Reaper workers of a century ago, and to Marx's observation that "machinery is the most powerful weapon for suppressing strikes, those periodic revolts of the working class against the autocracy of Capital."

Striking meatpackers of Local P-9 in Austin, Minn. no doubt find the situation familiar too. They are battling a similar array of court injunctions, the armed power of the state protecting the Hormel plant and an army of scabs available to take their jobs. Crucially they also face the combined opposition of their own union international and the AFL-CIO.

But the Hormel strike has excited rank-and-file workers nationwide. This May Day its lessons are not only the viciousness of concession-seeking companies, nor of the betrayal of union bureaucrats. Within such strikes are the seeds of a new beginning to the labor movement in America, a new beginning that can recreate an international solidarity and build anew on our May Day traditions of 100 years past.

part of that preparation."

It is this interest, not only in theory in general, but in the specific historic-philosophic contributions of Marxist-Humanism, that we encountered among many. Thus prior to our arrival the journal Criticas de la Economia Politica published two chapters from Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution by Raya Dunayevskaya. A group of young intellectuals around another journal, Itaca, were interested in our concept of Marx's Marxism as a 40-year development of a philosophy of revolution-in-permanence that is distinct from that of all post-Marx Marxism. They wanted to know how Marxist-Humanism's discovery of the "new moments" of Marx's last decade enabled it to create such unique categories as that of post-Marx Marxism as pejorative. One youth in this group told us, "Since the Marx Centenary in 1983, many of us wanted to know what Marx was against what Stalinists, Trotskyists, anarchists, pragmatists said he was. We want to try to develop what Marx was doing for today."

FEMINIST MEETINGS

This kind of effort to relate activity to ideas of freedom can also point to new pathways to women's liberation in Mexico. We spoke at two feminist meetings, one at Cuarto Creciente, a year-and-a-half old feminist center. They are trying to organize a conference of Chicanas and Mexican feminists for this summer. One young woman said in discussion, "Too many people know only Capital and not the Humanist Essays or Ethnological Notebooks. But there are not several Marxes: there is one Marx and he's about new human relations. Why has the feminist movement in the U.S. not tried to develop a closer tie to Marx's Marxism?"

We also spoke at Mujeres de Chopo, a five-year-old feminist center which conducts workshops on "our bodies and our politics" and "women and society." Mer also participate in their discussions on women's sexuality, maternity and paternity, child rearing, and violence.

"The purpose is to learn so we can solve our problems," we were told. "From here women go into feminist and Left groups as activists, not just to sit in cafes. We are in a period of reaction, and there is a great amount of violence against women, because of economic conditions and the move to the right. We are studying questions of power, not for the individual, but to change what we are."

In all these discussions there was intense interest in the freedom struggles against Reagan in the U.S. which the entire media, both Left and Right, ignores. A Reagan intensifies his effort to stifle revolutions, dialogue between the freedom struggles north and south of the border becomes more critical than ever, not just for Latin America, but for the deepening of our struggle against Reagan in the U.S. As the economic crisis in Mexico increases the size and power of the Latino dimension inside the U.S.—some three million are expected to cross the border into the U.S. this year—new bonds can be forged between our struggles. Continuing the dialogue on the urgency of a philosophy of revolution is a good place to begin.

Bi-Weekly Fund Drive

The fund drive for a bi-weekly News & Letters is continuing. Nowhere can the need for our expansion to a bi-weekly be seen more clearly than in looking at the media under Reaganism. "Brainwashed" may be a strong word, but it is an apt one for what has happened to the American press in the midst of this second term of the Reagan presidency.

Where in the 1950s the press helped to play a role in the downfall of McCarthy, today, when McCarthyism is in the very office of the President of the United States, the press and television news has often not only abdicated its simple reportorial role—it often fails to cover solidarity demonstrations, strikes, protests in Black and other minority communities—it has allowed Reagan an Reaganism to determine the ground for "news."

Revolutionary journalism, as News & Letters practicing it, insists on a very different ground than the journalism of the American bourgeois press. For us the ground is two-fold: the revolutionary subjectivity of masses in motion worldwide determined to be free, and the revolutionary objectivity of a philosophy of human freedom, the creation of Marxist-Humanism on the ground of Marx's Humanism.

We want to be able to expand this revolutionary ground for fighting Reagan and Reaganism by transforming News & Letters into a bi-weekly newspaper. Our costs now run well over \$30,000 a year. To be able to begin our bi-weekly we have established a special Bi-Weekly Fund Drive to raise an additional \$10,000. Can you help us?

I am enclosing \$ _____ for Bi-Weekly N&L Fund

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Chicago, IL 60605

YOUTH

Special: freedom dialogue with Philippine youth

Editor's Note: Below we are printing the latest exchange of letters between a young revolutionary in the Philippines, Paul, and the News & Letters youth columnist Ida Fuller, as well as other material received directly from the Philippines.

The student movement in the Philippines: action and thought

Manila, The Philippines

Dear Ida Fuller,

I appreciated your letter and am glad to finally hear from you personally. Ever since I read News & Letters it was your column which has been nearest to my heart. That of course derived from being a student at the University of the Philippines. I have finished my undergraduate years and am currently pursuing a graduate course of study. Our curriculum is very much influenced by the U.S. educational system. Most of the professors here were trained under the liberal democratic tradition which the U.S. has constantly shaped and re-shaped. These professors are conservative in their attitude towards the students and society in general. But they have recently been one with us in some ways in the anti-fascist struggle.

One of my motivations in pursuing a graduate course is actually a reaction against these professors. I want to challenge their ideas. As you can see their ideas are very much influenced by empiricism and positivism, especially in their research works. Hence what we saw and also what I personally saw was the necessity to be involved in ideological struggle against the Right and the dogmatic Left. SURGE (Student Union for the Realization of Genuine Emancipation) as an organization has been a product of this struggle of ideas.

Our confrontation with the dogmatic Left on the level of ideas has created so much furor on the cam-

Student Union for the Realization of Genuine Emancipation

University of the Philippines

We believe that students have a meaningful role in society. We disagree with the conservative idea that students should only worry about their studies in the belief that it is only upon graduation and earning a degree that they would really be of use to society.

We believe that a university education should not be seen simply as a way station by which students become passive recipients of skills and knowledge in their drive for individual success. Instead, the university should be seen as an occasion for genuine learning and for the critical examination of social values. We believe that students are active participants in the quest for a better society. In this regard, we adhere to the following guidelines.

1. The university is a wellspring of knowledge. The acquisition and utilization of knowledge in society are not value-free and ideologically neutral.
2. The university is an institution which contributes to the reproduction of classes in society. It is therefore an arena for ideological contestation. Ideology is a component of power in society.
3. The student movement is ideological in character. Students should be the bearers of a critical consciousness in society...

Filipino youth confront poverty and structures of power

Manila, Philippines—As the majority of Filipinos are wallowing in the worst economic poverty created by the Marcos regime's disastrous policies and his cronies' massive accumulation of wealth, most of the Filipino youth of today are confronted with the dilemma of discontinuing their studies or simply entering the educational system. In the universities in Metro Manila, an urban center, the school fees have tremendously increased to high proportions so that an ordinary low-income family cannot afford to send their children to school. In last year's estimate, more than half of the population in Metro Manila is living below the poverty level and only about 20% controls the total income of the urban center, which accurately portrays the wide disparity between the rich and the poor.

The educational system has been a mere conduit for the capitalists' interests and the global market needs for technically trained and meek youth workers. In challenging this type of educational system, several student groups have launched the boycotting of classes and the barricading of school premises.

A question that has emerged during continuous discussions between different groups in the universities is the question of a REAL alternative to the present educational setup. But it has not totally occupied the thinking of the students. They are still confronted with an empirically-based problem: economic poverty and the destruction of the fascist structures left behind by the Marcos regime.

pus that student political re-alignments have emerged. There were those dogmatic Leftists who came to our side because they knew that their ideas were becoming obsolete. The similarity of our struggle derives from our similar viewpoint about what a revolutionary struggle should be—it must be freed of dogmas. The same formulas catch-phrases (that dominate in the U.S.), dominate the thinking of the student Leftists here. This attitude negates the essence of criticalness and dynamism within the struggle.

Without examining the new existing conditions, these dogmatic Leftists still go on with their sectarian and Vanguardist attitude. They abhor the need to study and re-study existing realities. Praxis was denied of its existence. Theoretical labor was abhorred, since there are ready-made education programs derived from the party education projects.

The affinity that you were speaking of in your letter with the slogan of South Africa youth who boycotted their classes, "Freedom Now, Degrees Later," was actually concretized in the Philippines during the height of the anti-fascist struggle of February 23-26, more commonly called the "People's Power Revolution." Several



Philippine youth and workers marching against Marcos

universities in Metro Manila stopped their operation when these "abnormal" political conditions were sweeping the country. At the height of the civil disobedience call of Cory Aquino, several university student groups demanded a relevant education. It was a spontaneous call of the students: "No to the National Service Law," "Relevance of Education."

Some of my colleagues in SURGE, while reading the literature you sent on the youth movement in America, felt that the student activists in America were rather "romanticist" in their notion about revolution in the Third World, and also in their struggle against the ruling class in the U.S. They observed that activists in the 1960s and '70s were now entrenched in the bureaucracy. That is, they moved from a progressive stand to a little bit reactionary. Here we were referring to the "Yuppies" who were formerly involved in the anti-Vietnam war campaign.

I am sure based on your reports that a lot of American youth are engaged in freedom struggle both there and aboard. I hope we can discuss the activities of your

In one university I visited recently, they are still demanding for the school administration, which during the Marcos years had been the most blatant violator of the student's rights, to step down. In the Polytechnic University of the Philippines, several students were shot at by security guards of the school, apparently to sow terror among the activists. Right now they are fortunate that political events have altered the methods employed by the school administrators.

After several years of struggling against fascism and imperialism, it is seen that imperialism is now establishing and reconsolidating its foothold over the Aquino government. Reagan's super-conservative stance towards the Third World countries and the national liberation movements as seen in the extension of the contra aid, the Casper Weinberger visit to the Philippines to offer military aid for use on "national security" problems, the attacks on Libya, will leave no opening for progressive groups to hold political power.

With a relatively liberal atmosphere pervading in the country it is high time for students and youth to shift gears for another period of intense ideological fermentation. Different ideological tendencies have the freedom to exchange debates unlike before. With these existing conditions, it is hoped that the radical tradition in the student movement will now be advanced to its logical course. Political praxis has indeed become imperative nowadays.

group and our group. We believe in the philosophy of Internationalism as an integral part of creating a truly emancipated human being and nation.

In solidarity towards greater freedom,

Paul

P.S. The chairwoman of SURGE is going to write you on the feminist movement in the Philippines. I will write soon to tell you of the protest movement in the peasantry and with workers that youth were involved in. This summer there are to be several dialogues and plans to integrate the students in our university with the workers, urban poor and peasants. Our group is actively involved in these programs.

The youth movement: a need for revolutionary philosophy

Chicago, Illinois

Dear Paul,

At a time when Reagan's war actions are threatening us daily with the possibility of nuclear annihilation, it is most exciting to receive your serious letter. What impresses me most about your group SURGE, is that you are refusing to accept vulgarized interpretations of Marxism and are instead doing a serious re-examination of it.

While we in the U.S. have not created the "furor" on the campus that youth have in the Philippines, I think many American youth are asking questions about how a revolutionary struggle can be "freed of dogmas." Just this past week I had a chance to participate at a meeting at the University of Illinois at Chicago in which two student activists from South Africa and El Salvador spoke. In the discussion that followed, the first question asked by a young divestment activist was "How can we make sure that when we overthrow right-wing repressive governments, we don't end up with left-wing repressive governments?"

I think in order to answer that question we have to see that our generation has an advantage that no other generation did. We are the generation that has Marx's writings from his last decade when, faced with revolutionary ferment in what we now call the Third World, he projected so deep a concept of "revolution in permanence" that it speaks to us today. And we are the ones who can see that a deep gulf separated Marx's multilinear view of human development from that of all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with his closest collaborator, Fredrick Engels. That is why I consider crucial the reference in your first letter, that "Raya Dunayevskaya's Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, especially her chapter XII, 'The Last Writings of Marx Point a Trail to the 1980's', is indispensable for Marxists who want to re-establish their theoretical foundations on Marx."

When you speak of what happened to the activists from the '60s and '70s, why are they now part of the bureaucracy, I think this is a question that many of us in the U.S. are also asking ourselves. Not for the sake of the past, but for the sake of the '80s generation today. I think we have to ask, What was missing from the beginning in the activism of the 1960s that allowed so many of those activists to transform into their opposite? But to begin to work out an answer to that question, for our generation, I think we have to see why it is that after the turbulent 1960s, and the defeat of the near-revolution in Paris 1968, Raya Dunayevskaya began her Philosophy and Revolution, written after those '60s, not with a description of all those activities, but with a return to Hegel's Absolutes, "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning," tracing first Marx's and then Lenin's return to Hegel.

To me, asking that question which was missing among youth activists in the '60s, could embark the '80s generation of youth on a totally new pathway.

That kind of education is oftentimes not found on the university campus. By this I do not mean to be anti-theoretical. Rather, what I mean is that in university courses whole, magnificent parts of history are ignored or distorted, and Marxism is at most presented only as economic theories and not a philosophy of human liberation. Had it been up to the university, I would have never learned about the magnificent Paris Commune, much less the category Marx made of it as its greatest feature: "its own working existence," not to speak of its impact on the Logic and Humanism of Marx's Capital.

I hope we can expand and deepen the dialogue between American youth and Filipino youth. At a time when Reagan is sending his merchants of death, most prominently Casper Weinberger, to crush revolutionary movements around the world, and threatening to send American youth to fight in a war, nothing is more urgent than our working out an absolute opposite to Reaganism, in thought and in activity.

Yours for freedom,
Ida Fuller

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

South Africa: new organizational forms

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

March and April have seen a further escalation of the pre-revolutionary situation in South Africa, as counter-revolution and revolution reached new heights. Botha's fascist police killed more Black protesters than ever before—including 40 on one single day, March 26—yet, Black resistance grew still stronger in response. The death toll for March alone was a staggering 171. All of this gave the lie to Botha's meaningless revocation of his state of emergency in early March.

Even the very moderate but independent Bishop Tutu declared on April 2: "Our land is burning and bleeding and so I call on the international community to apply punitive sanctions against this government." Unlike his calls for moderation, this long-awaited call for sanctions was buried on the back pages of the press.

The truth is that revolt is deepening in the face of massacre. When 35,000 cheered Winnie Mandela in Kwanobuhle at a March 21 rally as she told the crowd, "What we do not accept and never will is that blood will continue to flow on our side only," their cheers flowed out of a self-recognition of the revolutionary ideas of Mandela as their own. That rally was no spur of the moment affair: it was called to commemorate the Sharpeville massacre of March 21, 1960 and the Uitenhage massacre that very same date in 1985.

Five days later, on March 26, Botha's police mur-

dered 40 people: thirty were gunned down in Bophuthatswana when police opened up on a crowd of 10,000 who had gathered at the police's own invitation to hear their explanation of recent arrests of young activists. Ten youths were killed in Kwazakele when 100 of them tried to burn down a white-controlled liquor store, a symbol of white subjugation of the Black mind.

But it has been Alexandra township outside Johannesburg which has shown the greatest creativity, not only in attacking a factory in the neighboring white community, or in booing Bishop Tutu's calls for moderation before a crowd of 40,000 in February, but in their new form of organization, the Alexandra Action Committee. Listen to Moses Mayekiso, chair of that committee and simultaneously Transvaal secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union, part of the new, powerful COSATU Union Federation.

"We created the action committee because of the divisions that existed. Previously there were AZAPO, the UDF, the Civics, AYCO and the trade unions. We wanted to bridge that gap, so there was an umbrella organization that directs the struggle properly and puts all those organizations together. If the union decided to call a boycott, or AZAPO or anyone, then people don't have to fight one another...people will be able to get proper communication and they can be united on the question."

Women have been particularly active: "In Alexandra the most active people, through the street committees,

etc., are women. Also on the action committee itself, women are on the executive. The treasurer and the assistant treasurer are both women. In the whole structure they are heavily involved in leading roles."

Industrial strikes have also broken out in new forms: "In the metal industry we had more strikes than any other last year. But this year there is going to be a big battle, because straight from the beginning we were involved in a lot of strikes. The workers are using a new tactic now, to occupy the factory, the sit-in, demanding that no one should take over our job—these are our machines and no one else will use them. Two examples are in Asea where two plants went on strike and for three weeks they stayed in the factory. And also at Heggrie Rand where the 2,000 workers sat in for four weeks and won.

"Since any organization that is committed to proper liberation in South Africa has to be socialist, these organizations have to agree with the program that has been adopted by the organized working class. So, instead of building the workers' party, we should channel our needs through the program. The program has got to be open, so we can put forward ideas, then we will see where we go from there."

It is the creative search for new forms of organization equally with the masses' own courage and consciousness that spells the doom of apartheid and the possible unfolding of genuine liberation.

Pakistan opposition

On April 10, hundreds of thousands turned out for the biggest political rally in over a decade as they welcomed home 32-year-old Benazir Bhutto, daughter of former Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and leader of the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy. The elder Bhutto was killed in 1979 by the present ruler, U.S.-supported dictator General Zia ul-Haq. American flags were burned at the rally and crowds shouted "Zia is a dog" and "Zia must go." Bhutto got the biggest cheers when she stated: "Marcos is gone, the president of Haiti is gone, and now another dictator must go."

The week before, another anti-government demonstration had drawn 70,000, as people chanted "Roti, Kapra, Makan" (bread, clothes, shelter). The Pakistani opposition calls Zia's use of religion for political ends the same as Duvalier's reactionary use of voodoo in Haiti. His terrorizing of the opposition with the use of armed fundamentalist goon squads and Afghan guerrillas is called the "Pakistani Tontons Macoutes."

The new wave of opposition actually began in 1983 with the massive women's demonstrations against Zia's reactionary Islamic laws. These were led by the Women's Action Forum. Benazir Bhutto's opposition, based in her father's Pakistan Peoples Party, represents less of a fundamental challenge, especially given her own view that Islam can form a basis for women's liberation.

Poland's "reform"

Crushed militarily in 1981, Poland's Solidarnosc movement lives on, conducting hunger strikes and resistance even inside the prisons. The newest development is from the youth whose "Peace and Freedom" group has meant young men refusing to take the oath of allegiance to Russia when drafted into the army. So far 70 are in jail, supported by demonstrations outside. All developments are publicized to the entire population—and the world—by the most extensive underground press ever set up inside a totalitarian state.

Under Jaruzelski, Poland's economic "reforms" include more direct power of the military and the secret police within the CP, joining the International Monetary Fund, allowing Western capitalist plants to invest directly, and closing down "inefficient" plants and laying off workers. In short, there is continued totalitarian single-party rule with the additives of more direct military and police involvement in the leadership and a bit of Reaganomics. All of this is proudly dubbed "radical reform" by the Polish General and his cronies, and hailed as the "new" by Gorbachev.

Haiti: the uprooting continues to deepen

Operation Dechoukaj (Uprooting) of the old Duvalier system continues, threatening to topple the U.S.-installed interim regime of General Namphy. Strikes, barricades and roadblocks are paralyzing the land. Most serious was the demonstration of over 10,000 in Port-au-Prince on March 25, where the youthful crowd carried signs such as "Down with Namphy," "Leave the palace today." It was called by the Komite Inite Demokratik (Committee to Initiate Democracy) which made 17 specific demands, including removing Tontons Macoutes from the Army, an end to the curfew, and bringing the Duvalierist butchers to trial.

On April 6, 20,000 unemployed rioted when they showed up to apply for jobs at the Ministry of Public Works, only to discover that there were no jobs.

On April 4, ten peasants delivered a letter to the government demanding return of their land, originally stolen by top Tonton Macoute Luckner Cambonne: "We have been waiting since 1963 and our patience is exhausted. We are ready to act, no matter what the consequences" (Haiti-Observateur, April 11-18). They had been forced at gunpoint to turn over the deeds to their land in exchange for a small amount of money. The land then became a big commercial farm for Cambonne.

The day before, on April 3, more than 10,000 people came out in the capital for a demonstration called by the newly-formed Women's League. Signs



Women marchers in Haiti

carried by the women marchers demanded "Equal pay for equal work" and "Stop sexual harassment of young women on the job" (Haiti-Progres, April 9-15). They pointed out that Haitian women, 60% of the population, insist on full participation in all decision-making about the future, including uprooting of sexist laws and practices.

Kwangju, South Korea

Kwangju's Democracy Square, as it is popularly called since the mass demonstrations there during the 1980 Kwangju Insurrection, was on March 30 the site of South Korea's largest protest rally since that revolt was drowned in blood by the troops of now-President Chun with U.S. complicity. Over 50,000 people came out to demand democracy as 35 bus loads of imported riot police hid in alleys and police stations.

Though the bourgeois media covering the mass rallies view them as concerning only direct elections, student protests and occupations throughout the country have for years been drawing attention to the Kwangju Insurrection, the only democracy in the history of South Korea. After the March 30 rally ended 1,000 students and mothers of some of the 2,600 people killed in 1980 marched through the streets until they were attacked by police, who arrested 69.

The government imposed new restrictions on protests April 1, warning that it "can't tolerate" anti-government rallies, but that didn't stop over 30,000 people from rallying in Taegu April 5. While leaving the main rally alone, the police fired tear gas at 5,000 students marching separately and denouncing Chun and his support from the U.S. The slight easing of repression against the moderate opposition coupled with undiminished attacks on student activism reveals the government's special fear of those who stray from the narrow focus on elections.

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

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

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