

# Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

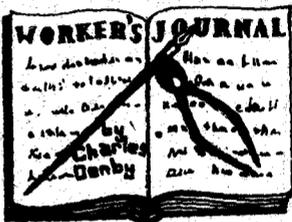
'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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## CHARLES DENBY, WORKER-EDITOR

Charles Denby, Editor 1955-1983

Author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*

Below we print Charles Denby's last statement written for the 1983 *News and Letters Constitutional Convention*.

As you know, I have been ill, and just in case the doctor will not allow me to attend and address this Constitutional Convention, I wanted to say a few words to all of you about my thoughts and feelings at this moment in the life of our organization. I feel very strongly about what this Marx centenary means to me — and what Marxism means to me — a movement to change the world totally. This year we have taken big steps in that direction, historic steps.

First, we have finally in our hands the whole "trilogy of revolution". Anyone can see and read what Marxist-Humanism has represented over nearly 30 years since our founding, since our first Constitutional Convention. All my life in the movement we have seen how many parties have turned Marx's philosophy into its opposite. But now we can say to everyone: "Here is Marx's philosophy of liberation," and we know that it is the path to freedom.

Second, we have published an expanded new edition of *American Civilization on Trial*. I was very glad that Raya's new essay in it took up Marx's view of the Black world, and our own work. We have always spoken about and practiced the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa in the ideas of freedom, and it is as clear in *American Civilization on Trial* as it is in *Philosophy and Revolution* and in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. But the reason I am most happy that it is being published now, is that it can help the movement reach a new stage.

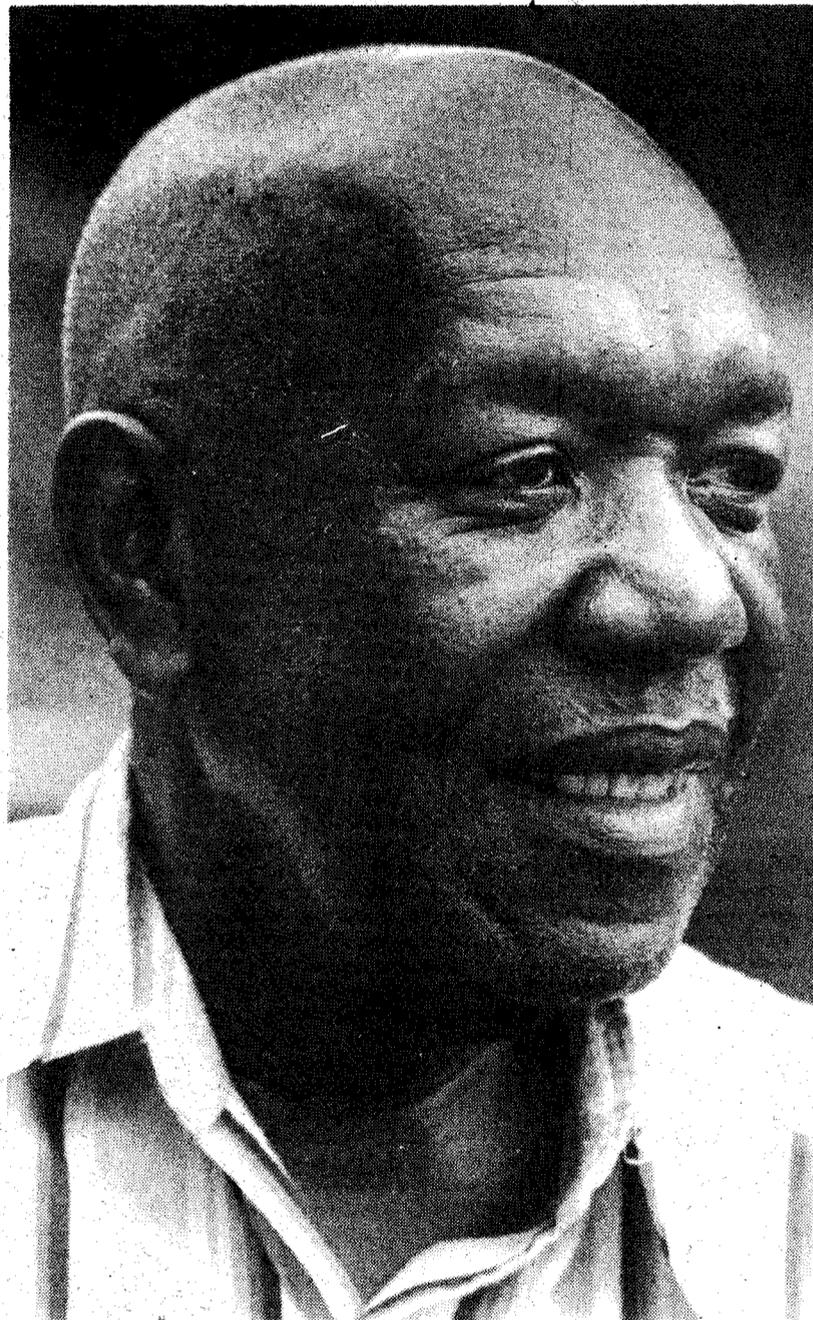
I am thinking about the March on Washington. I was active in the 1943 March on Washington Movement. It was the greatest thing we had ever tried up to that time. Even though the Communist Party opposed it, the March idea spread everywhere across the country. But finally I was so sad when A. Philip Randolph compromised and called off the March. The March on Washington in 1963 was very different for two reasons. First because we went through with it and held it, with a quarter of a million people, despite a lot of pressure against the march, even from the President. But second, because I carried with me the new edition of *American Civilization on Trial* we had just published, with the true history of this country, including the story of 1943. And I sold it to many people. Now we are going again in 1983, with our new edition, not only because we want to get rid of Reagan, but because we will meet many people who are searching for a totally different way of life along with us.

One reason I feel certain of that is the reaction I experienced to the new edition of my own autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. You know when I was in the hospital I sold 25 or more copies, most to hospital workers. One woman came and visited me at home, and she said it was too bad I had got so old now

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Charles Denby, 1907-1983

by Raya Dunayevskaya,  
Chairwoman, National Editorial Board

The 75 years of Charles Denby's life are so full of class struggles, Black revolts, freedom movements that they illuminate not only the present but cast a light even on the future. At the same time, because his autobiography — *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* — reaches back into the far past when, as a child during World War I, he asked questions of his grandmother as she told tales of her slavery days, readers suddenly feel they are witness there to the birth of a revolutionary.

I first met Denby in 1948 when he had already become a leader of wildcats, a "politico," but the talk I heard him give of tenant farming in the South and factory work in the North was far from being a "political speech." Listening to him, you felt you were witnessing an individual's life that was somehow universal, and that touched you personally. You feel that when you hear him tell of his first strike:\*

I remember the first strike I ever led. It was over the discrimination against Black women workers in our shop. It was during World War II when I was at Briggs and I was so new in the shop I didn't even know what a strike was. I was working in the dope room where you put glue on the airplane wing. The fumes and odor were so bad we had no appetite left by lunchtime ... The women had been talking about their husbands who were in the service in Germany — and here they couldn't even get a job in the sewing room next door. That was for white women only. These things just burned us up ... On the day that we walked out, they locked the gates on us. By that time other workers inside the factory were out with us ... It wasn't until the company sent for me as the "strike leader" that I had realized what we had actually done.

Recently — not for any reasons of nostalgia but because we were discussing the question of robotics and what forms of organization were needed to fight the labor bureaucracy that has been helping management wring concessions from the workers — Denby began talking about what had happened when Automation was first introduced. He was talking about the Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 when the continuous miner had first been introduced into the mines.

It was when the government threw the Taft-Hartley law at the miners and John L. Lewis ordered the miners back to work that the miners refused, organized their own rank-and-file Relief Committees, and appealed to other workers throughout the country for help. Denby recalled the miners who had come up from West Virginia to his local:

I remember that the bureaucrats were not too hot about the idea. They didn't dare come right out and oppose it, but you could tell they weren't enthusiastic, like the rank-and-file were. But our enthusiasm was so strong that by the time the meeting ended the bureaucrats had to triple the amount they had intended to give. After that, the miners knew they had to talk directly to the rank-and-file. At Local 600 the workers not only gave several thousand dol-

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### INDIGNANT HEART

a memorial meeting for Charles Denby  
Editor, *News & Letters*, 1955-1983  
author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*

Sunday  
November 6  
3:30 PM

Unitarian Church  
4605 Cass (at Forest)  
Detroit

\*See "Black Caucasuses in the Unions," Appendix to *American Civilization on Trial*.

## WOMAN AS REASON

Dear Sisters,

I was excited to recently read in the feminist newspaper *off our backs* (October, 1983) a short essay by radical feminist poet and writer Adrienne Rich on her trip last July to Nicaragua. What is clear is the deep effect that seeing a country in revolutionary process has had on her.

She writes: "I felt the absurdity of travelling to a four-year-old, evolving, U.S.-beleaguered society, carrying in hand an agenda from U.S. feminism which we expect that society to answer for or be written off. Listening to and learning from the women and men dedicated to creating a new Nicaraguan society felt more urgent, more necessary to my own feminist politics, than pressing the question of abortion, which is still illegal there."

### CONCRETE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

It is not that she capitulates for one instant to any uncritical Third Worldism or anti-feminist tendency: "The issue of women's rights over our own bodies is, of course, not just a U.S. priority; it's a global one," she stresses. But the point is always: what is the concrete unfolding of the revolutionary process, how are women's ideas being elicited and expressed, how are women living and growing and talking together and changing their lives.

She writes, above all, with deep respect for Nicaraguan women, a clear-sighted view of women consciously acting on the historic stage.

Such a view is, unfortunately, far from universal amongst feminists; in fact, another radical feminist, Andrea Dworkin, has recently come out with a new book, *Right-wing Women\**, that emphasizes a very different perspective. Moving theoretically in the opposite direction from Rich's engagement with concrete women in a particular revolution, Dworkin's book is throughout an arrogant dismissal of just such women — indeed, of all that women have done and are doing, alive and thinking and striving for freedom.

She makes the fantastic assertion that most women ac-

\* Perigree Books, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1983.

## Voices raised against domestic work slavery

Detroit, Mich. — As an unemployed Black woman in bleak economic times, I was overjoyed when I was first employed as a live-in housekeeper three years ago. But I was quickly saddened by the sub-human working conditions I found. When you work as a domestic you are at your employer's whim. You can be fired just because your employer is cranky that day. I've been fired because my employer thought I took too long to go to the store and back.

You have to do everything they say and never have anything to say about it yourself. They may have a special rag for this and a different rag for that, and if you use the wrong rag, watch out. It is completely unfair and there is nobody you can turn to to back you up. You just have to keep working and hope they don't get mad at you.

Let's face it. It's not only a heavy and hard job, it's a job that not everyone can do. You certainly can't get a robot to replace a domestic worker! But they make you feel worthless because you have to take whatever they throw at you, and never say a word. I've had one client throw a napkin on the floor because she thought I had used it.

I've had clients who rang little bells to summon me — you hear the bell and you're supposed to run. I've had to deal with chemicals that are hazards. I've had clients who are afraid you're going to eat their food — if they hear the refrigerator door opening they come running to see what you're doing.

Domestic work could be a worthwhile job — if the workers doing this job could just get organized to protect themselves from all the kinds of punishment we are subject to. But there is no protection, whether that is from being accused of stealing something or whether it is from injuring yourself falling off a ladder.

I have talked with many women, who work at all kinds of places, and all are in the same plight. Most are minorities, Blacks or Latinas, most have no skills other than domestic ones, and all have to survive. The employers don't want you to have any skills. The last job I got fired from was because I wanted to go to school, and my hours had to be adjusted, and they insisted I had to work for them the hours I had to be in school.

My account is just an individual one, but talking with so many other workers, all with statements similar to mine, gave me the support to voice the struggle of all domestic workers. It is more than time for somebody to speak out about our conditions. Mary McClendon started to do some of this much-needed organizing in Detroit, but where has it gotten us? I was one of the plaintiffs with her in a class action suit against the city — it's such a long process that you wind up nowhere. Before any changes can be made, all domestic workers have to band together and fight for fair and just union representation.

## Rich's feminist dialogue

quiesce to the given order of male domination; only a rare few have the courage to rebel — this after 15 years of a Women's Liberation Movement that has spread massively to every corner of this earth!

### DWORKIN'S ABSTRACTIONS

Dworkin sees not the power and potential of the global Women's Liberation Movement, but considers women's liberation a hopeless movement of the powerless, "a political movement rooted in a closed system of subordination." (p. 236) She doesn't see women as revolutionary Subjects, and so has nowhere to go other than the dismal fatalism with which the book ends.

Interestingly, Dworkin chooses at one point to quote from Marx's 1875 Critique of the Gotha Program on the new society operating on the principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need." She calls this "Marx's greatest ethical idea" (p. 190), but doesn't see that, for Marx, it was not a question of "ethics," and "ideal" but the culmination of Marx's 40-year-long development of a philosophy of social revolution, a philosophy which has at its heart the human being as thinker and doer, the creator of the new society. That perspective makes revolution neither "ethics" nor abstraction, but a concrete historical task, the challenge we now face in this degenerate nuclear age.

This brings me back again to Rich, who states, "I came home from Nicaragua convinced that . . . we need to talk about the ways this society has influenced our mental images of revolution." It is not alone the Nicaraguan Revolution that Rich wants to see flower (if only it could have room to breathe, free of the terror of U.S.-backed counter-revolution). It is also the American Revolution that she, as a feminist, wants to help make.

For far too long, too many radical and socialist feminists have consigned "revolution" to the realm of far-distant future or fantasy or folly. Rich's serious call for a feminist dialogue on the relationship between feminism and revolution is welcome and necessary in these difficult and often dispiriting times. — Michelle Landau



## women-worldwide

The General Motors Corporation agreed to a \$42.5 million settlement of a race and sex discrimination case filed in 1973 by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. However a spokeswoman for the National Organization for Women attacked the settlement as inadequate because rather than provide money for claims of discrimination, the bulk of the money will be used for executive training programs for supervisors, and counselling. The percentage of women in GM's workforce in 1982 was 17%, of minorities, 17.5%, both lower percentages than in 1978.

A liberalized abortion law was passed in early October by the Spanish Parliament allowing for abortions in cases of rape, malformed fetus or danger to the mother's life. However feminist groups, who say 300,000 women have illegal abortions every year, held demonstrations outside Parliament for three days to demand legislation for free abortion on demand.

Arab political activists in Israel and the social workers' union protested a law increasing children's allowances for larger families which is before the Knesset. The law discriminates against Arab families as the allowances are only to families in which someone has served in the Israeli Defense Forces (Arabs cannot serve). It as well gives a bonus to families who have children attending yeshivas (Jewish religious schools). A demonstration with kindergarten children in front of the Knesset and a strike of the schools are planned.

from Israelf

Rita Silk-Nauni, a 35-year-old Lakota Indian woman imprisoned after the 1979 shooting of a police officer who was beating her ten-year-old son, has just been denied an appeal for rehearing by the Oklahoma State Court of Criminal Appeals. She is currently in need of money for her defense. Please send contributions to: The Native American Center, 2900 South Harvey Street, Oklahoma City, Okla.

Linda Palmore has appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court a decision by Florida Circuit Judge Morison Buck which stripped her of custody rights to her five-year-old daughter, Melanie. Ms. Palmore had had custody until she married a Black man, then her ex-husband sued for custody of his daughter. Judge Buck ruled in his favor, saying Melanie would suffer from "social stigmatization."

## Report on women's liberation in Japan

I was recently in Japan, and had the exciting opportunity of meeting with many Japanese feminists. That they are facing deep obstacles is evident from even an examination of their language. For example, the Japanese character for "noise" is a house with three women in it.

I attended a conference of the Asian Women's Association, a group formed in 1977. (They publish a beautiful yearly English-language magazine, with translations from their Japanese journal. It is available from Asian Women's Association, Poste Restante, Shibuya Post Office, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 150, Japan.) The conference was attended by 40 women, including a doctor, a translator, a textile worker, office workers and a woman who sells vegetables.

The conference focus was the problems of sexuality affecting Asian women. One of the main speakers talked about the "sex tours" of Japanese men, both to other Asian countries and within Japan itself. She discussed how the horrible conditions and poor pay of women workers in all Southeast Asia force many women to turn to prostitution. In Japan itself it is Korean women who are especially discriminated against.

Another woman spoke of the Japanese abortion laws, and how the right-wing is trying to change the law so that women would no longer be able to get an abortion for economic reasons.

There was also a discussion on the whole system of marriage, and how women are looked upon as not being "complete" unless married. One woman described her job search, and how employers continually asked her why she was not married, stating that there must be something "wrong" with her. (She is over 30, and had quit her previous job as a company pre-employment investigator because she was required to investigate the personal likes and political beliefs of prospective employees.) The only job she was able to find was a part-time one.

I was asked to address the conference, and I conveyed to them how many of their concerns and struggles were the same as those of women in the U.S.; I also said I was excited at the way they were involving themselves in many issues for social change.

I presented the Marxist-Humanist perspective of the unity of feminism and Marxism, as developed in Raya Dunayevskaya's book on Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation*, and Marx's *Philosophy of Revolution*, and spoke of Marx's concept of the Man/Woman relationship being the test of how human a society is.

The women asked many questions, and many told me that they never thought they would meet an American woman with the kind of ideas I had spoken about.

I came away from these discussions with the feeling that Japanese women face even more barriers than American women. Yet it is refreshing to see such a multi-dimensional, internationalist women's movement in such a patriarchal country. I certainly hope to continue this dialogue in the future.

— Judy Stewart

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## On reading Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal

# Worker's life in the process of becoming

What Felix Martin wrote about his colleague Charles Denby's book *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* is an appreciation of the full life and work of Charles Denby. It is reprinted here from *N&L*, January-February, 1979.

by Felix Martin, Co-Editor

In the mountains where I grew up, those who couldn't get a job in the mines, and who needed something to eat, sharecropped. They were the really poor, and used the corn raised to buy a few other things and for moonshine. The cropping in our area meant you supplied your labor while the man furnished the land, the tools and the seed. Where I was raised it was only white. There weren't any Blacks.

How much rougher it is when your skin is Black. Charles Denby, my friend and editor of *News & Letters*, has just had his *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* published and one chapter deals with sharecropping. In the deep South, where sharecropping was not white and white, but Black and white, the plantation owner gave only the land. The tools and seed and everything else was for the cropper to supply, and you always wound up in a hole to the plantation owner. Certainly the struggle of Appalachian white and Southern Black is similar, but that struggle is deeper and rougher if you are Black.

All through the first part of *Indignant Heart* I felt this kinship with Denby's life, that part of my life resembled his, and at the same time the depth of experience and struggle was profoundly Black. For the Black, a run-in with the law was devastating whether guilty or not. Where I was raised we didn't pay attention to the law. We created our own.

When you come to the North, on the surface—for Blacks—it looks free. You can sit where you want. But then Denby explains how he often felt more at home entering through the back door in the South where he knew where they stood, than the front door in the North where there was such hypocrisy. I remember my own mountain accent in the North and how people would think of us as stupid mountain people. In Indiana where I first worked after coming North, my revolt against the conditions of work was immediately answered with the call of being just a dumb hillbilly striking out.

Denby in the North found that his slavery was to the boss and machine in place of the plantation owner. In speaking of Auto in the first part of the book he is profound. Twenty-five and more years ago (the first part of the book was written in the early '50s) he was seeing so much on the question of Black and white, of men and women and of conditions of labor—all in the plant—that he anticipates so many of the struggles of workers in the '60s and '70s, like the Black caucuses, and women in the plant, and most especially the fight of workers against the machines, speed-up and against the labor bureaucracy.

## McDonnell Douglas strike against concessions

Los Angeles, Cal. — Thousands of Southern California McDonnell Douglas workers hit the picket lines and went on strike Oct. 17 when management demanded a new contract full of all kinds of concessions. Management is asking to hold down wage increases, and actually offers cost-of-living increases only to the higher paid workers. The UAW is asking for a better retirement program and re-training for workers laid off due to new technologies.

But as a long-term UAW member I can see that the UAW leadership has already accepted the ground of McDonnell Douglas. That is because the UAW accepts the principle that the workers will have to make some concessions. In fact, union officials were handing out leaflets at the picket lines that read, "We didn't want the strike, but management forced us into it."

What I want to know is, what right has McDonnell Douglas to ask for wage and benefit concessions, and what right has the UAW leadership to even think of giving in to them on even one? If there is one place in the economy where Reagan is throwing around money, it is for the munitions manufacturers like McDonnell Douglas. So how can they cry poverty?

At the Long Beach plant (which produces aircraft), 36,000 used to work. Today, only 6,000 work there. That is the result of all this Automation and robots being brought onto the line. Many of the workers are now reaching retirement age, and McDonnell Douglas knows there are fewer workers paying into the retirement fund. So what is going to be left for the retirees?

The strike can turn into something great if workers take it as a beginning to do something new. That means listening to their own voice and acting on it and not giving into the ground of management or union leadership.

— Laid-off auto worker

The second part of the book, which deals with the last 25 years of Denby's life is one in which you really see where you are going. It begins with Denby returning South, only it is a very different South. It is a South of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. It is a South of a people on the move. And the North that Denby continues to write of, not alone as observer, but as participant is now a very different North.

This movement of the Black struggle, of workers against capital, certainly puts the stamp on the second part of the book. It allows a life in the process of becoming to have a certain direction, to find a way to go, and to, in turn, help give a certain direction to the freedom movement.

But it is not the movement alone which did this. The last 25 years of Denby's life has been as editor of this newspaper, *News & Letters*, a workers paper. That experience as writer and thinker together with the development of a body of freedom ideas—Marxist-Humanism—puts its stamp on Denby's self-development as a revolutionary.

And it is here where my kinship with him is strongest. I have not had his years in association with *News & Letters* Committees. But in the time I have been with them, that self-development of Denby as an individual and as part of this body of freedom ideas, all of which is so forcefully presented in *Indignant Heart*, I have felt within myself. Thus my becoming has taken on a certain pathway toward something very, very different, new and human.

To some of my fellow workers, those who have struggled all their lives and are continuing to struggle, I want to take this book and say, "Look, read this. Here you are." To those who are beginning to struggle and open their eyes I want to say, "Here is a book in which you will find some of yourself." Indeed, anyone who has anything human within them will be able to find something of themselves in this book.

## WORKER'S JOURNAL

(continued from page 1)

just when so much new was coming out of my life and thoughts. She said she had never known about Marx or his ideas before, but she wished she had read my book years ago.

The year coming up is the year our Marxist-Humanist organization will grow, because we will put our shoulders to the wheel. The bourgeoisie understands that idea very well. They push workers to get the most production. Workers understand it too. They have to live with it every day in the plant. But now I think it's about time all of us put our shoulders to the wheel for a different purpose — freedom. And we won't stop until we have a human society in this country and in this whole world. This is what we are all living for.

— Aug. 13, 1983

(Children born today have before them) "the most revolutionary period which human beings have ever had to live through. It is not good to be so old that one is capable only of foreseeing and not of seeing."

— Karl Marx to Jenny Marx, April 29, 1881

## Union shares company's fear of workers' ideas

Chicago, Ill. — I had a hearing at work because I was suspended. The boss even called the union president saying how bad she wanted to fire me. The only reason I got to keep my job was because other workers stood up for me — some Black women went to the union hall the same day I was suspended and told the union president off. The union president partially helped me.

It was partial because in the hearing I said that I had gotten burned doing the job and I showed the boss the burn on my arm. I said the job isn't safe, because it is too close to another work area. When I asked the union about it, it was just too much to ask. They said, "You were just nervous". The company and the union asked at this hearing what kind of a home life did I have. The boss says to me: "Are you married? Do you have a boyfriend?" A union friend said, "You don't have to answer that."

### PAIN AND BURNS

What I wanted to say was that I am not crazy even though you two, the company and the union, are sticking together. Pain hurts, and most of the women workers there can't wear short sleeves. They want to hide their arms because they are marked so badly. It is such dangerous work.

We want to get together to make the job safer. To do so you would have to cut some production down, because that job is so close to another one. There is a conveyor right over my head so that the worker doing the job next to me can finish the job and throw it into a basket and



by John Marcotte

No one wants to be shop steward. No honest worker, that is. There was almost a fight in the assembly department of my plant because the steward acts like such a damn supervisor, rats on workers and plays favorites. I asked a couple of the workers, if everyone is so disgusted with her, why don't they make the union hold a vote and get rid of her.

They told me, "We never voted for her. She just pushed herself forward and said she was going to be steward. The only worker we wanted to be steward, because she's a fighter, said she had enough trouble with the boss. She said if she was steward the boss wouldn't leave her alone till she quit or got fired, which is what happened to the last steward."

I have found this to be the case in shop after shop, and I am sure it is true throughout the land. There are only two kinds of workers that I know who want to be steward: those with personal gain in mind, and radicals. Those workers in assembly told me they'd be glad to just get rid of their steward and have no one be steward, just deal directly with the boss. But neither the company nor the union will allow that.

The fact is that workers are rejecting the whole institution of shop steward in refusing to run for the position. That leaves the position open for the whole lot of jokers, corrupt and scared individuals who we are saddled with. But that doesn't even really matter because workers have given up on the very unions that these individuals supposedly represent.

A former steward in the direct mail industry was telling me that he resigned as steward because, "If you do a good job representing your people, not only will the union not back you up, but sooner or later they will turn on you and try to get you out of the way." And it's true that the radical stewards who come along now and then do tend to get fired.

That happened in one shop I was in. The union wouldn't get him his job back, and no one wanted the position. So the foreman pushed this guy who drank on the job to be steward. Then the way they worked it was, the plant manager would pass the word to the general foreman, who passed it on to the foreman, who would call over the steward to tell us what the line was, like we were staying in the bathroom too long or whatever. That's all he was good for, he was so scared of losing his job.

The stewards we've got are as good as the unions we've got. When workers in my shop complained to the organizer about their steward rating on them when they go to the bathroom he told them, "The steward has the responsibility to see to it everyone does their job." When working people begin to once again form their own organizations the natural leaders among them will also arise, as has happened in every labor struggle big and small.

send it to shipping. If you were to make it safer, you couldn't do it as fast. So that is less profit for the boss.

When I came in the door for the hearing, the union president was so very friendly with the boss. We had been told earlier during a strike that the reason the union president never came over is that he doesn't get along with the boss. But at the hearing it was like they were cousins or best friends.

### UNION FEARS WORKERS

Ever since the Chrysler concessions, the unions are becoming more and more the workers' second enemy. Instead of helping the workers, they are becoming more and more the best friend of the company. They both fear the same thing. The union told me I had to cut down on my talking, and the company told me I had to cut down on my talking.

They fear that if they can't get rid of me some workers will be coming over and sticking up for me. They fear workers organizing, because the more you talk the better you get to know each other. If the union fears what the company fears, it just shows they are our second enemy.

More and more you hear in the plants workers saying, well we can't afford our union dues anymore. We only get a raise once a year — last year only ten cents, and this year 25 cents to extend the contract another year. And when problems come up and they ask their union for help, they get almost nothing from them.

— Woman worker

# Philippine masses move to topple Marcos, close up U.S. bases

by Peter Wermuth

The total inability of Ferdinand Marcos and his dictatorial-military clique to conceal their responsibility for the brutal murder of Benigno Aquino was again shown Oct. 10, when the government-appointed commission to investigate the murder resigned rather than participate in Marcos' cover-up. So discredited is Marcos' rule that even Reagan decided to postpone his long-scheduled visit to the Philippines, though it was Reagan who had George Bush tell Marcos in 1981 that "we love your adherence to democratic principles."

That Reagan chose to postpone his visit now hardly means U.S. imperialism intends to let go of its economic and military grip over the Philippines without a fight. It does mean that anger at Aquino's murder has unleashed so deep, so continuous, so multi-dimensional a mass struggle as to reduce to seeming impotence a ruler who but weeks before appeared one of the most powerful dictators on earth.

## THE DEPTH OF THE MASS REVOLT

The strength of that mass opposition to Marcos lies in its ability to draw support from ever-deeper layers of the Philippine populace, as shown Oct. 12 when over 10,000 women marched through the streets of Manila demanding an end to dictatorship. A week earlier the protest movement spread to the Tondo slum district, where conditions of unspeakable poverty prevail within sight of the luxurious headquarters of multi-national corporations. Almost every day new protests are reported, many of them by students and unemployed youths chanting "Revolution and Freedom!"

The depth of the mass revolt was revealed within ten days of Aquino's murder, when over two million lined the streets of Manila to observe his funeral procession. It was the largest demonstration in Philippine history. Though Aquino's murder became the catalyst for the protests, they far transcend the single fact of his slaying, and much of the opposition is well to the left of Aquino's own politics. On Sept. 21 a mass demonstration of 500,000 (on the 11th anniversary of the declaration of martial law) coupled demands of "Justice for Ninoy" with calls for an end to censorship, military harassment, economic hardship and the presence of U.S. bases in the Philippines. Marcos responded by letting his troops open fire on a group of students demonstrating near the national palace. By the end of the evening, 11 lay dead.

That Marcos shows every sign of trying to hang onto power through brute force was shown not only in this action but in his threat to reimpose martial law, which was in effect from 1972 to 1981. His threats are backed up by the 170,000-strong Armed Forces of the Philippines (regularly used to curb internal dissent) and continued support from the Reagan Administration, which funnels over \$500 million yearly in direct military aid into his regime.

Rather than signalling any intention of backing off from Marcos' war against his domestic rivals, Reagan's decision to forego a visit to Manila was based on fear of a repeat of Eisenhower's experience in Japan in 1960, when mass demonstrations prevented him from landing. Most opposition leaders expected over a million demonstrators to "greet" Reagan at Manila airport.

## WORKERS STRIKE AT U.S. BASES

What no amount of repression can contain is the creativity of the masses, who have fought the dictatorship with strikes and demonstrations, silent vigils and armed struggles, walk-outs and sit-ins, all of them massive. Thus, on Oct. 2, over 20,000 Filipino workers at the two largest U.S. bases outside the U.S., Clark Air Force Base and Subic Bay Naval Base, went on strike for higher wages, while workers nationwide demanded an immediate increase in the official minimum wage of \$2.45 a day, which is often not even enforced.

Student demonstrations have been continuous at the University of the Philippines and Far Eastern University, while students at the National College of Business Administration in Quezon City coupled demands for Marcos' resignation with calls for a rollback of recently imposed tuition fee increases.

One of the most striking features of the opposition is the



Philippine demonstrators march against Marcos, burn effigy of Reagan.

participation of the business classes, who took to the streets continuously in late September and October asking for Marcos to resign. These rallies and protests, involving up to 10,000 white collar workers and businessmen at a time in the Makati section of Manila, illustrate the degree to which Marcos has lost even middle class support, and recalls the final days of the Shah during the Iranian revolution of 1978-79 when the bourgeoisie deserted him and threw in their lot with the anti-government forces.

But while the business classes are clearly maneuvering for recognition as a "moderating force" that can steer the movement away from social revolution (preferably, in their eyes, through an alliance with Cardinal Sin who has called for "critical collaboration" with the regime) they neither constitute the movement's leadership nor do they have organizational control of it. One aspect of the opposition is what the Western press has disdainfully called "the fragmented nature of the opposition" meaning that no one party controls.

The organizations participating in the opposition range from the moderate and non-revolutionary UNIDO (which Aquino headed), to the more radical groupings around Jose Diokno (who heads the Coalition Against the U.S. Bases), to the revolutionary New Democratic Front, to scores of other independent groupings. It is precisely this multi-organizational and multi-dimensional character of the struggle which has focused world attention on the anti-Marcos movement and broadened the struggle to one demanding a fundamental transformation in the political, economic and social crises gripping the nation.

## THE STRUGGLE IN RURAL AREAS

Neither is the struggle confined to Manila; in October a coalition formed in Cebu (500 miles south of Manila) to organize a tax boycott, and throughout the rural areas resistance to Marcos is strong (70% of the Filipino people live in the countryside). The guerrillas of the New People's Army, who first began their fight against Marcos in

## In England

### Attacks on Asian youth

London, England — Around 1,000 people joined a march through Newham, East London, on Saturday, Sept. 24, to demonstrate in support of the Newham Eight, eight Asian youths charged with conspiracy. One year ago they were arrested after they had organised defence against racist attacks. In the two weeks prior to their arrest there had been three attacks by fascist white youth on Asian school-children.

With the total failure of the police to defend them, youths in the community organised their own defence of the children. The youths were subsequently attacked by three armed white men who turned out to be plain clothes policemen. The youths were arrested and are due to be in court at the end of October facing charges from actual bodily harm to conspiracy. The campaign formed after the arrests last year under the banner "Self Defence is No Offence," following the success of the Bradford Twelve.

After the demonstration there was a lively meeting of 200-300 people and a number of speakers. The chair of the Defence Campaign explained how there were spontaneous pickets and protests after the event and that the whole Asian community was outraged against the police. "The police are engaged in conspiracy to frame eight Asian youths and in spite of independent eyewitnesses and community abhorrence the police increased the temper from breach of the peace to conspiracy. It is the fascists who are conspiring to attack us, but the police sit at home when we are beaten up. We will face the police. We will face the state itself. Self defence is no offence," he said to thunderous applause.

— Nigel Quinten

Central Luzon in the early 1970s, now operate in two-thirds of the provinces and are a major threat to the regime. They currently control 20% of the Barangays (townships) and on Oct. 2, inflicted the most serious defeat to date against government forces in Zamboanga.

The rural opposition has long had the dimensions of a national liberation struggle, with a Moslem insurgency in the south and one of the Igorot people in the North. While the Moro National Liberation Front is not as threatening a power as several years ago, the Moslem minority (who constitute 5% of the population) have for the first time joined forces with sectors of the non-Moslem opposition. In Negros Occidental a new coalition of workers and human rights groups, the Hugbong, has formed.

The persistence of the rural insurgencies is not only a testament to the depth of opposition to Marcos, but also a link of continuity with a century of peasant and anti-imperialist struggle within the countryside. It took U.S. imperialism four years to quell an indigenous anti-imperialist struggle when it tried to seize the Philippines as a colony after the Spanish-American war, at the cost of thousands of dead U.S. troops and 600,000 martyred Filipinos. The great Hukbalahap revolt in Luzon of 1946-54 was one of the most important peasant revolts in this century and was quelled only through massive U.S. counter-insurgency.

One Filipino student active in the anti-Marcos movement in the U.S. told us, "When I was growing up in the Philippines we heard a lot of stories about these revolutionary heroes. The thing everyone hated about Marcos was that when he came in he built himself up as the big hero and tore down the statues of the revolutionaries that the peasants built. That's the worst thing about him. When the people fight Marcos, they are not only fighting against his personal rule. They are also fighting to recapture the revolutionary legacy that is so much a part of our country."

## U.S. IMPERIALISM IN PHILIPPINES

By far the most militarily entrenched force, which remains a living threat to the self-development of the Philippine revolution, is U.S. imperialism. In June 1983 Reagan negotiated a new lease for the two major U.S. bases on the archipelago that calls for \$900 million in U.S. aid per year (most of it earmarked for military purposes). Clark and Subic Bay are the largest U.S. bases outside the 50 states, and are considered by Reagan/Weinberger as "absolutely essential" for military adventures abroad. The Pentagon has already signalled that they have no intention of vacating the bases when the current lease agreement expires in 1991. And the U.S. military presence hardly stops there, as there are no less than 18 other bases and installations on the Philippines controlled by the U.S. including a nuclear presence.

It is precisely the imperialist legacy of U.S. involvement in the Philippines, both as history and today, which places a mark of urgency over staying the hand of any form of U.S. intervention into the current crises. This imperativeness was spelled out in the numerous support demonstrations inside the U.S. for the freedom movement in the Philippines in the aftermath of Aquino's slaying.

One Filipino youth active in the Los Angeles protests said, "At home everybody who is young is against the regime. You have to be because you have no freedoms. While in the U.S. not so many of my friends are active against the regime because it is so far from home. But we will work here to change things so one day we can go home to a new Philippines."

Connect today's struggle against imperialist adventures, from Lebanon to Central America, with voices of opposition at the birth of imperialism.

## Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Liberation

by Raya Dunayevskaya

"Even before the word 'imperialism' was coined, Luxemburg posed the world significance of Japan's attack on China in 1895, which led to the intrusion of European powers into Asia and Africa. Indeed, an entire new epoch of capitalist development — the emergence of imperialism — had begun."

"To Luxemburg, what was imperative for German Marxists was an expose as to how the 'Morocco affair' was related to the 'internal development of German militarism . . . and Germany's urge for world power.'"

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman

National Editorial Board

Charles Denby . . . . . Editor (1955-1983)  
Felix Martin . . . . . Co-Editor  
O. Domanski . . . . . Managing Editor

# CHARLES DENBY, WORKER-EDITOR

(continued from page 1)

lars outright, but pledged \$500 a week for as long as the strike lasted, and sent a whole caravan — five truckloads — of food and clothing. The strike didn't last too long after that show of solidarity.

Denby's point was not that workers today must "copy" what the labor militants did then, but that it is the informal rank-and-file committees that show how "workers talk and think about everything while on the job — things about everyday life but also about world affairs." *News & Letters*, he said, "must continue to elicit from the workers thinking their own thoughts. Actions are sure to follow."

## A TURNING POINT IN DENBY'S LIFE

The year after the historic miners' strike, Denby began dictating the story of his life. It became a turning point in his life because in telling his life story he gained confidence that he could express himself in a way that carried meaning for other workers as well. Part I of his autobiography was published in 1952. I moved to Detroit in 1953 and it was then I first broached the question of having a worker as editor of a new type of paper we were planning, instead of forever bestowing that prerogative on an intellectual who would speak "for" the workers. Denby was at first non-committal. At the same time he knew I had been working on a book on Marxism and the new stage of capitalism I called state-capitalism, and began asking me how trade union questions were handled in Russia before it became state-capitalism and was still a workers' state. When I told him about the famous trade union debate of 1920-21, I asked him whether he thought it would be of interest to American workers.

A few months later, both questions I had posed to Denby reappeared in a most unusual way. It was March 5, 1953 when Stalin died. Denby called me the minute he got out of the shop. He said he imagined I was writing some political analysis of what that meant and he wanted me to know what the workers in his shop were talking about all that day: "Every worker was saying, 'I have just the man to fill Stalin's shoes — my foreman.'"

It impressed me so much that I said not only that I would write the political analysis of the death of that totalitarian, but that the workers' remarks would become the jumping off point for my article on the trade unions. I asked whether he could distribute those articles in his shop and record the workers' comments. He agreed enthusiastically.

March and April were very busy months for me. By March 19, I had completed the political analysis of Stalin's death. It was inconceivable to me that now that the incubus was lifted from the Russian workers' heads there would not be some form of workers' revolt to follow, and the article enumerated the many unrecorded forms of the Russian workers' hidden revolt at the point of production. By April 16, I had prepared the lengthy article on the trade union debate, called "Then and Now: 1920 and 1953." This was followed by still one more article on April 30 on the ramifications of Stalin's death.\* By then, I was not fully satisfied with the economic and political analysis, but wanted to work out the philosophic ground. All these happenings couldn't be accidental; nothing that historic can be without reason; I felt I had to get away and took two weeks to work this out.

Whereas I kept more or less to myself the two philosophic letters written in that period — in which I thought I had broken through on Hegel's "Absolute Idea" as something that contained a movement from practice as well as from theory, so that the "absolute" (that is to say, the unity of theory and practice) signified a totally new relationship of practice to theory — I did discuss with Denby the relationship of workers to philosophy.

Several years earlier I had translated Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* on Hegel and I now read certain sections to Denby. He said that Hegel's language meant absolutely nothing to him, but that he certainly understood Lenin: "Couldn't you leave out Hegel and just publish what Lenin said? If intellectuals want to read Hegel can't you just tell them the section that Lenin was talking about? I like, for example, Lenin's sentence that 'the idea of the transformation of the ideal into the real is pro-

\*See these three articles, dated March 19, April 16 and April 30, in "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection" on deposit at Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, (pp. 2180 - 2199). The article "Then and Now" became part of Chapter XII, "What Happens After" in *Marxism and Freedom*.

found.' I think workers would like to know how to do that."

The following month, on June 17, 1953, the East German workers revolted in East Berlin against raising the work norms in their factories and, as they marched out of the factories, they smashed the statue of Stalin. This was so great a world historic turning point, and the fact that it broke out against speed-up meant so much to Denby, that our discussions on philosophy became discussions about concrete actions of workers.

## DENBY BECOMES EDITOR

1954 was a year filled with wildcats as Automation came to Detroit. The East German revolt had stirred everyone with new ideas of spontaneous action, against totalitarianism as well as against conditions of labor. There was also a stirring from below in Africa. At the same time, the rulers became more and more reactionary, as McCarthyism pervaded the land and shackled the workers with the Taft-Hartley law passed during the upsurge of strikes that had followed the ending of World War II.

Denby felt strongly that there was an imperative need for a new kind of workers' paper, and in 1955 accepted editorship of *News & Letters*. What pleased me especially was that the first issue should appear in honor of the second anniversary of the East German revolt, not only so that none would forget that first revolt from under totalitarianism, but also to show a new phase of international solidarity.

Along with the birth of *News & Letters* came our very first pamphlet. We published, in mimeographed form, Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* in the form Denby had recommended.\* It turned out to be our first "best-seller."

1955 was also the year the Montgomery Bus Boycott began. Whereas no others recognized the Black Revolution until the 1960s, we immediately became active participants in that struggle and considered it on as high a level for opening new pages of world freedom as the East European revolts. Alabama was, after all, Denby's home state, and he headed South to meet with both Rosa Parks and Rev. Martin Luther King. Here is how his Christmas, 1956 visit was reported by Denby in *News & Letters*:

I have recently come back from a trip to Alabama, where I was born and raised. Montgomery is my hometown. From what I've seen and feel, there is a social revolution going on in the South that has it in a turmoil of a kind that hasn't been seen since the days of Reconstruction.

The 1960s, of course, signified a birthtime of history objectively and subjectively, with the Black dimension both in America and in Africa marking the birth of a whole new Third World and a new generation of revolutionaries.

## THE RELATIONSHIP OF REALITY TO PHILOSOPHY

In becoming both a columnist — his *Worker's Journal* always appeared on page one — and an editor, he no longer limited himself to stories from auto factories, but also gathered stories from the mines, steel mills, and from office workers, too. Here is how he expressed it, in *Workers Battle Automation*:

The intellectual — be he scientist, engineer or writer — may think Automation means the elimination of heavy labor. The production worker sees it as the elimination of the laborer.

And just as he had opened two chapters of his autobiography so that his wife, Christine, could tell her story back in 1952, long before the birth of the Women's Liberation Movement, so now he saw to it that some of the stories of women freedom fighters were reflected in *News & Letters*, as witness the special story on the sit-in movement he obtained from a State Teachers College student from his hometown, Montgomery, Ala., which appeared in the April, 1960 *News & Letters* under the title: "No One Moved."

One of the most important developments of the turbulent 1960s, of course, was the anti-Vietnam War movement whose voices were heard regularly in the paper. In general *News & Letters* not only became the publisher for all freedom fighters speaking for themselves — from the Black and white Freedom Riders, to the youth of the Free Speech Movement, to Women's Liberationists speaking in many voices — but called together conferences of activists in all these movements.

Thus, when the highest point in those 1960s came to a climax which, however, was spelled out as aborted revolution both in the U.S. and in France, Denby, far from ringing down the curtain, was instrumental in calling together a Black/Red Conference in Detroit on Jan. 12, 1969. Here is his Welcome:

This is the first time that such a conference of Black youth, Black workers, Black women and Black intellectuals will have a chance to discuss with each other as well as with Marxist-Humanists, who lend the red coloration not only for the sake of color, but for the sake of philosophy, a philosophy of liberation.

"Philosophy of liberation" was not mere rhetoric, much less an empty intellectual task. To Denby, philosophy became a clearing of the head for action. From the minute

\*This pamphlet also had, as appendix, my letters on the Absolute Idea.

he became the editor of *News & Letters*, which manifested so unique a combination of worker and intellectual, Denby's interest in philosophy was never separated from action. It was, in fact, at that Black/Red Conference that he chose to single out a quotation directly from Hegel's *Phenomenology of Mind* as his favorite because it applied to the relationship of reality to philosophy: "Enlightenment upsets the household arrangements, which spirit carries out in the house of faith, by bringing in the goods and furnishings belonging to the world of the Here and Now . . ."

Three direct results flowed from both the Black/Red Conference and from the Women's Liberation Conference that followed it: 1) the establishment of a new Black/Red column to be written by John Alan; 2) the creation of a *Woman as Reason* column for the Women's Liberation page; and 3) the involvement of the participants from both Conferences in discussions around my new book-in-progress, *Philosophy and Revolution*. Their contribution can be seen in what became Chapter 9 of that work, "New Passions and New Forces — The Black Dimension, the Anti-Vietnam War Youth, Rank-and-File Labor, Women's Liberation."

## THE FINAL DECADE: THE PATH TO THE FUTURE

At the same time, Denby was becoming deeply involved in international relations, especially Africa. Thus, when John Alan and a new, young Black Marxist-Humanist, Lou Turner, wanted to work out the relationship of Frantz Fanon's new Humanism to American Black thought and our own Marxist-Humanism, they were not only encouraged to develop their ideas in pamphlet form, but Denby and I co-authored an Introduction to that pamphlet, which we published in 1978 under the title: *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*.

We felt that Frantz Fanon had, indeed, been the precursor of a whole new generation of revolutionaries so that his *Wretched of the Earth* was not only a Third World Manifesto, but a global declaration for Marx's Humanism. Here is how Denby and I expressed it in our Introduction:

Revolutionary Black thought, whether it comes from Azania, the Caribbean, or the United States, is not end, but prologue to action. We invite all readers to join our authors in working out the imperative task they set for themselves to prepare theoretically for the American revolution-to-be.

1978 was also the year Denby decided to write a Part II to his unique biography, first published in 1952. As he put it in the new Foreword, this was no mere updating: "It isn't only that 25 years separate Part I and Part II. More importantly, the great events of the 1960s that gave birth to a new generation of revolutionaries could but give a new direction to my thoughts and actions as a Black production worker who became the editor of a very new type of newspaper — *News & Letters*."

IN HIS LONG three-year battle with cancer, which ended on Oct. 10, 1983, Denby continued with his *Worker's Journal* column, frequently inviting both our co-editor, Felix Martin, and Lou Turner to write guest columns, the first on labor questions, the second on the Black world. In the last months of his life he was anxious to attend the Aug. 27 March on Washington, but was too sick to do so. He turned his column that month over to Lou Turner to report on it as a participant.

His last letter to me — which he printed in his June 1983 column — spoke of how crucial it is to show the American roots of Marxism, as we had developed it in *American Civilization on Trial*. He had been very impressed, he said, with the new paragraph I had added on Marx and the Black world to my latest work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*:

Raya, whatever else we decide to write for the 20th anniversary of our pamphlet, I strongly feel that your new paragraph should be the focus. We need to put, right in the beginning, the world context of our struggle and the way our view of it is rooted in Marx. I would like to let all our readers see that paragraph for themselves.

Indeed, that paragraph did become the focus for the new Introduction we wrote for the expanded edition of *American Civilization on Trial* that came off the press just in time to take it with us to the March on Washington.

The inseparability of philosophy and revolution motivated Denby from the moment he became editor in 1955 to the very last days of his life, and he always had some sentence he would single out from various theoretical works that became his favorites. Thus, from *Marxism and Freedom* he was always quoting: "There is nothing in thought — not even in the thought of a genius — that has not previously been in the activity of the common man."

While Denby was too modest a man to think that this had any relationship to him as a person, he had full confidence that that expression did mean masses in motion. Yet the truth is that the genius of Charles Denby lies in the fact that the story of his life — *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* — is the history of workers' struggles for freedom, his and all others the world over.

— Detroit, Michigan, Oct. 24, 1983

Charles Denby's autobiography *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* is available from *News & Letters* in both the English language edition (\$7.50) and the German edition (\$14.00)

*News & Letters*, 2832 E. Grand Blvd.,  
Detroit, Mich. 48211

## REAGAN'S MILITARISM: GRENADA AND LEBANON

Reagan's brazen invasion of Grenada has stirred all kinds of resistance. The following is a telegram sent to him by Black law school students at the University of California at Berkeley: "This despicable act is not only an attack against a tiny island nation struggling to exercise its political independence, but also an attack against the political aspirations of all Black people."

I support that message because revolutionary solidarity with other nations is founded on the struggles here at home.

Supporter of Caribbean liberation  
Florida

I heard Maurice Bishop speak in Detroit several months ago and I was very impressed. You could see that he represented a real movement; that the New Jewel Movement that overthrew Gairy in 1979 was a great non-violent revolution. What I am most afraid about now is Reagan's brainwashing of the USA in the wake of Lebanon and Grenada. He has the instrumentality to do it, with the way in which so much of the press and Congress fold right up under pressure.

Black student  
Wayne State U., Detroit

In the shop there is a lot of discussion about Reagan getting U.S. troops involved everywhere. One guy I know said that he was sure that sooner or later these little wars will end in a big war, and with Reagan it looks like it will be sooner. Everyone agreed with him, except one worker who said that he thought that Carter also was getting us into wars when he was President. Nearly everyone agreed to that too.

Ford worker  
Detroit

As I kept watching the TV bulletins on Grenada, I couldn't help but wonder — is this a dress rehearsal for Nicaragua? Even more, with the way they are able to manipulate so much of the press coverage, is this a dress rehearsal for full militarization at home? It seems like 1984 is coming in 1983.

Scared but angry  
New Jersey

The only danger the Americans in Grenada faced was caused by the American invaders! Reagan uses his lies about keeping the world "safe for democracy" to crush any resistance to his imperialist war plans. He doesn't give a damn about human lives — American or otherwise — as he pumps more and more money into propping up the regimes of his murderous friends like Marcos and Pinochet.

Fed up  
Detroit

They brought the 82nd Airborne into Grenada on the second day of the operation. Remember that it was the Airborne that rebelled at the time of the Angola crisis in 1976. There are many Black soldiers and quite a few Puerto Ricans in that unit. Now they are fighting in a Black Caribbean land. Wait until some of them get home; then Reagan's lies will get exposed! Maybe even more than that will happen.

Puerto Rican student  
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Wasn't there a pattern to Reagan's actions last week? First he holds a press conference and slanders Dr. Martin Luther King, saying "we'll know in 35 years if he was a Communist". Then he goes for the weekend to a lily-white golf club in Augusta, Georgia, where he plans an attack on a Black country. If I didn't know better, I'd say he is acting like a Ku Kluxer.

Civil rights veteran  
New York

The invasion of Grenada is the first time in history that the U.S. has conducted a war with the press prohibited. I never heard a condemnation of a U.S. president so strong as one given by Chancellor of NBC — stating that the in-

vasion of Grenada was coupled by Reagan with action in Congress that would further totalitarian legislation against the American people. I think the invasion will backfire on Reagan.

Air Force veteran  
Michigan

I couldn't help thinking how Reagan and his henchmen had used the shock and reaction to the tragic bombing in Beirut to cover the invasion of Grenada. All the time Reagan was doing his fake crying for the Marines, he was planning the invasion! How expendable are human lives — Marines, Cubans and the forgotten Grenadians — to the military as it serves capitalism's clawing for "strategic position".



Hospital clerical  
St. Louis

### NUCLEAR WAR AND ANTI-NUKE MOVEMENT

The bombing in Beirut and the invasion of Grenada made me think more — not less — about the U.S./Russian nuclear arms race. When you consider all the crises points in the world today, and then think about the Cruise, the MX, the SS-20, and the thousands of nuclear warheads, you see immediately why millions demonstrated against nuclear war in October.

Anti-war activist  
San Francisco

Some anti-nuclear activists really made me mad recently when they said the U.S. uses 80% of the world's energy, and thus we have to consume less by having ecological communal lifestyles. They remind me of some former leftists who say workers in the U.S. will have to take pay cuts because we make more than Third World workers. Some people work hard all their lives just to have a little better standard of living and not have to wait in line to use the bathroom. And they are saying the same thing the capitalists are telling workers — that we have to lower our standard of living.

Factory worker  
Chicago

### REVOLUTIONARY LATINO DIMENSION IN U.S.A. . .

I liked your Noticias y Cartas which had an article on companies declaring "bankruptcy." I work for the Progressive Plastics Company, where the management recently declared bankruptcy in order to avoid paying their taxes. They laid us all off, and after a month called us back with reduced benefits.

The working conditions there were never good. We don't even get safety gloves and have to bring our own gloves from home. I have to support a family of six with \$140 a week, so when I see men doing the same job who get more pay I get very angry. My son had the same job before me and he got paid more. The company wants to divide mothers and sons, men and women workers. When I speak out for our rights, I get threatened by the management. This company is "progressive" for them, not for us.

Latina woman  
Los Angeles

Ed. note: Noticias y Cartas, the Spanish supplement to N&L, is available to subscribers on request at no extra cost.

Reagan wants to go back to making child labor legal. I was talking to a young Latina and this was what she said of the reality of children's exploitation right now: "I am caught between helping my family and getting my life together at the same time. My sisters will take any job they can get. We've been working since we were nine. My sisters, in order to get anywhere, had to quit high school. They

# Readers' View

had to start working because that was the only way we survived. And that is what gave the smaller ones a chance."

Activist  
Chicago

### ... AND IN CENTRAL AMERICA

In the history of our people's struggle, the participation of Nicaraguan children has been as outstanding as that of the youth, women and old people. The A.N.S. (Association of Sandinist Children) is a broad children's movement that is developing in the primary schools; it includes children from seven to 14 years old without distinction as to color, class, religion or sex.

A.N.S. can also form in any neighborhood or district. You only need some youth and teachers and other adults to take responsibility. Children are joining up daily, and many express their willingness to defend the revolution in order to bring peace. The knowledge of our people's struggle over so many years, in which the children have taken part, inspires them to defend the revolution.

Teacher  
Nicaragua

There is a lot of debate within the Central American support movement here about whether we should be attacking the indigenous ruling classes of Central America, or whether we should just say that they are installed by the CIA and put the blame on U.S. imperialism. I think it's a false debate because they both are the enemy. There are two worlds in every country, including Central America, and often the Left doesn't see that. The "14 families" of El Salvador laid the ground for the U.S. to come in.

Activist  
U. of Illinois-Chicago

### AIDING THE BIRTH OF WORKERS' OWN ORGANIZATION

When I finished reading John Marcotte's article about workers' own forms of organization (October N&L), I called up my UAW local to see when I would be called back to Chrysler. They said that the current seniority you had to have was February, 1973! The union representative told me, "I don't think you will ever get in." After all that struggle, my seniority was worth nothing. It didn't matter that workers once died for it. This is why I felt that the most important sentence in his article was the one that said: "As long as capitalism exists, any reforms can be reversed, but this 'intellectual sediment' is what remains to build on and create the new society based on Freely Associated Labor."

Laid-off Chrysler worker  
Detroit

John Marcotte's article certainly chronicles the attempts and desire of one labor activist to open up new areas to rank-and-file initiative, but I feel many important aspects of today's labor struggle have been omitted. . . . Marcotte is right to point out that labor's position today has been undercut by the strategy of the labor leadership since WWII. But his disappointment at not seeing a massive CIO-type upsurge to fight concessions leaves important implications about the numerous anti-concession strikes across the country undiscussed. . . .

The weakness of labor in the current economic situation is obvious. A strike of even moderate duration is ruinous to workers' standard of living; in some cases they even benefit management. And the unemployed are by now such a large and permanent force that management can recruit scabs from among workers who would have agreed several years ago that "the scab is the lowest form of life" . . .

But the idea is dawning in many minds that traditional strike tactics will not work to labor's advantage in this situa-

### 'FAMILY PLANNING' IN CHINA

I think the selection of Mr. Qian Xinzong of China's Family Planning Commission as one of the recipients of the 1983 UN population award is disgusting. The fact is that in China government policy is responsible for a massive rate of female infanticide. Since there are large financial penalties for having more than one child, many female first-born children are put to death. This hardly the type of "population planning" that should be given an award!

Women's liberationist  
Oakland, Cal.

### IRAN-IRAQ WAR

I appreciated the N&L article on the "forgotten" Iran-Iraq war. Now, suddenly, it is in the headlines again — not because of the human tragedy of it, but because of dollars, oil, the threat to the West's oil supplies. I thought also of what you develop in your Perspectives Thesis regarding Lebanon, and the retrogressions and tragedies that set in following a failed revolutionary moment. Nowhere is that more true than in Iran, where they send ten-year-old boys to the war front to die fighting Iraqi soldiers.

Reader  
California

### SOLIDARITY'S PERSISTENCE

Have you heard the wonderful story of the soccer match at Walesa's birthday? It turned into a Solidarity rally and even the PA system could not drown out the 40,000 people chanting "Solidarity," so that the broadcast of the match had to be suspended. I have seen nothing in print on it . . .

Polish exile  
San Francisco

tion, and further management's attempts to automate production. One very clear alternative is to strike on the inside. It has not been done in the U.S. for awhile now, but the idea has certainly occurred to many . . .

Machine shop worker  
New York City

I had just gotten a job, after months of unemployment, in a youth hostel, when it looked like I would be laid off. They are cutting back on temporary workers and not renewing any contracts. When they announced ten people would be laid off, we got ourselves organized and decided there would be an all-out walkout from four hostels. We met with management today and they seemed so scared, it looks as though we are going to win.

We are trying to convince the less radical members of the union to join in the struggle. People now really see that though it is my job today, it may well be theirs in the very near future. It was interesting to read in N&L about the Bronx factory, Art Steel, as we also have to hassle the union to make our action official, which they are reluctant to do until it actually takes place and is seen to be quite strong. They are only prepared to back the horse if they know for certain that it's going to win.

Hostel worker  
Edinburgh, Scotland

Marcotte's essay wasn't only about labor militancy. We've always had that. It was about the need for philosophy along with the militancy, a self-development of the minds of workers. To me he is saying that all the plans and project-hatching that the Left groups do in the shops are "short-cuts" that lead nowhere, because they don't have the self-development of workers as thinkers as their goal.

Labor veteran  
Michigan

MARX AND OUR VIEW OF BLACK AND THIRD WORLD

Re-reading American Civilization on Trial (ACOT) has been quite an experience for me. I re-thought the whole question of what happened after the Civil War, when Blacks never got "40 acres and a mule."

The lingering effects of the Boss and Black relationship is reflected in my own job. I've worked more than 30 years in a technical field, but my expertise has been undermined for ten years by a Black supervisor.

Black worker Chicago

A critique of Engels on the basis of the Ethnological Notebooks and taking up the question of "Asiatic Mode of Production" is something that has needed development for years.

Sociology teacher New York City

Thanks for your pamphlet on American history. It really is the true history of America! And more than a little of the history of Africa too.

High school student New York City

Reading Marx and the Third World made me take the Peruvian Marxist Jose Carlos Mariategui's book, Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality, off the bookshelf.

facing different concrete situations. But the problematic of social revolution in non-capitalist lands is one they both faced - Mariategui in the specificity of his own life, Marx in the view of world revolution he developed unbounded by any notion of Euro-centrism or technologically-developed-world fixation.

Eugene Walker Detroit

The bulletin "Marxist-Humanism, 1983: Summation as New Beginning" really struck me on the question of how to start an organization that expresses a whole philosophy of liberation.

Black teacher Chicago

Reagan's gunboat operations are on everyone's mind now. There is opposition from the vast majority of Black Americans. But the historic fact is that Blacks have always been there against U.S. imperialism.

We need to re-study our situation in America now.

Black activist California

The last study I did of the new edition of ACOT gave me a fuller appreciation for the abolitionists in the light of Dunayevskaya's new book, Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

Appreciative New York

TO ALL OUR SUBSCRIBERS AND FRIENDS OF CHARLES DENBY

As the news of Charles Denby's passing has spread to many of his friends, we have begun to receive letters from across the U.S.A. and around the world. We would like to invite all of you who read his column, "Worker's Journal", his autobiography, Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal, or who worked with him in his lifetime of activity and thought in the freedom movement, to write to News & Letters now.

FROM UNEMPLOYMENT LINES

On July 14, 1983 I lost my job. This was of no great concern to me then since I am a licensed vocational nurse and have always been able to find a job whenever I wanted.

Retired nurses are coming back in the field because husbands are out of work; and many nurses are willing to work overtime because they are the sole support of their families.

Applying for unemployment California

For the past year I have been distributing N&L to the workers at the Agar meat packing plant. The plant is closing down. The workers had no indication it was coming.

Member, Agar distribution crew Chicago

I'd like to comment on "The Welfare Runaround" (October N&L), because it got me to thinking of my own experience. I found myself standing in line with 40 other people to get an appointment to apply for general relief and food stamps.

be seen as a "regular," and went a few days without eating.

When I finally got to speak to a case worker, I spent 20 minutes answering questions, only to be told I'd get only \$75 a month in food stamps, and I had to wait two more days to get it.

Minimum wage worker Covington, Ky.



FARM REVOLT SPREADING NATION-WIDE

Bernard Bates, a Black farmer, was sold out Oct. 3 at the court house in Hill City, Kansas. The land was sold to the mortgage holder, Stockton State Bank, for \$98,144, six minutes after the sale officially started.

Protesters came from 12 to 15 states and included members of the North American Farm Alliance, the American Agriculture Movement, Black activists and trade unionists.

American Agriculture News P.O. Box 100 Iredell, TX 76649

PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS COMMITTEES

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucasians in the Unions" by Charles Denby. \$2 per copy
Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis By Raya Dunayevskaya. \$2 per copy
Working Women for Freedom By Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes. \$1 per copy
Latin America's Revolutions Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America. \$1 per copy
New Essays On Hegel, Marx, Post-Mao China, Trotsky By Raya Dunayevskaya. \$2 per copy
Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought By Lou Turner and John Alan. \$1 per copy
Guatemalan Revolutionaries Speak 75¢ per copy
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IA Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism - 1941 to Today; its Origin and Development in the U.S. \$1 per copy
25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments By Raya Dunayevskaya. \$1.50 per copy
Today's Polish Fight For Freedom Bilingual pamphlet of writings from dissident movement. \$1 per copy
Constitution of News & Letters Committees 15c postage

- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution By Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy
Marxism and Freedom 1982 edition. New introduction by author By Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy
Philosophy and Revolution 1982 edition. New introduction by author By Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy
Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal By Charles Denby. \$ 7.50 per copy

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# Black labor focus of two history conferences

Detroit, Mich. — The proceedings of the two history conferences that gathered here recently — the North American Labor History Conference, Oct. 13-15 and the 68th annual meeting of the Association for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH), Oct. 21-23 — revealed both a wide range of current scholarship into Afro-American history and thought, and a new concentration on Black labor.

What, however, came into sharp focus over the two weekends was that Detroit as site for the two conferences was more than mere background to discuss the past. Its present economic and social crisis lent an urgency to the otherwise academic deliberations.

**THE SESSION ON Afro-American labor** at the labor history conference at Wayne State University (the first such session in the five year history of the conference) heard papers on "Afro-Americans and the Knights of Labor in Richmond, Virginia" and "Employment Discrimination among Black Industrial Workers in Birmingham." The session was preceded the evening before by a keynote speech from Barry Bluestone, author of *The De-Industrialization of America*. In contrast to Bluestone, who saw union concessions as realistic responses to de-industrialization that workers would have to live with, the session on Afro-American labor recalled earlier periods in the industrialization of America when discrimination was a concession the labor movement could not afford to live with if it was to survive.

Two of the speakers in this session, Peter Rachleff and William Harris, prefaced their remarks by acknowledging the contribution of Charles Denby to Black labor history. Indeed, Professor Harris had reviewed Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* and was a labor historian who had singled out the difference between the book's 1952 part one and 1978 part two as proof of Denby's self-development as worker-editor of *News & Letters*.

**THE ASSOCIATION for the Study of Afro-American Life and History (ASALH)**, founded by Carter G. Woodson in 1915, was very mindful of the present historical context in which the Association met to discuss research into Black reality. Thus, the very first paragraph of its statement to the press (which appeared in none of the local media) read in part: "The 68th national convention of the ASALH meets here in Detroit at a time of profound crisis and intense suffering for Black America. The nature of the crisis is multifaceted, deleterious and massive for 33 million Black Americans: the CETA programs for Blacks, Hispanics and the poor had been officially jettisoned; the forward momentum for human and civil rights has been thwarted . . . by the meanspirited and reactionary political and socio-economic programs of Reagano-

mics . . . as we meet here in historic Detroit, the collective backs of 33 million Black Americans are pushed to the wall."

Just how far Reagan was prepared to extend his "meanspirited and reactionary" program was foreshadowed by the presence of Mary Frances Berry as the keynote speaker at the conference less than a week before she was fired by Reagan from the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the very day he launched his imperialist invasion of Grenada.

Workshops at the ASALH conference were devoted to such topics as Black women tobacco workers and Black women abolitionists to which Prof. Darlene Hine of the Purdue University Black Woman in the Mid-West History Project offered critical comments.

James Turner of Cornell analyzed the impact of the structural changes in the American economy on Black

America. He was followed by Patricia Collins from the University of Cincinnati who noted that the high levels of Black youth unemployment and feminization of poverty reveal that Black America has absorbed so much of that structural transformation that we are witness to a new form of Black exploitation.

**ONE OF THE** last sessions returned to the study of Black labor history, this time in Detroit. Two Black Michigan labor historians, Johnetta Brazell and Richard Thomas, examined the impact of Detroit's Black labor migrations from Canada and the South on the Black church and industrial unions.

What was distinctive about Brazell's and Thomas' studies was their appreciation for Black workers speaking for themselves through oral history. This was particularly cogent in Thomas' narrative of how Black autoworkers in Detroit broke the paternalistic relationship of Henry Ford to the Black community through their self-activity in helping to form the CIO. From another vantage point, Judith Stein had at the Labor History Conference examined the same period in her study of Garveyism and Black workers in Detroit in the 1920s.

The question raised by these serious new studies into Black life and history is, where do we go having now gained a new appreciation for Black labor as self-developing Subject?

If theory and practice are not to remain complete strangers that foreshadow future political crises, and if these new points of departure in theory and history are to be worked out to the point where they reach Marx's philosophy of human liberation which united Black and labor, then such conferences show that the real theoretic labor has only now first begun.

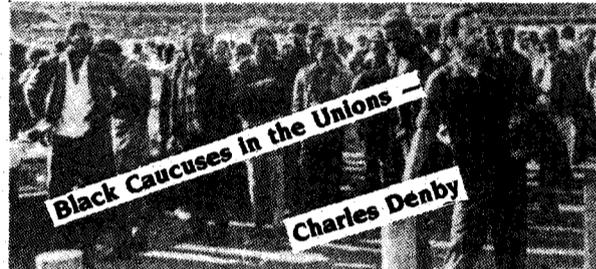
— Lou Turner

## American Civilization On Trial

### BLACK MASSES AS VANGUARD

Expanded edition includes:

A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa — by Raya Dunayevskaya



Find out what happened when Black workers challenged the union bureaucracy with their own forms of organizations, their own shop papers, their own militant ideas and actions. Order the New Expanded Edition of:

*American Civilization on Trial*

and read Charles Denby's historic Black labor perspectives — "Black Caucuses in the Unions." \$2. Order from *News and Letters*, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, MI 48211.

## Black workers fight to organize Dan River Mills

Lowndes County, Ala. — I want to tell the story of what we have been going through at the Dan River Mills plant, a non-union place of employment. In November, 1982 three workers in the plant, including myself, contacted the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and asked them for help to organize. We believed that we had to do this because we were constantly having problems with supervisors harassing workers.

Dan River Mills is about 87% Black workers, yet nearly all the management and supervisors are white. There are no Black secretarial employees. The two Blacks who are in supervision are only there so that the company can involve them when they are going to discipline you or fire you, and then they say there is no discrimination.

The fact is that the Black worker has no power. They try to make slaves out of you; they don't want anyone working for them who defends themselves and demands their rights. This is the main reason why we wanted to get a union into the plant. Once before, in 1965 during the Civil Rights Movement, workers tried to bring in a union, but as soon as the company found out who was organizing it, they got rid of them. They don't say it's for organizing; they make up false pretenses.

Last November we started calling meetings for the union. They sent a union representative to the meetings, and we started to get the word around the plant. But somehow they found out about two of the workers and laid them off, saying there was no work for them. This was a lie, since one of them was a motor repairman with 13 years seniority. After he was laid off, they tried putting workers with three weeks experience on that job. The lay-offs had the effect the company wanted, and the union did not get organized. The truth is the union did not do a very good organizing job, and after we got laid off or fired from the plant, we never heard from them again unless we ran to catch them.

Every day after the union meetings started the company was watching every move I made, looking for a way to fire me. On April 13, 1983 they created an incident, and on April 15 they told me to go home; I was fired.

We have fought the cases ever since. We went to Legal Services lawyers in Montgomery because they are free. We filed with the National Labor Relations Board, and it went all the way to an appeal in Washington — and it is still going on. I question whether Legal Services will really do a job for workers, since they are part of the federal government run by Reagan. He is trying to destroy unions and we are trying to organize them.

What keeps me fighting is what I learned in 15 years of employment there. We have dust floating in the air everywhere; you can see it when the doors are opened. One man I know had to quit after 16 years when his lungs went so bad he had trouble taking a breath. The dust mask doesn't solve anything. All they care about is production. In fact the majority of the jobs have no breaks, not even a lunch break, because they don't want production to stop even for a minute. You are running all day.

I am an Alabama man for all of my life. I feel the cause of poor people because I am poor myself. I have been mistreated all my life by the white man, and I am going to take a stand against it. We will never give up until we have rights and justice.

— Dan River Mills worker

## BLACK-RED VIEW

by John Alan

One of the many "theories" that are being circulated on why Rev. Jesse Jackson wants to run for the Presidency of the United States is that he wants to fill the Black leadership vacuum that has existed since the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King. This may or may not be the private reason for Jackson's ambition, but it is an incredible "theory" because Jackson is seeking to build a power base within the Democratic Party, while King's power source came from an independent Black mass movement for freedom now.

Even when King began to believe that the best hope for the Black movement was the influence it had over the Democratic Party, he could still successfully oppose President Johnson's war in Vietnam, because his leadership had come to symbolize the conscious, direct participation of the masses in the battle against injustices.

Although Rev. Jackson was an associate of King, he has shown no indication that he wants the type of relationship with Black masses that brought King to leadership. Indeed, Jackson is known for his pragmatic activism, his ability to negotiate with corporate powers to gain concessions. In practice he has placed the screen of the Democratic Party between himself and the Black masses. When he spoke at the August March on Washington, he presented a lot of statistics to show that Carter could have won over Reagan if Blacks in certain key states had turned out and voted in larger numbers. Nowhere has he indicated why Black people were so apathetic about the Democratic Administration of Carter that they let Reagan get elected.

Like all politicians, Jackson has covered his political purposes in a fog of ambiguity. He has said that his strategy is aimed at, "not having the Democrats take us for granted and not having the Republicans write us off."

### BLACK REALITY VS. JACKSON'S ILLUSIONS

It is now obvious that Jackson believes himself to be a serious contender in the race to become the Democratic candidate for the Presidency. He may announce his candidacy by the time that this column is published. However, the issue is not whether Jackson runs or not, but the illusion that he is spreading about the vitality of the Democratic Party, that it can actually complete the

## What makes Jesse run?

Black revolution that was set in motion by the Black masses in the 1960s.

He has avoided approaching the reality of U.S. and world capitalism in the throes of a terminal crisis. For the depression that exists in the Black community, and the insane nuclear arms race between the U.S. and Russia is not a question of Reagan and Andropov getting together to solve it in a "duel of negotiations" as he suggested in Germany. The question is really one of a social revolution that would change all social and economic relationships to create a new world.

### BLACK LEADERSHIP AT THE CROSSROADS

However, all the arrows of criticism should not be directed toward Rev. Jackson; he is only one example of the retrogression of the leadership of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. These leaders have long ago rationalized that the Black movement could only preserve and expand the gains that the masses made in the 1960s by going into "politics."

Some have declared that that was the direction of the movement from the beginning. And many of them, who express the fear that Jackson will split the Democratic vote, in principle agree with Jackson's bid to play "high stakes" politics within the Democratic Party as the alternative to any independent movement of the Black masses.

Since June of last year, Black leaders, calling themselves "Black Coalition of 1984," have met and endorsed the concept of a Black candidate seeking the Presidential nomination. Among them were Walter Fauntroy, Rev. Joseph Lowery and Julian C. Dixon, Chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Black masses are not privy to any of this nor do these leaders seem to grasp that a new stage of Black mass activity may develop from the August, 1983 March on Washington, as it did after the 1963 March. That potential is far greater today because of the retrogressive condition of the economy and politics of this country, and also because of the new forces of opposition that the Black-led August March on Washington brought with them.

These leaders, however, have chosen to interpret the August March as an anti-Reagan pro-Democratic Party demonstration without understanding that the real thrust of that protest, against the retrogression of Reaganism, is a challenge to the very nature and ideology of capitalist society which has perpetuated oppression and racism for two centuries.

## Fourth News and Letters Constitutional Convention

Over Labor Day weekend News and Letters Committees held its fourth Constitutional Convention since our founding in 1955. In amending our Constitution after the publication of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* we added the following paragraph both as a summation of our philosophic/organizational labor and as a challenge to revolutionaries of our age.

The third of our theoretical-philosophic works, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, was published in the Marx centenary, when the three-decade-long movement from practice to theory that is itself a form of theory was challenged by the totality of global crises in a nuclear world. It was also the period when Marx's heretofore unknown writings from his last decade had finally become available. It was there that we, as Marxist-Humanists, discovered a trail to the 1980s in Marx's "new moments" on new paths to revolution, on new concepts of man/woman relations, and on philosophy of revolution as inseparable from organization. Thus, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* projects that the totally new relationship between technologically under-developed and developed lands, which Marx was working out, needs further development now that a whole new Third World has emerged in our age. At the same time, the "new moments" of Marx's last decade, as well as his first discovery of a whole new continent of thought and of revolution in the 1840s — his "revolution in permanence" — were seen as calling for a critical re-examination of the relationship of spontaneity and vanguard party in the revolutions of the early 20th century, the Russian Revolution led by Lenin and the German led by Luxemburg, in light of the soured and unfinished revolutions of our age. We see the absolute challenge to our age as the need to concretize Marx's "revolution in permanence" not alone as the determinant for theory and practice, but as ground for organization in place of "the party to lead," in order to achieve the total uprooting of this exploitative, racist, sexist society and the creation of truly new human relations.

For a copy of the full Constitution of News and Letters Committees, an essential Marxist-Humanist document, please send 20¢ postage to News & Letters, 2832 E. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich. 48211.

### Freedom

Once  
you have seen freedom  
Shouting, jumping, clapping union of the thousands.

Once  
you have heard freedom  
Softly growing powerful music of the gospel truth.

Once  
you have felt freedom  
So deep in your every cell, light-headed and unbelieving.

Once  
you have known freedom.

Nothing  
not the vile and vicious rulers  
not their jails or their murders in the dark  
not their tear gas or their clubs

Nothing  
can wrench freedom from you.

Freedom, true freedom  
is what you are.

— Michael Connolly

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## Spain and Italy

# Report on conditions in political prisons

Milan, Italy — People came from all over Italy this past summer to demonstrate against the conditions in the Female Special Prison in Voghera, but many did not get there. The highways leading to the city were blocked by the police, and those who came on buses were not permitted to enter Voghera.

In some cases whole train wagons were detached at the station of Voghera and sent back to their city of origin before the passengers could get out. At least 600 people managed to get to the town and begin the demonstration, but the police began beating the demonstrators and shooting over their heads. There were from 50 to 100 taken to police headquarters and numerous wounded.

Political prisons have become an only too common phenomena throughout the world and, in Western Europe, Italy is in the forefront with its "special prisons" for some 4,000 political prisoners. It seems to me that this is the beginning of a sort of neo-fascism in Western Europe and, just like before the Second World War, this phenomena is developing in the less industrialized countries: Italy, Spain and Portugal.

THE SPECIAL PRISONS are located on off-shore islands or in small towns, usually hundreds of miles from the prisoner's home, and the most tragic aspect is that the majority of these prisoners are under 25 years of age. Recent laws make it possible to detain a person arrested for political reasons in prison for ten years without trial.

In the special prisons one lives in almost total isolation, only in the hours of "air" (walking in the courtyard) can one talk and be with others. Prisoners can be transferred from one prison to another in the space of a few hours, and this is usually done for disciplinary reasons. At the same time they can be put in total isolation for a period of ten days without the possibility of sending letters, receiving newspapers, letters or the visits of their relatives.

It is only through letters from the inmates and discussion with those relatives and friends who try to keep in contact with the prisoners that one can understand the real drama of the situation.

— Margaret Ellingham

The following is taken from a report on Spanish special prisons translated from the *Bollettino del Coordinamento dei Comitati contro la Repressione* May, 1983, Milan, Italy:

In Spain as in Italy's special prisons, torture and annihilation are practiced daily. Despite the socialist government, nothing has changed since October, 1982 . . .

Inside they could at least leave the prisoners in peace, as if there were peace in an enchained world, but the new prison system is not based on iron bars and guards. They try to find the grade of maximum security through the annihilation of the prisoners . . .

THE FOOD! On a big table car there are vases of boiled rice. On another plate there is a sort of greenish sauce that tastes like grass. If you put the sauce on the rice and mix it, a mass of worms comes up . . . No one can eat the pig feet or the kidney; they have a rotten smell.

But the worst, the prisoners say, is the treatment by the guards, the hours, the organization of the day in such a way that you can not do anything . . . You always think before you do this or that, how will the guards react? . . . All of this is planned: with all the punishments that fall on you every time you do something, you lose every desire to act . . . you wait until someone tells you what you have to do.

The following are excerpts of a letter from the *Female Special Prison in Voghera, Italy, published in II Manifesto, July 10, 1983:*

Violence in prison is a daily fact . . . but much more there is that which is "gradual" — that which does not make "news" because it dwells in the penal institution — imposed regulation of daily life, the exasperating objectivization of time in which it is not possible to cut out any space for one's own time.

OUR BODIES are touched and searched continuously, from the wall of circuits that listen to our voices, in the courtyards and the corridors there are microphones, discussions during visits are taped, our correspondence censored.

Between our militants in the struggle outside and those imprisoned there is a continuous flow of affirmation . . . and against induced transformations and all forms of coercion, against prison as a place of desocialization and of annihilation, of aging in deprivation: for liberation. We are always more in love with life and determined to recoup it even in prison.

## 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*, is the editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa.

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

### Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution.

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

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

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

## The deep crisis in Chile

New York, N.Y. — A deep crisis is shaking the military dictatorship of President Pinochet in Chile. The crisis touches all aspects of life in Chile today. The country is a super-reactionary model of the economic, social, ideological and political structure which results from a combination of "ultra-liberal" monetarist economics imported from the School of Economics of the University of Chicago, and the local version of the fascistic ideology of "National Security." This model, bloodily imposed on the Chilean people, has collapsed, leaving a horrible wake of destruction — including hunger and mass unemployment — that profoundly affects the workers and masses of people.

But even as this virtual process of destruction has unfolded since the counter-revolution won out in September, 1973, the dictatorship has also sown the seeds of its own downfall, not only for this particular regime, but more importantly, for the whole capitalist society.

Last May, when the first "National Day of Protest" took place, a radical phase in the class struggle began. The masses are beginning to take matters in their own hands again, displaying a variety of forms of social and political self-organization. They are creating committees and large organizations from the grass roots up, which are beginning to direct the accumulated energy in the oppressed people's minds to which they had not been able to give collective expression.

The very demands of fighting extended the original monthly "Day of Protest," bursting the 24-hour limits, producing actual "Days of National Protest" which developed almost without stop over several days.

In these protests, hundreds of thousands of women, men and children participate throughout the country. They blockade and set up barricades in the streets, have spontaneous meetings and mass assemblies in union halls, schools and universities, churches and government buildings and courts, and especially in the streets. Homeless and unemployed people have taken over unoccupied areas of the cities, throwing up tents and make-shift housing of cardboard and scrap metal.

There are labor strikes, rent strikes, days when no one goes shopping, or to the bank, or to school, or eats lunch at the workplace. There are rallies and marches, leaflets and slogans on the walls, days when everyone turns out the lights and bangs pots and pans. They defend their actions from the police and soldiers with sticks, rocks, Molotov cocktails and home-made guns.

To organize and develop these actions, people have organized from below new organs to express both their aspirations and their own ways to achieve them. For this, in the schools, in the countryside and the cities of the country, there are cultural, youth and women's committees; health teams, commandos for self-defense and for actions against class enemies; groups for "agitation and propaganda" such as leafleting and catalyzing actions. The situation is rapidly on the road to becoming a pre-revolutionary period of insurrection.

Pinochet has, since 1980, consolidated his power with parts of the dominant bourgeois block, the finance monopoly capitalists, but closed the possibility of coopting other sectors of the bourgeoisie to support the government. The opposition within the bourgeoisie has gotten stronger and looked for allies within reformist parts of the workers' and popular movement. Under these conditions, the working class and poor used the polarization with the ruling class to open their own path to autonomous development.

— Member, Socialist Party of Chile, Workers' Front

For more information and to aid the fight of the Chilean people, write to Committee for a Free Chile, P.O. Box 1121, Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

## One-day teacher walkout in Los Angeles schools

Los Angeles, Cal. — On Sept. 16 teachers here staged a one-day walkout to protest the actions of the L.A. School Board. More than 50% of the teachers stayed away from the classrooms. Many picketed in front of schools with signs that read, "Teachers are not tall children!" to show their resentment at the Board's treating them as such.

What especially irked the teachers and their union was the manner in which the Board has tried to side-step the collective bargaining process. Earlier, on the first day of classes, the Board had announced a 7.8% salary hike for its captains of the classroom. The union had been pressing for a higher increase and considered the matter still under negotiation. To many, the Board's take-or-leave-it attitude was indeed reminiscent of treatment reserved for children.

Nor was salary the sole issue to be considered. An agency shop provision which would require all non-union teachers to pay the union a fee for its negotiating work was an important goal for which the union had long fought. But the conservative members on the School Board got their hands on the needle and tied the sticky thread of racism to the negotiating fabric. They said if the union wanted agency shop, then it must back down on

## Reagan escalates war in Central America

Reagan's war in Central America escalated the week of Oct. 10, when CIA-backed counter-revolutionaries (contras) blew up oil tanks in Corinto, Nicaragua. Almost the entire population of 25,000 had to be evacuated at one point. Five days later, the contras hit an oil pipeline at Puerto Sandino. They have threatened to sink tankers from Mexico, the only country still shipping oil to Nicaragua.



Members of the Mothers Committee of Political Prisoners, Missing and Assassinated demonstrating in San Salvador.

## Argentina protests

To cover their bloody tracks before the presidential election, Argentina's ruling junta of generals and admirals approved an amnesty law in late September, granting themselves immunity from prosecution on the fate of 6,000 persons who disappeared.

An earlier decree by the junta, that "all the disappeared should be considered dead," was widely protested. Nearly all the presidential candidates state they will repeal the amnesty law. But some human rights activists have said that right-wing trade union leaders in the Peronist camp already made a deal with the military.

In early September, representatives from the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo (who have confronted the dictatorship over their disappeared children since 1977) went to ask support from some major union leaders. They were thrown from the meeting, and jeered and beaten as they left. In fact of those who want to "forget," Hebe de Bonafini, President of the Mothers, said: "Without justice and punishment, peace will not be possible."

The spontaneous anti-military demonstrations in the wake of the Malvinas war helped make possible the current elections. None of the parties, however, foresees any change in Argentina's economic crisis. Inflation rose to a fantastic 924 percent in September. Workers, who barely earn \$150 a month, demonstrated in a tightly-organized general strike on Oct. 4.

The strike was called by established unions in large part to gain back control from militant workers and wild-cat strikes. Hospital workers, bank clerks, doctors, government employees, dock workers, and teachers have all gone on strike without sanction of the union confederations, the church or the military. These independent actions point to one possible beginning to tear down the military-Peronist paralysis that has disoriented Argentina for 40 years.

— Mary Holmes

gua. Recently, Esso refused to lease any more of its tankers to Mexico for those shipments.

In recent months, contra raids from Honduras have killed civilians and soldiers, and destroyed villages and crops across the border. But Reagan's dreamed-of "popular uprising" against the Nicaraguan government has not happened. That is one reason the CIA is now directing the contras to destroy economic targets considered vital.

As part of this week of U.S. subversion, Reagan sent off his "bipartisan" commission on Central America, headed by Henry Kissinger. 50,000 Nicaraguans demonstrated at his arrival at the end of the week, calling him the "messenger of murder." Kissinger talked less than an hour with the government, then spent most of the time with businessmen, conservative churchmen, and political opponents of the Sandinistas.

Kissinger's flying circus to six countries in six days was designed to sanctify Reagan's existing military policies. In violation of the commission's rules of not meeting any "rebels," Kissinger met with the head of Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries in Costa Rica. He refused to meet any representatives of the Salvadoran opposition.

The week before Reagan's commission arrived in El Salvador, the tortured and murdered bodies of three kidnapped labor leaders and a woman professor were found. Over 100 people active in unions disappeared in September alone. Kissinger discharged his duty by lecturing the ruling government assassins on "democracy and human rights." And while the death squads have been increasing their terror campaign, it has not quelled the unrest.

Strikes in El Salvador are illegal, but workers at a state-run construction company have been on a "work stoppage." Every day, over half the 1,300 workers came in but refused to work. They demanded a raise in their \$2.50 per day wages, the right to organize, and the release of their union's leader, one of the three who was later found murdered.

Before the final stop in Nicaragua, Kissinger went to Guatemala and Honduras, which has become one big U.S. military base with 4,000 U.S. troops alongside 8,000 Somocista counter-revolutionaries. In face of this U.S. military presence on Central American soil, Reagan's "diplomatic" maneuvers are a transparent facade. Only a week before the commission left, the head of the U.S. Southern Command attended a meeting of military chiefs from Guatemala, Honduras and El Salvador. They met to revive CONDECA, the regional military pact defunct since the '60s. Then, Nicaragua was under Somoza and part of the pact. Now it is the target.

Here in the U.S., the October anti-nuke actions have included demonstrations against Reagan's war in Central America. A tiny "peace flotilla" tried to block an outgoing ship at Port Chicago, Cal., where arms are shipped to Central America. The planned national demonstrations in November become all the more urgent, to halt Reagan's bloody plans in Central America and to expose his exercises in "bipartisan" brainwashing.

— Mary Holmes

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its opposition to arbitrary teacher transfers to "hard-to-staff" inner-city schools in Black and Latino neighborhoods.

Instead of taking the larger view and pressing for broad change, attacking the real reasons behind the catastrophe that confronts not only teachers but us all, the union capitulated. It took the Board up on its offer to table the agency shop and transfer issues and hold them for "future study."

How can the crisis in education be separated from the larger issues of capitalism and racism? We live in a world where Reagan takes away kids' lunches in order to build a better bomb, where the school system reduces critical and creative mental activity to stultifying "right answer" getting — the right answer being that which the boss wants to hear. The totality has to be attacked and transformed.

The schools as they exist are irrelevant to students' real needs. Too often I have seen how human beings crying out for development are tied down with a blanket and put to sleep. True, teachers shouldn't be treated like children. But then, neither should children. — A Student teacher

**YOUTH****Education for privileged few**

by Ida Fuller, youth columnist

The prospect of education only for the few who can afford the high costs is becoming increasingly real in the richest land in the world. When California Governor Deukmejian threatened to impose a \$50 tuition on community college enrollment in order to compensate for his massive education cuts, there was an immediate 10% drop in enrollment. Literally 100,000 students did not register because they could not take the risk of possibly having to pay tuition. What a terrible price to pay — to force 100,000 brains to remain dormant.

**Study and Struggle**

While the threat of a 7% education cut for this year still persists, community colleges in the Black and Latino areas of Compton and East Los Angeles are already on the verge of bankruptcy. Such a condition meant a demand for wage and overtime concessions that Compton's community college teachers have militantly rejected. In a word, there is no division between lack of education and lack of jobs.

**LATINO AND BLACK YOUTH**

As Black and Latino communities are being pressed to "tighten their belts", consider the recent proposition of a government panel to create a "network of exemplary schools specializing in mathematics and science, 1,000 at the elementary and secondary level." No one can be deluded about such a clear manifestation of limiting education to the privileged few. And what youth realize today is that such a system has already been created with tax breaks for private schools, with massive cuts in school budgets, bilingual education, training programs, not to mention school lunch programs.

One Latina high school student I spoke with who was worried about the proposed elimination of bilingual education, could not help but remember her own painful struggle when she came to the U.S. "I couldn't communicate with anybody and was constantly ridiculed for being a Mexican. There is so much pressure to learn English to defend yourself." Another Latina who heard her comments quickly added, "But we will go on a strike if they cut our bilingual education. We will go out and demonstrate. This system is building itself on our slave labor."

While Latinas relate the elimination of bilingual education to their labor, Black youth consider the attack on education inseparable from their 60% unemployment. A soon-to-be unemployed Black Youth Corps worker expressed it as follows: "This system makes you sick. It makes you feel like you have nothing to look forward to. I had to quit college after a year because my financial aid was cut and now they tell us, 'you have to know computers to find a job.'"

**Youth in Revolt**

Ten members of Moscow's independent peace group went on a hunger strike to protest the jailing of one of the group's founders, student Oleg Radzinsky, for giving classes on works of banned authors. Meanwhile, a group of California anti-war activists is organizing to support the Moscow group.

Stephen Schlossberg of Minneapolis was indicted on Sept. 21 for not registering for the draft. The very next day, a rally was held to protest both his indictment and U.S. intervention in Central America and Lebanon. He was the 16th nonregistrant to be charged; around 800,000 have not been indicted.

In Nowa Huta, Poland, 1,000 stone-throwing youths marched behind a Solidarity banner on Oct. 13, in memory of Bogdan Wlosik, a 20-year-old shot dead a year ago during pro-Solidarity protests in that steelworking city.

On Oct. 2 about 7,500 Japanese demonstrators, many of them students, protested the visit of a U.S. nuclear aircraft carrier to Sasebo, and possible plans to make Sasebo a front-line U.S. nuclear base.

About 1,000 young demonstrators tried to storm the convention of a neo-Nazi party in Fallingbommel, West Germany, on Sept. 30. Although police defended the Nazis with clubs, dogs, and a water cannon, the youth delayed the start of the convention with a blockade, and tore up some Nazis' cars.

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But now we see that computers are merely used to lay us off en masse. And computers are made into thinkers while transforming human power into button pushers. Most of us are now either unemployed or in low skilled and very low paying jobs. Even computer-trained youth are now having trouble finding jobs because the system only needs a few programmers. The rest are used to do the menial work. Even capitalist economists admit that computers can only generate a 5% employment growth during the next decade. Thus, to extract the maximum from labor and pay the minimum, the capitalist system of production is now using education to create an elite cadre of so-called thinkers, that is to say, programmers, and a vast number of manual workers with alienating compartmentalized and "mind dulling" jobs.

Youth at the same time are resisting that stratification in their own way. While many accuse us of "illiteracy," we detest the present system of education for its boring nature and total separation from life. One young Black woman told me, "The system of education is so boring that students lose their interest and would rather not go to school. I used to like Afro-American history when I was in high school but now in college, for example at the University of Detroit, they have cut out Black Studies." In this way they warp not the minds of Blacks who know this history, but the brains of whites who thereby lose learning of a whole continent of freedom struggles and freedom thought.

Many youth are resisting these attempts to deprive them of an education. They are creating their own alternatives. I would like to discuss one of these alternatives I am involved in in a future article.

**Solidarity of U.S. protests against Euromissiles**

Detroit marchers protest against Euromissile deployment.

Los Angeles, Cal. — In a show of solidarity with the massive demonstrations in Western Europe against the stationing of the Euromissiles, 5,000 marched and rallied Oct. 22 in the heart of Los Angeles' nuclear production facilities in El Segundo.

It marked the first time that a major anti-nuclear demonstration was held right where some of the largest nuclear weapons manufacturers have their headquarters and production facilities. Components of the Cruise and Pershing II missiles are produced within blocks of where the rally was held.

Whether because of this proximity to the heart of the nuclear monster—or because opposition to Reagan's threat of new "conventional" wars overseas has grown—we found an intense interest in ideas, especially Marxist-Humanist ideas by youth at the rally. The News & Letters literature table was thronged the whole afternoon, with many youth asking us, "What kind of society can we create to stop these missiles from being produced?" A number of youth said they wanted the battle against the Euromissiles to be focused on El Segundo at the very place where they are produced.

A civil disobedience action at the Rockwell International plant is scheduled for later in the week, and further actions are being planned.

— News &amp; Letters participant

San Francisco, Cal. — Some 5,000 anti-war activists demonstrated here Oct. 22 against U.S. deployment of first strike missiles in Western Europe next month. Before marching to the rally, the demonstrators lined 17 blocks of downtown San Francisco in a "human billboard," with most carrying signs that opposed deployment, many showing their equal opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America.

At the rally, instead of standing up front and listening to the speakers, nearly all of whom told people to vote in upcoming elections, the vast majority crowded around 75 or so literature tables of anti-nuclear, women's liberation, international solidarity and Left groups.

One youth I spoke to felt that, "We need more than an anti-war movement, because what we need to do is change this whole society." A student from a small town

**Latina rejects the army**

Los Angeles, Cal. — I am an 18-year-old Latina who graduated from high school last year. After graduation I faced the dim prospect of a college education because of many financial troubles at home.

One day when an army recruiter dropped by the house, he sat down with my parents, convinced them that I would realize the "American dream" by going into the army and they made the necessary arrangements with him. None of them even bothered to consult me, and after the recruiter was gone, I was told about a "bright future in the army."

From that moment I felt very miserable and thought, why should I perform such slavery to get an "education." The only thing that made me accept the decision was poverty. My parents support six children and my going to the army would have meant one less burden. But when I read the interview with two women army deserters in the News and Letters Youth Bulletin, my doubts about not going to the army became certain.

What struck me in the interview was that "You don't ask 'why' in the army." That was like my own life. After that, the first step was to confront my father to tell him that I was not going. I also questioned his sexism, "You cannot treat me like a piece of property, you cannot discriminate between me and my brothers. I am a women's liberationist." Then I said: "I like those who rebel against this society, because they want new human relationships. I want to be one of them."

Of course now, my father thinks I am a "failure." But I know that so far this has been the greatest accomplishment of my life.

outside the city was concerned with how the movement could break through its isolation from Blacks and Latinos. When Latino farmworkers picketed recently at Inglenook Winery, his anti-nuke group went down to the line to support them. He and many others had been to the March on Washington, held in San Francisco on Aug. 27.

With most demonstrators feeling that Reagan has every intention of going ahead with deployment next month despite such massive opposition, these were just the kinds of serious questions being raised by many other groups at the rally as well.

Two days later about 300 demonstrators went into the financial district on a civil disobedience "walking tour" stopping at such landmarks as Union Carbide, Boeing and United Technologies. Over 60 demonstrators were arrested for blocking the doors.

What was most impressive was the militancy of the demonstrators. The youth tied up the whole district for three hours and brought many sympathetic remarks from the hundreds of people on lunch break.

— Anti-nuke activist

Chicago, Ill. — Despite a steady cold downpour over 800 people demonstrated on Oct. 22 against Euromissiles and U.S. intervention in Central America and the Middle East. The spirit of the march down Michigan Ave. was exemplified by a high school youth who wanted to march through Water Tower Place, a shopping center geared towards rich people, and by marchers singing freedom songs from the Civil Rights Movement and banging pots in solidarity with the Chilean revolt.

— N&amp;L participants

**Haig protest at U. of M.**

Ann Arbor, Mich. — "I go to bed every night thanking God I don't live in Russia," former Secretary of State Alexander Haig stated to over 1,500 people on Oct. 20, at the University of Michigan. An additional 500 people were turned away because the audience was spilling into the aisles. Haig came to give his views on U.S. foreign policy, but spent most of his time trying to belittle the protesters.

At the speech, many students called out questions to Haig, who evaded every question with a sardonic remark. One woman asked Haig to explain and defend the deployment of Cruise missiles in Europe, to which he replied "Looks won't get you everywhere my dear." Banners were unfurled with slogans such as, "National security is a front for a corrupt self-interest," and "Feed the hungry, not the Pentagon."

Prior to Haig's speech, students staged a "die-in" objecting to Haig's support of U.S. war policies. Their slogan was "Peace NOW!"

Haig stayed at East Quad the most radical dorm on campus. There were three university guards in addition to his personal guards to protect Haig from the 150 protesters at the dorm. The students were circling outside of his room and telling him to go home. There were also shouts of protest against U.S. imperialism and militarism.

— U. of M. activist

