

Theory/
Practice

NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

Vol. 30 — No. 3

APRIL, 1985

25¢

Capital tries
to eliminate
living wage

by John Marcotte

As bad as the vicious tide of anti-labor concessions has been these last few years, the shocking news is that the five major U.S. copper producers are demanding wage cuts of \$6 an hour, now, even before the present contracts expire in June of 1986. If you remember that Phelps Dodge workers have been on strike since 1983 over a \$1.25 wage cut, and the scabs have decertified the union in Arizona and Texas; and that the United Steelworkers (USWA) is offering Phelps Dodge, Kennecott, Newmont Mining, Inspiration Consolidated and Asarco a \$2.50 an hour wage cut, which the companies have rejected as too little and insist on \$6, you can see what Reagan meant when he said, "You ain't seen nothing yet." According to the *Wall Street Journal* the USWA was willing to give up \$10,000 per worker per year, or \$150 million by the end of the contract, and that was rejected by the companies.

Reaganism, or the movement of the ruling class to drastically and permanently reshape the face of American labor, reducing all to the lowest level and indeed pauperism, is alive and well in this so-called recovery. According to the Department of Labor, of the 2.3 million workers covered by major contract settlements in 1984, almost one-quarter were forced to take wage cuts or freezes; 119,000 took wage cuts averaging almost 10%; and 800,000 had to accept a two-tier wage system.

Not only has the minimum wage not risen since January of 1981, while in the last three years in New York

(continued on page 3)

Black World

Origins
of Black
Marxism

by Lou Turner

The decade following the Russian Revolution saw the race riots of the "Red Summer of 1919" signal the emergence of the "New Negro" and the world historic rise of the Garvey movement, while Lenin and American Marxists formulated the first Marxist thesis on the "Negro Question". It was the birth of Black Marxism.

Nothing better exposes, however, the attitude of racist neglect on the part of American historians, on the one hand, and the suppression by American Communist ideologues, on the other, toward that historical and theoretically new moment, when the dimensions of Black and Red fused into a single revolutionary dialectic, than the recent opening of an exhibit of archival documents from the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at the Wayne State University Labor Archives in Detroit.

BLACK AND RED AT TURNING POINT

What struck me, as I toured the exhibit, was how a single display of documents from Dunayevskaya's Archives so profoundly illuminated the multi-dimensionality of the fusion of Black and Red, that our understanding of everything from Black literature to revolution, from the West Indies to South Africa, from the movement of peasantry to Black proletariat in the 1920s and '30s may have to be re-examined.

However, it was at the reception following her lecture opening the exhibit, that Raya Dunayevskaya presented Dr. Philip Mason of the Reuther Library with one of the most extraordinary documents from American Black and Marxist history, a recently discovered 1926 copy of the *Negro Champion*, the organ of the American Negro Labor Congress.

As a young woman in Chicago, Dunayevskaya had attended the first-ever gathering of Black workers and Marxists at the founding convention

(continued on page 9)

Superpowers and China lie in wait

Will mass unrest alter India's path?

by Peter Wermuth

The electoral sweep of Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Congress Party (I) in state assembly elections March 5, and his pronouncement that India's "non-aligned" status "will in no way be changed," has not dampened Reagan's ambition of coaxing India closer to the U.S. at the expense of Russia. Indeed, India's new ruler—nicknamed "computerji" because of his professed admiration for American-made high technology—is smart enough to nurture the image that he might extract India from its now-friendly relations with Russia if he can get more U.S. foreign investment in return.

At the same time, Rajiv Gandhi is in no rush to throw in his lot with Reagan, because the real determinant to Indian foreign relations is not Russia or the U.S., but China. India and China have conducted intense negotiations for months aimed at resolving their decades-long border dispute and no progress has been

reported so far. So long as China maintains its territorial claims upon northern India, and so long as Reagan continues to militarily arm India's other arch-rival, Pakistan, to the tune of \$3.2 billion, any hope for an instant breakthrough in India-U.S. relations will remain a mirage.

INDIAN LIFE AND LABOR

Whether Rajiv Gandhi chooses to ally India with the U.S. or with Russia or to maintain India as a halfway house between the superpowers matters little insofar as the Indian masses are concerned, faced as they are with the twin burdens of capitalist development and pre-capitalist technological underdevelopment. In order to grasp the reality of India today, we need to focus not only on the machinations from above, but also upon the conditions of life and labor from below.

(continued on page 10)

SOUTH AFRICA NEARS FULL CIVIL WAR, pp. 9, 12



Funeral protest at Crossroads

EDITORIAL

End Reaganism before
Reaganism ends us

Like the Mad Hatter in "Alice in Wonderland," Ronald Reagan evidently believes that "words mean what I say they mean." Thus:

- An economy that has forced millions into a state of permanent unemployment—and sees more men, women and children homeless than even in the Great Depression—is considered "robust"; extending unemployment benefits to those whose compensation ran out on March 31 is just one more example of "waste" and "unnecessary" domestic spending; and the total retreat on civil rights or any attention to the unconscionable Black unemployment rate is declared a true "independent" stand.

- The counter-revolutionaries and infamous mercenaries of American imperialism, who are trying to help Reagan make the Sandinistas say "Uncle," have suddenly become "freedom fighters" likened to nothing less than the founding fathers of the U.S.

- And the MX missile—a nuclear weapon which carries 10 warheads and is such a "high value" target that it requires being shuttled between hidden silos—is a "Peacekeeper"!

But Ronald Reagan is not the Mad Hatter; he is President of the most powerful country in the world. And his words are not just "words," but bear horren-

dous consequences for that world.

A BUDGET FOR DESTRUCTION

Those consequences are the kind of stakes involved in Reagan's current battle for his proposed federal budget, which will slash another \$51 billion from whatever social programs are still left after the onslaught of his first four years, while it adds another \$30 billion to the military—boosting it to an unprecedented \$277.5 billion for 1986. It is a "battle" being waged, however, with a Congress that is not arguing against Reagan's truly insane premise, but only with "how much" it will cost, measuring that only against what it will mean for the next election.

It is not only that Republicans and Democrats alike have bowed so easily to Reagan's making the vote for 21 more MX missiles tantamount to a "loyalty oath." What is most frightening of all is that Reagan's "Star Wars" scheme—which evoked only ridicule and laughter from the ideologues when he first proposed it to a startled nation two years ago, on March 23, 1983—has now been accepted as the framework of his program for the world.

(continued on page 10)

International Women's Day Celebrations

Chicago, Ill.—International Women's Day (IWD) was observed here for an entire week as different women's groups celebrated in their own unique ways. Women's Liberation-News and Letters Committees participated in several events. On March 6, Suzanne Casey gave a presentation to 50 women for the Chicago Area Women's History Conference. Her subject was the history of IWD and working women.

Casey gave that history a new viewpoint by asking who the women were who in 1857 marched by the hundreds through New York's Lower East Side demanding decent working conditions, a living wage and the right to vote. Her answer was that they were revolutionaries—women immigrants from the 1848 revolutions in Europe who could no more stop their militancy because of a move to a new country than they could stop breathing. Her tracing of the history of working women's fight for freedom at each stage showed the Reason of those women and their relationship to revolution.

March 9 was the citywide celebration at Roosevelt University, "IWD 1985: Which Way Forward For Women?" that was endorsed by many women's and Left organizations and brought together over 300 women and men. It began with a panel discussion with women from El Salvador and Peru and continued in many afternoon workshops taking up the freedom fights of women in different countries.

WOMEN AS THINKERS

In one workshop, Terry Moon and Suzanne Casey from News and Letters joined Black feminist Jackie Anderson in a panel on "Women in Theory and Practice: Women as Thinkers and Activists." Anderson spoke on Audre Lorde, reading from several essays that revealed Lorde to be a multi-dimensional woman, one certainly concerned with revolutionary change.

Terry Moon spoke on Eleanor Marx, as a woman who was facing the same urgency for activity in her day that we see today, but who was able to transcend that by PRACTICING Karl Marx's philosophy. Moon ended her presentation by saying that it took our age and the development of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism to make explicit what Eleanor Marx's contribution is to us today.

Suzanne Casey challenged those who would try to fragment Rosa Luxemburg, who would say she was a revolutionary but no feminist. Casey's talk revealed her as a whole person—revolutionary, feminist, woman—whose passion to transform the world was seen in everything she did—be that her agitation and writing against German imperialism in Africa, or her speech on woman suffrage.

At many points Casey related what she had devel-

oped in her presentation to Raya Dunayevskaya's book, **Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**, so that one saw how Casey's view of Luxemburg and her relevance for today was grounded in Dunayevskaya's work.

March 10 was our own Marxist-Humanist celebration of IWD in Chicago. Other News and Letters locals held their own meetings that same week in Detroit, New York and California. In Chicago, Terry Moon spoke on the Introduction/Overview to Raya Dunayevskaya's soon-to-be-published book, **Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future**. We had all been looking forward to our own meeting not only because we had much to celebrate: the publication of the new book and Raya Dunayevskaya's March 21 lecture in Detroit on her exhibit at the Wayne State Labor History Archives titled, "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts." We were also looking forward to our celebration because what we were to discuss was how we can totally uproot this horrible society so that we can begin to create a human one. Accomplishing that would be a real celebration of International Women's Day!

—Marxist-Humanist Participant



Santiago, Chile—Chilean women were met with water cannon on International Women's Day when they refused to leave a square where they were collecting food for those left homeless by the recent earthquake. They thrust boxes of food at the police to let them know what they were doing, yet Pinochet's cops attacked them with clubs and then tear gassed them. Despite all, they managed to load the now soggy food and clothing onto their truck.



women-worldwide

Young women, both Black and white, have been in the forefront of teachers' strikes in Mississippi which, since Feb. 25, have seen as many as 9,000 teachers out in 53 school districts. With the support of many parents and students, the Mississippi teachers—the lowest-paid in the country—are demanding wage increases because, as one picketer said, "We are not second class citizens! We want off the bottom!"

The Detroit Guatemala Committee is asking people to donate a few dollars to aid the family of a disappeared person. The donor is given a handmade braided wool bracelet to wear as a symbol of the disappeared and asked to tell that person's story whenever others comment on the bracelet. Letters are also sent to the U.S. government and to General Mejia Victores to demand that person's release. To join this campaign, write: **Detroit Guatemala Committee, P.O. Box 20284, Detroit, MI 48220, or call: (313) 849-5041.**

In the wake of last winter's Congressional hearings on child abuse, "children's issues" are finally getting some attention—and it isn't coming from the so-called "right to life" movement. In New York, 900 at a Children's Defense Fund Conference condemned the \$50 billion cut from programs affecting children by the Reagan administration between 1980 and 1990. And nationwide, groups formed to track missing children—almost 2 million yearly, 90% of whom are runaways—are demanding a national information network similar to the one now in operation to find stolen cars.

The new 22¢ stamp honoring Mary McLeod Bethune is the second commemorating a Black woman and only the eighth Black American to be so "honored." Dr. Betty-Collier Thomas, director of the National Archives for Black Women's History and the Mary McLeod Bethune Museum in Washington, D.C., said, "When you are talking about American history, you are talking about Black women. They have been there, but they have been invisible."

More than 1,000 women met in Frankfurt, West Germany, earlier this year to discuss racism, anti-immigration legislation and relations between German and immigrant women in West Germany. Twice as many participated as were expected—at least half of them immigrant women, including Indonesian nurses, as well as Turkish, Iranian and Ethiopian workers. They made plans to set up multinational women's centers and passed resolutions dealing with such issues as establishing the right of immigrant women to receive residency permits independent of their husbands.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard**
Statement of the National Editorial Board.
Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- Marx's Capital and Today's Global Crisis**
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Eleanor Marx in Chicago**
by Terry Moon 15¢ per copy
- Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion**
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- Working Women for Freedom**
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Latin America's Revolutions**
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions**
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought**
by Lou Turner and John Alan \$1 per copy
- Marx's "New Humanism" and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies**
by Raya Dunayevskaya 50¢ per copy
- Constitution of News & Letters Committees**
20¢ postage
- Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution**
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- The First General Strike in the U.S.**
by Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer \$1 per copy
- Dialectics of Liberation**
Summaries of Hegel's works and Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Marx and the Third World: New Perspectives on Writings from His Last Decade**
by Peter Hudis \$1 per copy
- Counter-revolution and Revolution in Iran: a series of political-philosophic letters**
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- 25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.**
A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
- A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism - 1941 to Today; Its Origin and Development in the U.S.**
\$1 per copy
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Marxism and Freedom**
... from 1776 to today
1982 edition. New introduction by author
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Philosophy and Revolution**
from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao
1982 edition. New introduction by author
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
- Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal** Life in the South and North
by Charles Denby,
Editor of News & Letters \$7.50 per copy
- Subscriptions to News & Letters**
Unique combination of worker and intellectual,
published 10 times a year \$2.50 per year
- Bound volume of News & Letters — 1977 to 1984**
\$25 per copy

• Send for free complete list of News & Letters publications.
• News & Letters is available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.
• News & Letters and most other publications are available on tape for the blind. For information, write to News & Letters.

MAIL ORDERS TO: (3-85)
News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren,
Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605
Enclosed find \$ for the literature checked.
Please add 75¢ to each order for postage.
Ill. residents add 8% sales tax

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

AFL-CIO actions further disorganize labor

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

On Feb. 21, the 28 International Unions that make up the AFL-CIO met in Bal Harbour, Fla. to "re-examine" the state of the labor movement. Staring these union "leaders" in the face were such telltale signs of their own bankruptcy as their failure to prevent Reagan's re-election and the fact that the percentage of workers organized in unions has fallen to 19% of the work force.

The conference produced a series of calls for "reforms" in the labor movement "to keep pace with the magnitude and velocity of change in the work place." But the actual "reforms" these so-called union "leaders" called for only showed how much they have failed to keep pace with the thinking of the American worker.

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

City, for example, inflation rose 18% and housing 25%. But Reagan seriously wants to push through a \$2.50 minimum wage—"for youth," he says. Since when is there one minimum wage for youth and one for adults? That is like the whole two-tier wage system. The lowest wage is the one that determines everything.

If my unionized shop pays \$3.62 to start, and most union shops in New York pay \$3.50 to \$4.00 to start, that is because the minimum wage is \$3.35. If the minimum were \$5, the union, to justify its parasitic living off our wages and sweat, would have to "get us" at least 25 to 50 cents over that to justify its existence. If \$2.50 is the bottom, that will become the measure of all wages.

The hi-tech revolution does not just mean robots throwing workers out of production jobs into unemployment or at best minimum wage service jobs. It means further mobility and internationalization of capital. It means that the wage Black steelworkers are paid in racist, fascist South Africa determines whether U.S. Steel closes its Chicago works; that the starvation wages of Chilean copper miners under Pinochet's boot determine Phelps Dodge's contract demands here; and Pan Am decides it wants its flight attendants on Asian flights to be based in Thailand and Hong Kong and paid Third World wages as well—\$225 a month. The absolute measure of wages now is not even a \$2.50 an hour minimum—it is Third World wages, which are more and more being paid in the U.S.

NO PARTIAL SOLUTIONS

The partial solutions of the present unions are no solutions at all. Look at International Harvester. The UAW claims it won a six-year "Job Content Preservation Program" of no lay-offs and guaranteed employment in its new contract. But first, it's so full of loopholes, like substituting money for unemployment benefits and job training for actual jobs, it's hard to know what it will mean. Second, it covers only 8,000 workers remaining of the 45,000 at IH back in 1975, before all the lay-offs. If that isn't closing the barn door after the horse got out, I don't know what is.

We have been talking at work about getting rid of our UAW union, it has so sold out to the boss. The problem is, we were saying, no other union will touch us because we belong to the UAW and they all have agreements with that union. We are prisoners of the UAW. We have an idea of what we want. One worker said, "We need a new kind of union, one that's not beholden to any of these unions, one that's really independent for the workers." Another worker felt we need something like the Polish Solidarity movement to arise in this country.

But I liked the idea of a Dominican worker, who talked about the 24-hour general strike in his country over the food price increases and said, "A general strike in one country alone is not enough. What we need is a general strike all over the world to bring down all these rulers, capitalist and Communist, so we can finally start building a really new society." I guess it might be Reagan who ain't seen nothing yet.

One of the major reports that came out of the gathering said, "Unions should consider abandoning the traditional labor contract in some cases. Instead, unions could negotiate minimum wage and working condition guarantees that would serve as a floor for individual bargaining between employees and employers." The bureaucrats also endorsed a report calling for more "arbitration" in order to prevent labor disputes "from developing into strikes."

Why in the world are these "union leaders" complaining about the fact that their membership rolls are declining so drastically? The reason for it is not so much management or the anti-union efforts of Reagan but the fact that unions offer no reason for being to the American worker anymore.

For years the trend in government and corporation alike has been to break the strength of labor by negotiating not with the International unions but on a plant-by-plant basis. That has been the reality in auto, steel, rubber and many other basic industries, as the capitalists have tried to force down wages by "showing" that one particular plant or another "isn't being run profitably enough." To this, the union bureaucrats have nothing to say.

WORKERS QUESTION KIND OF LABOR

For the past 35 years the philosophy and the practice of the union "leadership" has been based on putting together demands that can be reduced to dollars and cents—the economic factors. They paid no attention to the fact that, while fighting for economic gains, workers were also questioning the very mode of labor in this society, the very conditions of labor.

Now that the capitalists argue they don't have the dollars and cents to give the workers, the union leadership has no ground from which to fight at all. That is why they are capitulating so totally to Reagan's anti-labor policies, though they spent millions to try to defeat him in the election.

The rank-and-file have never thought the same way as their leadership. They certainly don't think the same way now. I have a friend from Colorado who told me he wasn't even sure he would join the union. "I don't see what good it does to have two bosses over me instead of one," he told me. There are a lot of workers who feel that way, who are looking for a different way to have their ideas on creating a different kind of labor heard. They certainly weren't being heard in the Bal Harbour meeting of the AFL-CIO.

Safety sparks revolt at U.S. Auto Radiator

Detroit, Mich.—When workers in the VC Core assembly area at U.S. Auto Radiator got new, heavier racks to handle, they revolted. They need new racks because the old ones are falling apart and are dangerous, but the new ones are too heavy. You have to pick up the rack and put it on a board. Then you have to put 1, 2, 4 or 6 heater cores in the rack. When you're done, you take it off the board and give it to the man at the automatic face dip. This job is called racking. It's done by women.

The revolt started before lunch. People who worked on the racks were beating their tools, shouting, "Heavy, heavy! Help, help!" One woman went to the union to find out what they could do. The union told her you can't refuse to do a job, but you can ask to go to the clinic. After lunch the foreman asked who wanted to go to the clinic. They surprised him by saying all at once, "I do!"

The foreman called a meeting right then, and after the women came back from the meeting, they stayed in the work area just talking. This got the foreman really mad, and he said, "You're all going to the office to see Mary." She's the one who does the hiring and firing for the plant. They told her the frames were too heavy. Mary said she would make them lighter and gave them permission to go to the clinic.

Since the rest of the department can't do without racking, the foreman said to the rest of the people in an angry voice, "All of you go home!" The next day the company had put the new racks on a pallet by machine repair and was using the old racks again.

—Plant One Worker

A man who works in Contract in Plant 2 got his hand caught in a metal cutting machine. There was no safety guard on the press. They did surgery to put his finger back on. He didn't lose his fingers like the woman did last summer. She can't work, but the word is that the company offered her a lifetime job as payment. Now who is going to hire that man with those hands? He won't be the same, either.

My opinion is this: They should lay us off and fix everything right instead of running things as they are. But they would be thinking they would lose too much, including paying us 40 hours of unemployment benefits. We're definitely putting out radiators—warehouses and warehouses of them. The workers feel like they're slaves anyway since the jobs pay \$5.25 an hour and you have all that

Puerto Rican community protests factory poisons

New York, N.Y.—On March 9, workers and neighbors of the Guanajibo Industrial Park in Mayagüez, Puerto Rico, organized as the Committee in Defense of Our Health, staged a mock funeral procession to protest government bureaucracy and its failure to demand that industry stop the irresponsible legal and illegal disposal of toxic wastes into the ground, air and water.

An acute situation has existed in the area for the past 20 months. Toxic gases are continuously released into the air from waste products thrown into the sewage and drainage systems by the plants. There have also been major gas leaks from the factories.

The Committee in Defense of Our Health has been holding press conferences, talks and clinics for sick workers in the community. It publishes a mimeographed newsletter in which workers from the different plants tell of the dangerous conditions there. The Committee holds that at least 700 of the 10,000 workers in the industrial park have been affected. The vast majority of the workers in the park are women.

A woman worker wrote in a recent newsletter of the incidents at the Angus America plant: "The first time it was 26 people. Some still have numbness in the face and mouth. There are workers who have headaches and dizziness and other effects of the poisons." Two workers from the plant have been diagnosed as suffering from polyneuropathy, an ailment that can paralyze a person.

The Guanajibo Industrial Park was established in Mayagüez by Puerto Rico's Commonwealth government as part of the heavy industrialization of the island since the 1960s. Located in one of the most populated cities, the government offers port facilities, roads, water supply and cheap electricity to nearly 30 foreign companies. Many of these companies are subsidiaries and affiliates of U.S. companies, which shift their taxable income to Puerto Rico, where they benefit from tax exemption, cheap labor and flexible environmental regulations.

—R. Pietri

Coming in May News & Letters—
South Africa nears Civil War
Subscribe to News & Letters, see p. 4

harassment.

A Black woman worker at Plant 2 is five months pregnant. She turned in a paper from the doctor saying she could stand two hours and sit two hours. The company said to her: "I'm sorry. There is no such job." You're supposed to go on maternity leave after seven months. Management forced her to leave early, and it's only because she is Black. They could have found a job she could do. What is that woman going to do? They only pay you 13 weeks maternity leave and, even then, what they pay you is only \$70 every two weeks!

—Women workers

GM autoworker's letter

Oklahoma City, Okla.

3-17-85

Dear T,

I have to write this letter on my only day off, Sunday. We are working three Saturdays a month and over eight hours every day. All this production when, according to an Oklahoma newspaper, there are 35,000 GM autoworkers who have seniority and haven't been called back. Look at the thousands of jobs that could be created just by going back to an eight-hour day, five days a week. Overtime hurts all of us workers. Every place that I hear about is working overtime. This takes thousands of jobs out of the labor force. It just has to stop.

One of the men that came back here from South Gate, Calif., stopped by my operation Saturday and was saying that his wife is being called back to Van Nuys, Calif., to work. To keep a job with GM she has to go. She tried to get a job here, but she had high blood pressure, so they wouldn't hire her. This woman's blood pressure is okay now, because she passed her physical examination at Van Nuys.

March 1, they took applications here at Oklahoma City. I heard that the employment office gave out 10,000 applications in just that one day and could have given out more but ran out. They also took applications on March 8 for about 300 jobs this summer. So why make this woman leave her husband and home and go to California to keep a job? If she didn't go back, she would lose all of her seniority, so it is very important for retirement.

Well, there is probably a lot more I could write about, but it is getting late—12:00 already. So will close for now.

—M

News & Letters

Vol. 30 No. 3

April, 1985

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

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
National Editorial Board

Charles Denby Editor (1955-1983)
Felix Martin Labor Editor
Eugene Walker Managing Editor

News & Letters
is printed in
a union shop.



The sanctuary movement and Abolitionism

by Ida Fuller, youth columnist

With the escalating attacks of the Reagan administration on Central America, a new form of resistance has arisen within the North American solidarity movement: a network of public sanctuaries for transporting Guatemalan and El Salvadoran refugees from the Mexico-Arizona border to the North or Canada. This sanctuary movement associates itself proudly, in literature and press conferences, with the 19th century Underground Railroad of the Abolitionist struggle and Harriet Tubman's safehouse stops for runaway slaves.

In January, 16 sanctuary activists were indicted on charges of "conspiracy" and 60 refugees were jailed after the FBI and the INS raided sanctuary churches and houses in Phoenix, Seattle, Rochester, Philadelphia and Detroit. In Texas, Jack Elder and Stacey Merkt have now been sentenced to 150 days and 179 days imprisonment respectively. In addition, both have been put under a gag order not to speak to the press about the sanctuary movement.

The trials have been a sham from beginning to end. The court prohibited defense on the ground of opposition to the Reagan-backed repression in Guatemala and El Salvador. Furthermore, this attack on the sanctuary movement is part of a recent State Department "white paper" on Central America which openly declares the Central American solidarity movement as a target.

GROWTH OF SANCTUARY MOVEMENT

In the face of these attacks, new support has begun to flow into the movement from a large group of volunteers, and from 200 churches which have recently declared themselves open to public sanctuary. In Tucson, Ariz. an International Symposium on Central American Refugees drew 1,200 who heard speeches by the refugees. Demonstrations against the deportation of Central American refugees have been held in Seattle, Boston, Cincinnati, Los Angeles and San Francisco. Two Native American tribes in New York have declared their reservations a sanctuary for Guatemalan Indians. Further attempts are being made to declare some farms and union halls as sanctuaries.

At this very moment when, in the face of Reaganism's imminent attacks, the sanctuary movement is growing in numbers and diversity, a real understanding of how the Abolitionist Movement was transformed from an early reformist one into a principled and revolutionary freedom movement can help us.

What transformed the Abolitionist Movement were the fugitive slaves of the Underground Railroad who not only became generals and leaders

but qualitatively changed the discussion of that movement to embody their burning desire for uprooting this society. Indeed, the greatness of the Abolitionist Movement was in its bringing together many different sectors of the population in an exchange of freedom ideas. Its proof was in the development of the fugitive slaves and the new human dimension which its intellectuals gained.*

It was Harriet Tubman who in 1849 fled slavery in Maryland and became a most ingenious general of the Underground Railroad, the conducting of which required a great deal of creativity and thought. She played a role in formulating John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry and made herself a public lecturer, both on the Black struggle and the Suffrage Movement.

Sojourner Truth, who escaped slavery in 1827, was determined not to carry a trace of bondage in her name. She put her whole philosophy in her new name because she was determined to sojourn the world and tell the truth about the lie of American democracy. Feeling "so tall within, as if the power of a nation was within me," she assigned herself to give lectures which made her known as a "naturally powerful mind with unflinching adherence to the cause of human freedom."

SLAVES' REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS

The airing of fugitive slaves' revolutionary ideas in the pages of the Abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator* and the powerful impact of their biographies published by Abolitionists in that period meant new relationships between fugitive slaves and the Abolitionist intellectuals. It gave a totally new human dimension to intellectuals such as William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips.

Wendell Phillips hailed John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry for having "turned attention inwardly" to the contradictions of American civilization. He recognized it as the result of a "20-year insurrection of ideas" and "the first drop of the coming shower," the Civil War.

That commitment to freedom ideas is what speaks to us today. We need to make the sanctuary movement a forum for both the Central American refugees who come from lands on the verge of revolution and that Second America of workers, farmers and Native Americans who have offered their homes and union halls as sanctuaries, to discuss what is on our minds: the need to uproot the kind of society which degrades human beings to "illegal aliens" or seeks to reduce them to cogs in a machine.

* See "Abolitionists and their Relation to the Black Dimension" by Raya Dunayevskaya in *News & Letters*, March 1985.

High school students speak out on miseducation

Editor's Note: Amidst heightened tensions over the "security crackdown" in the Detroit public schools, three students from different schools spoke on Feb. 24 about the prison-like conditions they face on a daily basis. At a forum sponsored by News and Letters Committees the students—an 18-year-old white man, a young Black woman and a 15-year-old woman—echoed an opposition to this miseducation which is voiced by many Detroit students.

Two police officers came up to me at Murray-Wright High School and told me to empty out my pockets. Then they patted me down. They had no reason at all for doing this; they just picked me out of the hall while I was on my way to class. They made me 15 minutes late, and then I almost got kicked out of class.

At Murray-Wright we only have five minutes warning before we get a hall sweep to catch students late for class. In those five minutes they take these big iron gates and seal off the halls. Then they go around and get everybody out from behind the gates, take them to the office and exclude them for three days. You have to bring your parent to get back in.

After we lost the appeal on our suspension, the Director of Attendance asked us which school we would prefer, and my mother chose one. We went there, and the principal started questioning me. He told me a lot of things like, you know if you come here you can't fight or I'm going to kick you out.

The principal gave me this really thick book, bigger

than the Student Code of Conduct, and he asked me to read him the title, which I did. It was like he was deciding whether to let me in the school or not, and I told him it wasn't his decision, that the decision was mine and was already made.

It's gotten so that teachers just don't care at Murphy Middle School. They'll give you the assignment and if you ask for a pass out of class, they'll say, sure, go ahead. You can go hang out in the hall for the whole year. In one class I've heard there are supposed to be over 30 kids and there are usually only about five. If that teacher decides you're not doing the problems fast enough, he'll give you the answers. How are you supposed to learn if he's giving you the answers? That's Civics class.

One thing I would like to say is that I feel like I'm being changed into a robot. Everybody is supposed to obey. No matter how hard it is, you've got to do it or else you get excluded or suspended. They shove you out of the way because you're a rebel. That's why students skip so much, because they don't want to be a robot.

The panel was moderated by Laurie Cashdan, a News and Letters member, who felt that youth's opposition to being treated like a robot, a thing, was related to the ideas of Marxist-Humanism. She quoted from the chairwoman of News and Letters, Raya Dunayevskaya, who compared youth's "reaching for the future" to "the Promethean vision that Marx bequeathed to us."

Native American protest

by Shainape Shcapwe

Detroit, Mich.—In the Jan.-Feb. N&L I wrote about the protest Native Americans held at the Fort Totten Indian Reservation against attempts to cut off food stamps. Six people had been arrested and Alice One Bear refused to leave jail, hoping to get publicity for the plight of the people living at Fort Totten.

Since that time Alice One Bear received a suspended sentence after being charged with disturbing the peace. She was glad she stayed in jail, and the way it came out was easier than she expected. But she called it a trap, looking like everyone is cooperating, because it's really just on the surface. She feels like Social Services gave up only what they would have anyway. Since you know the system can't work for you, she said, we have to make the change for ourselves.

Since the protest, the tribal council is making good on their promise to get some hearings on the housing situation. In the winter, the houses can't be winterized enough to make them bearable.

The head of the tribal council said they've also gotten the government to start giving out more food by threatening to talk to people about how many nearby warehouses are filled with food that has not been distributed. The government has been saying they can't give it out to individuals, only to institutions like schools or soup kitchens. But who can open up a soup kitchen to feed people on a 300-square-mile reservation?

A lot of people at Fort Totten had felt that they were always forced to deal with the government on its terms. Now they have gotten a start on how we could try for something different. They are talking about it and being really organized about it. Fort Totten is one of the poorest reservations anywhere, so it's really good to see this happening.

Iranian workers' strikes

In the past ten months Iran has been the scene of more than 100 spontaneous strikes by rank-and-file workers. This represents the most massive opposition to Khomeini's government since 1981 when the mass genocide of revolutionaries began.

● In Isphahan Foundry over 20,000 workers went on strike over the imminent lay-off of 5,000 workers and staff. Faced with the imprisonment of fellow strikers after a month on strike, workers held the entire management hostage. The para-military Pasdarans stormed the factory, broke up the strike and executed 10 workers on the spot.

● Workers at Madar Textile, who had requested to have a voice in the lay-off of workers, were threatened by imprisonment in the horrible torture chambers of Evin. To this threat they replied, "We are not afraid of prison. Our miserable lives today are no better than prison."

● Members of the Pasdarans dragged Canada Dry worker representatives from their houses in the middle of the night and stormed the factory where workers were holding a sit-in. The battle continued with the Pasdarans shooting unarmed workers, while workers set up barricades behind the machines and fought back with soda bottles.

● Workers went on strike at Tide Detergent when "war taxes" were imposed on them, and forced management to rescind the decision. At the same time the number of draft resisters has been increasing steadily, and there are reports that members of the Pasdarans enter houses of high school students and take them away by force.

● When the management of Starlight Stocking asked working mothers to pay for the limited child-care centers provided by the factory, angry working women stormed the management offices and forced them to rescind their decision.

● Workers at Belmont Corporation refused to accept the new orders given by management that workers should go to lunch two at a time, thereby preventing communication. They were successful in forcing management to resume the public dining halls where all workers eat at the same time.

A new form of organization called "Workers General Assemblies" seems to be emerging, replacing the revolutionary workers' Shoras (soviets), which were formed during the 1979 Revolution and have been taken over by agents of the government. The Islamic Republican Party, which has allowed no other form of grass-roots organization to exist, has been forced to acknowledge these Workers Assemblies.

In the Assemblies workers discuss all implications of their grievances, elect representatives and present management with a unanimous list of demands. The representatives keep workers informed at all times as to the nature of negotiations and have demonstrated that they refuse to "sell out" their fellow workers. Often times the representatives are harassed, accused of having socialist tendencies and arrested by the Pasdarans. Workers have gone on strike demanding the return of detained representatives.

—Neda Azar

Subscribe to

News & Letters

Only \$2.50 per year

Send coupon to: News & Letters
59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, IL 60605

Enclosed find \$2.50 for a one year subscription.

Name _____

Address _____ City _____

State _____ Zip _____

News & Letters can be contacted directly in the following areas:

CHICAGO: 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, IL 60605 (663-0839)
DETROIT: 1249 Washington Blvd. Rm. 1740
Detroit, Mich. 48226 (963-9077)
SAN FRANCISCO: P.O. Box 77303, San Francisco,
Cal. 94107 (658-1448)
LOS ANGELES: P.O. Box 29194
Los Angeles, Cal. 90029
NEW YORK: P.O. Box 196
New York, N.Y. 10163 (663-3631)
SALT LAKE CITY: P.O. Box 8251
Salt Lake City, UT. 84108
FLINT: P.O. Box 3384
Flint, Mich. 48502

Marxist-Humanist Archives Exhibit and Lecture sponsored by Wayne State Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs

Theory/
Practice
NEWS & LETTERS
Human Power is its own end—Marx

Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism
in the United States

Editor's Note: Below we print excerpts of Raya Dunayevskaya's talk "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts" delivered on March 21, 1985; at the opening of the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs exhibit on "The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection — Marxist-Humanism, 1941 To Today: Its Origin and Development in the U.S."

I. Introduction: Archives and Archivists

Good evening. Thank you, Dr. Mason.

This is not a mere courtesy thanks. Rather, it is the measure of how the Archives as a whole, as well as tonight's talk on the Dialectics of Revolution, are related to my Collection being at Wayne State University...The decision to choose Wayne State University, as against the Wisconsin Historical Society, was based on the fundamentally different attitudes each had toward the concept of what Archives are...

The question was how could an archivist know what the participants in most of the events perceived the dialectics of revolution to be? In this Marxist-Humanist Collection, the dialectics of revolution range from the 1905 Russian Revolution and its ramifications in the 1906-1911 Revolution in Iran; to the November 1917 Russian Revolution and its international impact; to the beheaded 1919 German Revolution; as well as to the revolutions in our own era. And dialectics relate not just to those revolutions that were successful, but to the many revolutions that were aborted.

MY CHOICE OF Wayne State University was due not alone to the fact that the Wayne State University Labor Archives let me speak for myself, but that they had both a full appreciation of the fact that archives were not limited to the past and would, therefore, consider additions to the Collection, as well as a recognition of the significance of archives in general.

In that spirit, thank you, Dr. Mason.

II. The Excitement of Becoming Trotsky's secretary and the Break with Trotskyism

I am not writing the history of the past in the future tense. I have no intention of analyzing an historic perso-



Raya Dunayevskaya with Dr. Philip Mason, WSU Archives Director

nage like Leon Trotsky only as I see him after my break from Trotskyism. I have always strongly opposed any re-writing of history. I do not deny that I certainly considered it the highest moment of my own development up to that time to have become Trotsky's secretary and to have been a guard and translator as well.

[At this point Dunayevskaya read an excerpt from a report she had written at the time of her work with Trotsky in Coyoacan, Mexico in 1937-38. It described the daily routine and the "meticulous, objective research" Trotsky demanded during the infamous Moscow Frame-Up Trial charges. She then continued with her story.]

All the labors could not, however, keep convinced Trotskyists from raising questions as to the nature of a Russia which staged such a frame-up of Trotsky, Bukharin and, indeed, all of those known as "the General Staff of the Revolution," with these monstrous accusations.

Trotsky's contention was that while the frame-up did show that the workers' state had "degenerated," nothing could change the fact that it had arisen out of a Russian Revolution which had abolished private property. To Trotsky, nationalized property "meant" that Russia

remained a workers' state, though "degenerate."...

I FELT THE NEED to prove my conviction that what had occurred was a total transformation into opposite, that Russia had turned from a workers' state into a state-capitalist society.

It took three years before I finished my study of the three Five-Year Plans from original sources, set in the context of a new world stage of capitalism. The Great Depression had collapsed private capitalism, and had led to statification. Originally, the study began with a section called "Labor and Society"; but the Workers Party, in accepting the economic study for publication though they were bureaucratic collectivists, refused to accept "Labor and Society"...

I had joined with CLR James, who had also come to a state-capitalist position and had written a lengthy political Resolution for submission to the Workers Party. This State-Capitalist Tendency came to be known as the Johnson-Forest Tendency.

WHAT I HAD NOT been aware of at the time was that the piece, "Labor and Society" — the one rejected by the Workers Party when they accepted my economic analysis — actually contained what would also cause, nearly a decade later, the break between Johnson and Forest, and the new creation of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism. The philosophy that the Workers Party rejected was based on Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays which, at the time I quoted from it, I knew only as Marx's single article, "Alienated Labor."

When, in the 1950 Miners' General Strike, I again used Marx's Humanist Essays — and my own activity showed the beginning of Marxist-Humanism — CLR James also recoiled from Marx's Humanism. This first became clear in the final section of the 1950 Tendency document, "State-Capitalism and World Revolution", written under his direction. There, Humanism was dismissed as religious and/or Existentialist.

It was not until three years later — May 12 and May 20, 1953 — that I first broke through on the Absolute Idea in my letters to Grace Lee. I maintained that the Absolute Idea was not an abstraction or some sort of call for a God, but that it contained within it a movement from practice as well as from theory. This led to the founding of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.

It is time now to turn to the founding of the Marxist-Humanist paper, *News & Letters*.

(continued on page 7)

Raya Dunayevskaya's living archives

by Eugene Walker
Managing Editor, *News & Letters*

Detroit, Mich.—Wayne State University's McGregor Conference Center was jammed the evening of March 21 with close to 200 listeners—Black autoworkers, young university students and professors, women's liberationists, activists from Detroit as well as across the country and indeed, revolutionaries from the Middle East and from Europe—to hear the founder of Marxist-Humanism in the United States, Raya Dunayevskaya, speak on "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts." The talk, sponsored by Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, coincided with the opening of a most magnificent exhibition of the Marxist-Humanist Archives of Raya Dunayevskaya. The Director of the WSU Archives, Dr. Philip Mason, who chaired the evening's events, Assistant Director Dr. Warner Pflug and Margery Long, the coordinator who was responsible for the preparation and arrangement of the exhibit materials, along with other staff members of the Walter Reuther Library where the Archives are housed, arranged a truly memorable evening. The exhibit itself will remain in place throughout the Spring to allow activists and scholars to visit and study.

LIVING & REVOLUTIONARY

Ms. Dunayevskaya's Archives, which now number close to 9,000 pages, are highlighted in the exhibit by photographs of her life as a revolutionary within the worldwide freedom movement, stretching from the 1920s to today, as well as selected key documents from her collection. Her Archives were first established at Wayne State in 1969 under the title "Marxist-Humanism from 1941 to Today." Marxist-Humanism meant a singling out and tracing of the American and Humanist roots of Marx's thought and the practicing—in the post-World War II period—of the dialectics of revolution both in

America and worldwide. Dunayevskaya first developed this as a body of ideas in the 1950s. Her Archives have been brought up to date twice since she originally established them. This most recent addition from 1981-85 includes as well exhibit material which shows her activities and writings from the 1920s.

It was the intertwining of Dunayevskaya's talk to the standing-room-only audience, together with their joining her in the exhibition hall for a reception and a tour through the panels and cases of her Archives, a presentation by Raya of new donations both from the earliest and latest periods, and much animated conversation among the audience, which gave such a vibrancy to the whole evening.

We felt the concept of Archives as living, revolutionary and today, and not alone as past, in listening to Raya as she spoke on her "definition" of archives:

I consider that the one who authors the collection should be the one to trace the dialectics of the particular accumulated documents... How could an archivist know what the participants in most of the events perceive the dialectics of revolution to be?

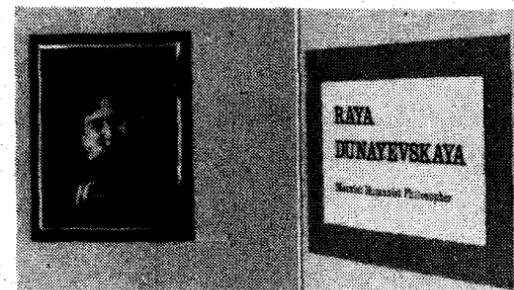
Those dialectics of revolution for Raya began as early as her childhood days. Her lecture told the story of a Chicago ghetto where she had come to live after immigration from Russia and where, as a young teenager, she helped to lead a strike of fellow school children against the anti-Semitic principal who meted out corporal punishment for the slightest infraction.

Later when I was in the exhibit hall I was impressed by a panel called "The Early Years" and saw a picture and news story of that strike in a 1924 issue of the *Chicago Tribune* and read, "Many of the strikers came on roller skates."

In her talk Raya spoke of her time with Trotsky in exile in Mexico, both its greatness to her, and the actual physical trauma of speechlessness that overcame her when, two years later, she felt she must break with Trotsky's continued defense of Russia as a workers' state at the time of the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

(continued on page 6)

You Can Visit This Continuing Exhibit...



Marxist-Humanism, 1941 To Today: Its Origin and Development in the U.S.

- selection of documents from the 7,000 page Raya Dunayevskaya Collection
- historic photographs of freedom movements worldwide.
- page-proofs of Ms. Dunayevskaya's new work: *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*

sponsored by Wayne State University
Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs

at Reuther Library, W.S.U.
Detroit, Michigan

...until June, 1985

Raya Dunayevskaya's revolutionary archives

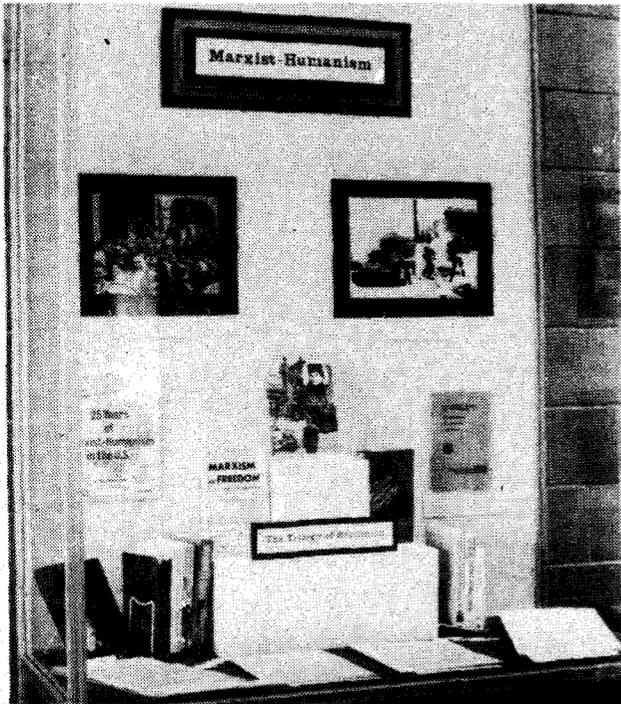
(continued from page 5)

The day after her lecture I returned to the exhibit hall, where one must really allow half a day for study of the displays, and found myself in front of a case, "With Trotsky in Mexico." It is filled with pictures and documents from Coyoacan, Mexico, 1938. A picture shows Leon and Natalia Trotsky with Raya and several others of the exile entourage. They are in a field of beautiful trees and flowers, and yet, for the War Commissar of the great Russian Revolution of two decades earlier, it, and indeed Diego Rivera's house and garden where they were living in exile, must have as well been a prison. The case also contains letters from Trotsky to Raya.

PHILOSOPHY AND REVOLUTION

Perhaps the most striking case for me at the exhibit is the one entitled simply "Marxist-Humanism." It is full of editions of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution*, and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*—English, Japanese, Italian, French, German, Spanish. But then my eyes fell upon several typescript manuscripts that lie in front of this "trilogy of revolution": the 1941 manuscript of "Labor and Society;" a typescript of Raya's 1949 translation of "Lenin's Philosophic Notebooks on Hegel's Science of Logic;" a third manuscript of her "Letter on Hegel's Absolute Idea" of May 12, 1953.

My mind went back to the lecture I had heard the evening before where Dunayevskaya spoke of the decade that followed her break with Trotsky: how her study of the Russian economy in 1941 had in "Labor and Society" already found the Humanism of Marx's 1840s writings and thus a philosophic alternative to Russian state-capitalism, even though at that time she was not fully conscious of



—News & Letters photo

it; how her 1949-50 translations of Lenin on Hegel had prepared her for her own direct digging into Hegel; and how this philosophic work had been occurring right in the midst of her involvement in that most concrete, great Miners' General Strike of 1949-50. Here was this intertwining between Raya's deep philosophic probing and those watershed events of a miners' general strike against the automated production of the continuous miner.

Her talk had then moved to 1953 and her own philosophic breakthrough on Hegel's Absolute Idea in the letters of May 12 and 20, 1953, only weeks after Stalin's death and only weeks before the first great revolt against Russian totalitarian state-capitalism, the East German revolt of June 17, 1953.

In this same exhibit case "Marxist-Humanism," there are not only these fundamental manuscripts that had, over three decades, helped give birth to Dunayevskaya's "trilogy of revolution," but, if you move your eyes still higher in the display case, you see two beautiful pictures: one is of two workers tearing up pavement stones from the streets and hurling them at an advancing tank. It is June 17, 1953, and you are in East Berlin. The other, which is also on the front of the News and Letters pamphlet, *The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50* and the *Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*, is a mass meeting of miners. You are in the midst of coal country in 1950 and the miners have rejected demands that they end their wildcat strike.

The pictures—miners on strike in the U.S., workers in revolt in East Germany—the trilogy of revolution—*Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution*, and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*—the philosophic manuscripts Raya was working out and translating in the 1940s and '50s—all brought back to my mind the words of her talk:

The whole question of cognition and actuality, like the gulf between thinking and doing, touches on the relationship of philosophy and revolution.

The period of 1949-53, as expressed in her talk and in

this exhibit case, contains the birth of Marxist-Humanism and the striving to work out the single dialectic of thinking and doing, of philosophy and revolution.

PRACTICALITY OF PHILOSOPHY

One exhibit case puzzled me at first. It is entitled simply "Philosophers" and contains, first, a marvelous exchange of letters on the Absolute Idea between Raya and Herbert Marcuse. His is a short one denying the necessity of a return to Absolute Idea for our age. Her answer is a creative explosion: six pages on the dialectics of the Absolute Idea. Other letters in the case are from Erich Fromm, from the Hegel translator A.V. Miller and from the historian E.H. Carr. Then in the upper right hand corner of the case there are the following documents: a striking drawing of a coal miner being swallowed in "Dust, deadly dust," a copy of Charles Denby's pamphlet, *Workers Battle Automation*, and a translation of that pamphlet into Japanese. All in a case called "Philosophers."

My mind again returned to the lecture of the evening before, to when Raya chose to speak both about the Marxist-Humanist newspaper, *News & Letters*, whose masthead logo is Theory/Practice, and about its worker-editor Charles Denby. After she had showed how Denby had elicited the stories for *Workers Battle Automation* from both workers and youth, and even a doctor, she read Denby's favorite quote from Hegel: "Enlightenment upsets the household arrangement, which spirit carries out in the house of faith, by bringing in the goods and furnishings belonging to the world of here and now." To Denby, this proved the "practicality" of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

The founding of *News & Letters* was based precisely on the new form of self-activity of workers and other forces of revolution, which Raya had worked out philosophically as a movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. In her talk she argued that intellectuals should not only listen to the thoughts of workers, but also write within the discipline of a workers' newspaper. So the "philosophers," workers in their attitude and action toward automation and thinkers who strive to create theory unseparated from revolutionary dialectics in reality and in thought, are not in two different worlds.

What was true of workers' action and thought being interwoven into the fabric of Marxist-Humanist philosophy was also true of other forces of revolution—the Black Dimension, women's liberation and youth, as well as the international dimension. One saw this in the panels of these forces in the exhibit. Thus the one on "Youth in Revolt" looked at how Marxist-Humanism had sought out and made explicit the link between the Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution, as well as showing the writings of young Marxist-Humanists such as *The Marxist-Humanist* issued on the UCLA campus in the mid-1960s and *From the Pen* issued at Wayne State in the 1970s.

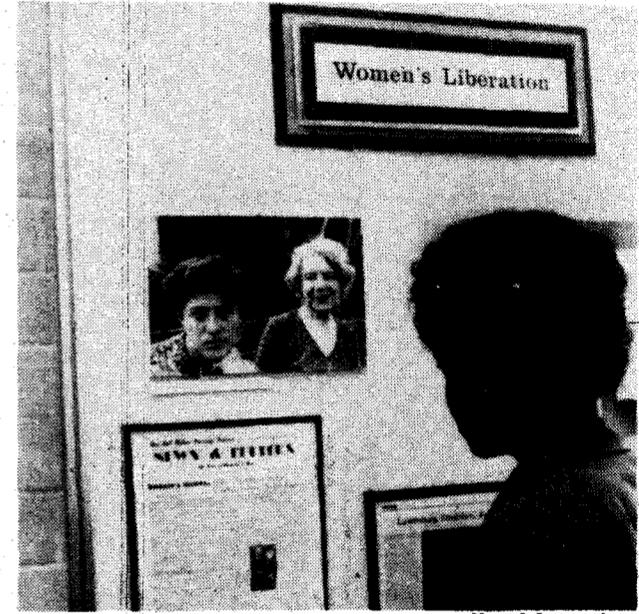
The "Women's Liberation" panel gave a brief glimpse of Raya's activity and writings on this subject. It includes a beautiful picture of Natalia Trotsky and Raya which riveted my eyes. In her talk the evening before she was able to briefly give a sweep of her involvement within women's liberation when she spoke of her new work, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, and gave a flavor of this 35-year collection of her essays which will be published by Humanities Press this Spring.

BLACK AND INTERNATIONAL

What was pervasive in all parts of the exhibit and not alone in the panels entitled "International Relations" and "Black Dimension in the U.S. and Africa" were these two crucial aspects of Dunayevskaya's conception of dialectics of revolution. The Black Dimension is found again and again as Marxist-Humanism developed over a 40-year period and practiced its philosophy. Raya's essay "Negroes in the Revolution," written in the 1940s when so much of the Left ignored the Black Question, was on display along with the original Black

and labor study of the 1960s, *American Civilization on Trial*, that was produced by the National Editorial Board of News & Letters, whose chairwoman is Raya Dunayevskaya.

You felt the international dimension to Raya's thought and activity in her talk, which swept you from



—News & Letters photo

In the exhibit hall. Picture in background is Raya with Natalia Trotsky in Mexico, 1938.

Marx's Paris to the Paris Communards, to the Russian Revolution, to Iran's 1906-11 revolution, to Mexico, to the revolt in South Africa that very day, March 21, 1985, with which she began her talk. Archives for Marxist-Humanists are indeed today, revolutionary, living.

In the exhibit you saw the number of translations of Raya's and Marxist-Humanism's work into languages of the world—an underground translation into Chinese, Spanish editions of many of her works, French, Japanese, Italian, German, Serbo-Croatian—together with pictures from her trips to speak in Japan and in West Africa. It was an internationalism in the participation in struggles worldwide, and it was a solidarity of not only revolutionary actions but a working out together of revolutionary ideas.

In addition to the talk and the exhibit, the reception following the talk was itself an exciting event. Dr. Mason had invited the audience to continue discussion by coming to the exhibit hall and reception and speaking informally. More than half the audience followed. Here Raya had a chance to introduce new points which she could not take up in her one-hour talk. In turning over the latest volume of her Archives, "Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts, 1981-85," she was able to present as her latest writing a beautifully bound copy of the page proofs of her new work, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*, just finished this year. The artistic book binding had been done by the Marxist-Humanist Terry Moon.

Along with the book, she made the WSU Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs a special present of a full size photocopy of an early issue of *The Negro Champion*, a Black revolutionary newspaper she worked on in the late 1920s.

Finally, Raya had a chance to introduce to the audience the widow of Charles Denby as a writer in her own right. She immediately identified herself as "Christine," the author of her own chapters in Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*.

The reception continued with much informal discussion from an audience whose multidimensional makeup—worker and intellectuals, women's liberationists and youth, Black production workers and white students, from the U.S. and abroad—helped to put a living, revolutionary stamp on the Marxist-Humanist Archives and on the evening's events.

Now that you have read about the Marxist-Humanist Archives Collection, why not study the original documents? They are a must for understanding the development of Marxism in our epoch.

The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism—1941 To Today, Its Origin and Development in the U.S.

- The entire collection of more than 7,000 pages is available on microfilm for only \$60 from Wayne State University Archives of Labor History and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan 48202.
- The 45-page guide to the Collection is available for \$1 plus 50¢ postage from News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605.

Dialectics of Revolution: American roots, world humanist concepts

(continued from page 6)

III. The Marxist-Humanist Newspaper, *News & Letters*; Its Worker-Editor, Charles Denby: His Autobiography, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*; and the Pamphlets, *Workers Battle Automation* and *American Civilization on Trial*.

The decisions, made simultaneously at the very first convention of News and Letters Committees, were to have a Black production worker as editor of its paper, and to assign the National Chairwoman, Raya Dunayevskaya, to complete the first major philosophic — and not only economic-political — work, *Marxism and Freedom*, on which she had been working for several years.



Audience at Dunayevskaya lecture...

THE CONCEPT OF having theory and practice together dictated our refusal to put theoretical articles only in a theoretical journal. Our point was that the intellectual should not only read, but write, for a workers' newspaper like *News & Letters*; that is, that intellectuals would talk to a working-class audience which has a great deal to contribute to the intellectual if the intellectual knows how to listen to the new voices from below. The goal became the new principle of combining workers and intellectuals — neither of whom would be stopped by a McCarthy retrogression. That was the ground for our Marxist-Humanist newspaper, *News & Letters*, when it was established in 1955.

Now listen to Charles Denby's last letter to me just a few months before his death in 1983 — the Marx Centenary year:

"We finally have in our hands the whole 'trilogy of revolution' — that is, *Marxism and Freedom*, *Philosophy and Revolution*, and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. Anyone can see and read what Marxist-Humanism has represented since our first Constitutional Convention... Now we can say to everyone, 'Here is Marx's philosophy of liberation and we know that it is the path to freedom'."

Issue Number One of *News & Letters* came out in honor of the East German revolt. 1955 was also the year that the Montgomery Bus Boycott erupted and signalled the birth of the Black Revolution. My life and Charles Denby's truly became one — that of Marxist-Humanism.

Part One of his autobiography was written before Denby's own development as an editor. In Part Two of *Indignant Heart: A Black Workers' Journal* he sums up the events of a full quarter century of the existence of Marxist-Humanism which had meant such a new stage in his own life.

IN 1961 HE WAS not only the editor but the author of a pamphlet called *Workers Battle Automation* where we heard the voices not only of workers from many industries, but also of youth, a doctor, and a computer-technician...

On the American scene, we spelled out the Black Dimension so concretely that it ranged over the entire history of the United States. We called it *American Civilization on Trial*. It expresses not only the needs of the year 1963, when it was first published, or even 1970 when Denby appended his "Black Caucuses in the Unions." Rather, it reaches back to the beginnings of the Black Dimension in the U.S. as well as forward to the 1980s.

Today's newspaper carries news of still another mas-

sacre by the apartheid regime against the majority Black population. What happened 25 years ago today, in Sharpeville, became a category that was deepened in 1976 in Soweto, and took to the world stage again today.

All of these voices we have recorded as the events happened. Indeed, in the 1960s, when Sharpeville became that dimension of African, American, and world revolution, I was in Ghana and aligned with Sobukwe, who was arrested and sent to prison with Mandela.

IV. The Trilogy of Revolution — *Marxism and Freedom*; *Philosophy and Revolution*; *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*. The Unchaining of the Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and Marx's World Humanist Concepts.

What is significant to us here, in Marx's transformation of Hegel's revolution in philosophy into Marx's philosophy of revolution, is how it was extended in his last decade. It led us to call the 1880s a "trail to the 1980s." Marx deepened and concretized what he had originally called a "New Humanism" throughout his life. After 40 years of labor in the field of economics, which culminated in the 1872-75 French edition of *Capital*, in the same decade in which he wrote his *Ethnological Notebooks*, Marx hewed out a new moment. It is seen in his critique of the Russian Populist Mikhailovsky; in Marx's draft letters to the Russian revolutionary Marxist, Vera Zasulich; and in nothing less important than the Introduction to the Russian edition of the *Communist Manifesto* — where he predicted that revolution could begin first in the backward "East" rather than in the technologically advanced West. He singled out Russia as that "East." That was 1881! No wonder we call this the "trail to the 1980s."

Strictly philosophically, our first unchaining of the dialectic began with my breakthrough in the May 12th and 20th, 1953, Letters on Hegel's Absolute Idea. We have recently traced the breakthrough in its embryonic appearance in the three preceding years: 1950-53. It is true that the breakthrough in the 1953 Letters showed that within the Absolute Idea itself is contained the movement from practice as well as from theory.

BUT THE 1950 STRIKE was the real manifestation. It is therefore imperative to combine what Hegel called "the Self-Thinking Idea" with what was present in the spontaneous movements of the Miners' General Strike, that which we later called the "Self-Bringing Forth of Freedom." It should not here be necessary to explain the obvious, but such explanation is "required" against the vulgar materialists to assure

them that, of course we know it is not the Idea that thinks; it is people who think. What must be added, however, is that the dialectic logic of the Idea moves in the direction of what was implicit in the movement from practice.

By the mid-1950s, the category I had worked out as the movement from practice provided the structure for my major philosophic work — *Marxism and Freedom, from 1776 until Today*. That was the first of what we now call the "trilogy of revolution." It illuminated the fact that the movement from practice was itself a form of theory.

It is this concept of philosophy as being rooted in the movement from practice which creates a challenge for theoreticians to work out a new stage of cognition. It created the structure of *Marxism and Freedom*, where we first concretized those American roots of Marxism — from Abolitionism to the then ongoing Montgomery Bus Boycott which opened the Black Revolution. In that work, the world Humanist concepts were also spelled out, not alone in the United States, but in the very first mass revolts from under Communist totalitarianism in East Europe — East Germany, 1953; Poland, 1955; Hungary, 1956.

IN THE 1960s we began recording the new voices of a new generation of revolutionaries, and in 1968 had to face the aborted near-revolution in France, which made imperative our return to Hegel on an altogether new level. What was needed was a working out of the Hegelian dialectic, this time in and for itself, as well as how it was grappled with by Marx and Lenin. This resulted in the second unchaining of the Hegelian dialectic for our age as the dialectics of revolution. We examined, as



...in McGregor Conference Center

well, the Alternatives: Trotsky, Mao, and the outsider looking in, Sartre.

1973 saw the publication of *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*. I there extended the concretization of Absolute Idea not just as a totality — the unity of theory and practice — but as the development of Absolute Idea as New Beginning.

The first chapter of *Philosophy and Revolution* was entitled "Absolute Negativity as New Beginning: The Ceaseless Movement of Ideas and of History." Here I argued that seeing Absolute Idea as a unity of theory and practice, as totality, is where the task first begins. Absolute Idea as New Beginning challenges all generations to concretely work out such a new beginning for their own age.

We see the development of theory in Frantz Fanon, who, in *The Wretched of the Earth*, likewise called his philosophy "a New Humanism."

THE 1970s ALSO SAW the emergence of a new revolutionary force: Women's Liberation, which had grown from an idea: Women's time had come, to become a Movement. Its uniqueness expressed itself in their refusal to put off for "the day after the revolution" the questions they demanded answers to. The so-called Marxists at first would not even bother to listen to the women who proclaimed that "male chauvinism" was by no means restricted to capitalism. It not only appeared before capitalism, but is present right now and has reappeared after the revolution. It must be faced here and now. The women insisted that the Left must face the male chauvinism within that movement, and must recognize the need to grapple with this question before, during, in, and after the revolution.

It became the impulse for the third major philosophic work, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which completed what we call the "trilogy of revolution." Here is how I therefore summarized today's Women's Liberationists' demands:

"Don't tell us about discrimination everywhere else; and don't tell us it comes only from class oppression; look at yourselves. You will have to understand that our bodies belong to us and to no one else — and that includes lovers, husbands, and yes, fathers.

"Our bodies have heads, and they too belong to us and us alone. And while we are reclaiming our bodies and our heads, we will also reclaim the night. No one except ourselves, as women, will get our freedom for us. For that we need full autonomy."

For me, it became necessary here to also focus on one of the inadequacies of the Women's Liberation Movement; its disregard of Rosa Luxemburg. Indeed, this was a stimulus for my new work, though my scope was by no means limited to unearthing Luxemburg's heretofore unknown feminist dimension.

WHEN I BEGAN my study, it was just on Luxemburg — and the intended climax was to have been the year 1910. This was the year when her flash of genius, in grappling with the new phenomenon of Imperialism, resulted in her break with Karl Kautsky, the leader of the German Social Democracy. This was some four years before the outbreak of World War I and the Second International's betrayal. It was four years before any male Marxist, Lenin included, saw the coming betrayal.

And yet, suddenly, even this seemed to me to be inadequate, because Luxemburg remained a member of the German Social Democracy as if her break with Kautsky was "personal."

I felt the need for a decisive philosophic grappling, which I worked out as Part III of the so-called Luxemburg book: "Karl Marx: from Critic of Hegel to Author of *Capital* and Theorist of Revolution in Permanence."

As against Luxemburg's half-way dialectic, Marx's multilinearity of human development, of paths to revolution, as they related to so-called backward countries, to Women's Liberation, and to nationalist opposition — all made me question not only Luxemburg but all post-Marx Marxists, beginning with Frederick Engels, whose unilinearism permeated the whole German Social Democracy. Post-Marx Marxism, to me, became a pejorative.

ENGELS' UNILINEARISM was glaringly revealed in the very first work he wrote after the death of Marx — *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. Engels claimed it was a "bequest" of Marx, but it expressed anything but Marx's view either on the Man/Woman relationship or on the relationship between advanced and backward societies. Nor was there similarity between Engels' view of primitive communism

(continued on page 8)

Returning to Chicago in April!

Raya Dunayevskaya

speaking on

**Dialectics of Revolution:
From the Black Dimension
to Women's Liberation**

Thurs., April 18, 12 Noon - 509 Circle Center
University of Illinois At Chicago

Dialectics of Revolution: American roots, world humanist concepts

(continued on page 7)

and Marx's...

For a moment, let us now turn away from all these philosophic-sociological-political-economic developments, to a story from my personal life. The incident I'm diverting to happened when I was 13 years old and had been but a single year in the United States. I was leading a strike against the school principal. Her name I still remember — Tobin. And she exacted corporal punishment for so little an infraction as coming five minutes late. Also, she forced all to memorize Shylock's speech, where he demands his pound of flesh. (I am telling this story with hindsight of course, but my memory was refreshed by the *Chicago Tribune* story of that day, which had carried a sensational article and picture of the strike.)

I am doing so to illustrate the difference between an idea in embryo and in full development; between process and result, as well as the whole question of a child's perception, when great revolutions occur and for how long these impressions last.

The story took place in 1924 in the Cregier public school in a Chicago ghetto. I credited my supposed bravery to the Russian Revolution of November, 1917, which had burst upon the scene six years previously and had left an indelible impression on me of great doings, like equality and comradeship. I was an illiterate child then, living in the Ukraine, who had refused, two years previous to 1917, to engage in khabar (bribery) in order to be among the one percent of Jews who gained the "privilege" of being able to sit in the back of the school room.

NOW LOOK AT an altogether different historic period, a different life, and there, too, we will see what a child's perception is, when born during great turning points in history.

When I returned back to the U.S. from being with Trotsky in exile in 1938, the one who made a great impression on me was the famous French syndicalist, Alfred Rosmer. In 1919, he had switched to communism and then in 1937-38, had become head of the International Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky. He was returning to France via New York and I thought I would show off its beauties by taking him on a ferry ride to Staten Island.

As we reached Staten Island, Rosmer said: "Oh, yes, I know, I was born here." Naturally, I thought he was pulling my leg, but no, he was serious and proceeded to prove it by telling me the story of his early life. It turned out that his parents were Paris Communards from 1871 who, after its defeat, escaped to the United States. His mother was pregnant and gave birth to him on Staten Island. He simply was never interested in claiming American citizenship. France and the Paris Commune never left his memory, not because he was

there, but because of all the stories he heard from his parents.

This only released in my mind still another remembrance — this time from when I was 15 years old, and Eugene V. Debs was making his very last appearance at Ashland Auditorium in Chicago. It was 1925. He was so eloquent a speaker that he made you feel the presence of any person he mentioned in his life. He was very proud of the fact that he had known the great Abolitionist, Wendell Phillips. It was Wendell Phillips who, after the Civil War, made a transition from Abolitionism to Socialism. It is he who had said: "Scratch a New Yorker and you'll find a Communist."

TWO POINTS ARE involved in this remembrance of things past: One is that embedded in embryo in the past is the presence of the next step, whether or not one is fully conscious of it. Two is that presence of the future inherent in the "here and now" characterizes also the first instinctual reaction which is philosophically called "first negation." What makes you move to the second negation creates a new humus for future development.

Marx's magnificent, original, historic unchaining of the dialectic was the creation of such a new humus. This unchaining began, of course, with his refusal to consider that Hegel's Notion was related only to thought.

Once Marx discovered a new continent of thought and of revolution, the task he assigned to himself was that of uniting Philosophy and Reality. The proof of that unity came from uncovering the hidden Subject — the driving forces of the revolutions-to-be — the Proletariat — and at the same time focus on the Man/Woman relationship, as alienated and alienating, which must be totally uprooted as the way to full human relationships.

Marx had rejected Feuerbachian abstract materialism, not alone because it failed to see the social relationship. He opposed Feuerbach as well for rejecting the revolutionary Hegelian principle of "negation of the negation," a principle Marx cited again even in his technical *Mathematical Manuscripts* of 1861-62.

Instead, his concept of revolution-in-permanence tended that only after the historic transcendence by the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, would there first begin the development of a new human society and a new Man/Woman relationship.

Now listen to Marx in his last decade, writing on his relationship to Hegel — which he left with his papers for Engels for Volume II of *Capital*, but which Engels left out:

"My relationship with Hegel is very simple. I am a disciple of Hegel, and the presumptuous chatter of the epigones who think they have buried this great thinker appear frankly ridiculous to me. Nevertheless, I have

taken the liberty of adopting...a critical attitude, disencumbering his dialectic of its mysticism and thus putting it through a profound change..."

BETWEEN MARX AND OUR AGE only Lenin seriously returned to Marx's roots in Hegel. But while Lenin commented profoundly and brilliantly on the whole of *Science of Logic* — including the Doctrine of the Notion, where he embraced and concretized Hegel's principle that "Cognition not only reflects the world, but creates it" — he nevertheless concretized only the single dialectical principle of transformation into opposite...

Unfortunately, other questions, especially the one on Organization, Lenin left untouched within the vanguardist confines of his 1902-03, *What Is To Be Done?*

Our age has focused on the dialectics of revolution as the determinant. Nothing, including Organization, the Party, can find any escape route from that determinant. Even the Absolute Method itself is but the road to the Absolute Idea, Absolute Mind. When the Self-Thinking Idea comes with the Self-Bringing Forth of Freedom we will have actual total freedom.

THOUGH I HAVE but a few moments before concluding, I do wish to give you a brief view of my new book that will soon be off the press: *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*.

The first thing I noticed in re-reading that 35-year compilation of articles — with a focus on a single revolutionary force as Reason, Women's Liberation — is that the Dialectics of Revolution is characteristic of all the four forces we singled out in the United States — Labor, Black, Youth, as well as Women. All are moments of revolution, and nobody can know before the event itself who will be the one in the concrete, particular revolution.

This determined my 1985 Introduction and Overview to the new book, which culminated in what we call the "Trail to the 1980s"...This is true not just as a summation, but rather as a new beginning. Just as Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence" made it clear that the revolution does not end with the overthrow of the old but must continue to the new, so you begin to feel this presence of the future in the present. This is the time when every man, woman and child feels this newness precisely because it is now rooted in such new beginning.

And here is how I am ending my new, fourth book: "With Marx's first founding of his new continent of thought and of revolution, he wrote: 'To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie.' The truth of this statement has never been more immediate and urgent than in our nuclear world, over which hangs the threat to the very survival of civilization as we have known it." March 10 - March 21, 1985

Readers' Views

from the Archives lecture audience

In going through the Raya Dunayevskaya exhibit, I felt that here was an individual's life which was universal. I had always heard Dunayevskaya say that the only biography she is interested in is the biography of an idea. But the exhibit included documents from her youth in the 1920s, even before she became a philosopher of revolution. The reason became clear to me when she spoke in her lecture on herself as a youth being tremendously influenced by the Russian Revolution, and on how the American revolutionary movement came alive to her when she heard of Eugene V. Debs speak on Wendell Phillips.

I think that just as she never forgot those historic events and people and decided to follow through on the idea of freedom, the youth who heard her speak in Detroit on March 21 will never forget that historic event.

Young woman
Chicago

One of the staff at the Labor Archives was looking over the audience. I asked him, Is this the usual type of crowd you get here? He said, No, usually it's nearly all white and from the university. I think they were shocked at all the workers, Black and white, who came. I saw friends from the shops I hadn't seen in many years, but they had to come to this one meeting.

UAW activist
Detroit

While I was visiting Detroit I saw an article in the *Detroit Free Press* about the opening of an exhibit on "Raya Du-

nayevskaya, Marxist-Humanist." I said: "This is for me." I am a dean of a small country school in Mississippi, and I wanted to attend because I consider myself a socialist, along the lines of Latin America's liberation theology. In Mississippi you find many problems, yet few people call themselves socialists.

I had been impressed with Charles Denby's book before this trip, and now this. Raya Dunayevskaya's views on Marxism are like a jewel of thought, I am looking forward to reading the literature I bought.

Black minister
Mississippi

One aspect of the exhibit really impressed me. I couldn't get over how the labels describing each item linked Raya's life with American history. I had not known (though I've known her works for 20 years) that in the 1920s she distributed a shop paper in Chicago at the McCormick works, International Harvester. The label brought out the fact that those same works were the place where the famous Haymarket events of 1886 began.

Civil rights veteran
New York

This is the second time I have heard Dunayevskaya. She is such an eloquent speaker. As an anthropologist, trying to write on rural India (it is my home country also), what really attracted me to the lecture wasn't her eloquence, but the fact that I feel the need for a theoretical base for my work. I don't want to write only empirical studies even

though they are what the university wants. I find the theories devised about the Third World bankrupt and reeking with contempt for the supposed backwardness of the masses. Your view of Marx and the Third World is really quite refreshing. I would hope that at least a few anthropologists will test Dunayevskaya's line of reasoning on Marx and non-industrial societies. It deserves such a test.

Anthropologist
Canada

You want to bet that the UAW leadership in Solidarity House is going to yell when they see an exhibit called "Raya Dunayevskaya: Marxist-Humanist philosopher" up in the "Walter Reuther Library" (that's the official name of the Archives building)? I'm a UAW member and I should know. Bieber and all his vice-presidents hate radicals, unless they can control them.

Ford Local 600 member
Dearborn, Mich.

One of the discussions I had during the reception after the opening of the Dunayevskaya exhibit was with a Black Ford Rouge worker. What he told me represented such an exciting new development in the Free South Africa Movement in the U.S. that one could see why he came to Dunayevskaya's lecture on the "Dialectics of Revolution."

Black rank-and-file workers, along with white workers, have organized a solidarity march in support of Black South African workers. The march and rally is to take place on March 28 on Miller Road at the Overpass, in Dear-

born, the scene of several historic labor struggles in the 1930s and '40s.

Lou Turner
Chicago

I was so interested in Raya Dunayevskaya's lecture, especially where she talked about women's liberation. As an Archives student myself, I worked on one women's liberationist's archives. When Raya spoke about the "new voices" of women's liberation, I thought about how women were not satisfied with just supporting the peace movement. They were saying "We won't wait for our liberation."

One point I would like to talk more about is Raya's charge that today's women's liberation writers don't take either Marx or revolution seriously. Is this true?

Student
Detroit

Raya Dunayevskaya began her lecture by speaking about the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre and about the revolt that is taking place this very day in South Africa. You could feel history being made, and you could sense a powerful reciprocity between a hall filled with Blacks, whites and Asians; autoworkers, professors and students in Detroit, and the young Black revolutionaries in South Africa halfway around the world. It made you understand how the "personal" events in one person's life and thought (when it is a person like Dunayevskaya) can also be historic events.

Appreciative
New York

BLACK-RED VIEW**Civil Rights in the court of Reagan racism**

by John Alan

This year is the 20th anniversary of the historic march from Selma to Montgomery, Ala. to protest Black disenfranchisement in the South. It will also be 20 years ago that Congress added Title VII to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibiting discrimination against minority groups in employment in private business. It is now apparent that the Reagan Administration has decided also to make 1985 the year in which to deliver a crippling blow to affirmative action.

William Bradford Reynolds, Reagan's Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, is now challenging 46 of the 75 court-ordered affirmative action plans and programs, requesting that the federal courts eliminate from those plans "racial prefer-

ences."

Acting in concert with Reynolds of the Justice Department has been Clarence Pendleton, Jr., Reagan's Black surrogate head of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. In March, in San Francisco, Mr. Pendleton told a convention of building contractors who do business with the government that the country must rid itself of federally supported minority employment quotas and affirmative action plans. He referred to them as "these God-awful special protections" that originated in the Great Society programs of the 1960s and which singled out minorities and women for special treatment.

BLACK ORWELLIAN "NEWSPEAK"

Behind this political screen, the Administration projects the "white male" as the victim of a "new racism."

BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

of the American Negro Labor Congress (ANLC), in October, 1925, and had followed the "unorthodox line" of working daily from 1925 to 1927 at the editorial office of the *Negro Champion* under the editorship of Lovett Fort-Whiteman.

Though Lovett Fort-Whiteman was an early founder of "Black Marxism" in the U.S., first associating with A. Philip Randolph's *Messenger* as one of its editors, and then as the first editor of the *Negro Champion* and as national organizer for the American Negro Labor Congress, he has been rendered invisible by radical and Black labor historians, as well as Communist ideologues.

LOVETT FORT-WHITEMAN AND NEGRO CHAMPION

In order to understand why Fort-Whiteman and the *Negro Champion* met such a fate, it is necessary to see what they represented. In the founding year of the ANLC and the *Negro Champion*, and three years after Claude McKay had addressed the Fourth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, Lovett Fort-Whiteman continued McKay's critique of the American Marxists: "The slow growth of Marxism among Negroes has been wholly due to the inability both of the social democrats and the Communists to approach the Negro on his own mental grounds, and to interpret his peculiar social situation in terms of the class struggle."

From the U.S. Congressional "Red Files" is taken this account from the December, 1925 *Negro Champion* on the founding convention of the ANLC: "The Congress opened Sunday evening, October 25 (running for 6 days) at the Metropolitan Community Center, 3118 Giles Avenue...Decorations, due to the energy and tact of the Chicago local committee of action, fittingly and distinctively complied with the spirit of the first national meeting of Negro workers ever convened in the Western world...Thunderous applause greeted Lovett Fort-Whiteman, national organizer of the (American) Negro Labor Congress, when he stepped upon the platform to reply to the speakers of the evening on behalf of the national

The battle for union solidarity in South Africa

New York, N.Y.—A conference sponsored by a national coalition of trade union officials on "Labor and South Africa" took place in New York City on March 2. Some 400 participants came, trade unionists, political activists and students. The real electricity at the conference was generated by South African labor activists who spoke and took part in workshops. Below are brief excerpts from talks by Edward Mogane, President of the Building, Construction and Allied Workers Union, affiliated with the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA); and Emma Mashinini, General Secretary of the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA), an unaffiliated Black union of workers in retail trades.

Edward Mogane: We in South Africa have no choice but to see politics and trade unions as one. That was the government's decision, in setting up such a society.

The emergent trade unions have embarked on gaining recognition agreements. There are now 45 agreements, going back 3 and 4 years. In my own union, there now stand 12 recognition agreements. The right-wing union federation (TUCSA), who before said we didn't know what we wanted, now even wants to follow in our steps and negotiate for strong recognition agreements!

The new development is the international support we have gained. We will not forget that, after freedom. I am not going to talk about after independence, but after freedom.

Last November, we held a two-day work stay-away. Soon thereafter many of our leaders were detained. So much pressure came from America, that the South African government had to release the majority of them.

The kind of support from here even made Botha consider releasing his No. 1 enemy. He wanted to demonstrate to the world he's not responsible for keeping Nelson Mandela locked up, as if Mandela himself is responsible for that!

We are faced with a very sophisticated, racist South

Origins of Black Marxism

committee of the Congress."

In 1928, the year after her association with the *Negro Champion* under the editorship of Lovett Fort-Whiteman and the paper's managing editor Irving Dunjee, Raya Dunayevskaya was expelled from the Young Workers League for "Trotskyist deviationism" (not accidentally, it had also been Dunayevskaya who had made the motion that "white chauvinism" within the YWL should be grounds for expulsion). By then, Stalin had ordered the Workers (Communist) Party to move from



working-class Chicago to "intellectual" New York City. The *Negro Champion*, which also moved to New York, had not only changed editorial hands, but the political shift in the Communist line on the "Negro Question" that marked Stalin's coming to power set in motion the ideological terror which ultimately spelled out the tragic end of its first editor, Lovett Fort-Whiteman, murdered in Stalin's mass purges.

The leadership of the American Communist Party, especially those Black Stalinists who would come to head the Party's "Negro work" in the 1930s carried out the ideological and organizational liquidation of the historically new beginning established by those early Black Marxists associated with Lovett Fort-Whiteman, the ANLC and the *Negro Champion* in the Chicago period.

It is for that reason that I want to conclude with an appeal for the recovery of all issues of the *Negro Champion*, from the Chicago period, 1925-28, and any information pertaining to its first editor, Lovett Fort-Whiteman. It is only then that we will finally be able to fully read one of the most critical, missing pages in Afro-American and Marxist history and thought.

African government. We are now at the stage of unity of all Black trade unions in South Africa. FOSATU (Federation of South African Trade Unions) and CUSA, the two major federations, along with the major independent trade unions, are involved in unity talks.

Emma Mashinini: There is a great battle for trade union rights in South Africa. It is not important that there is now legislation passed that Black trade unions are now recognized in South Africa, because Black trade unionists are being detained day after day.

In South Africa, you cannot go out on strike immediately when there is a dispute. If you have an instant strike, it is termed an "illegal" strike. If you follow the necessary steps laid down by the government, you've got to have 30 days' notice for a "cooling off period." If you have a grievance today, you can imagine what it's like waiting for your redress 30 days thereafter.

And even if you do follow those steps of going out on "legal" strike, it does not preserve your rights in any way. On completion of that "legal" strike, you are still eligible for being dismissed from work.

When you speak about change in South Africa, I want to emphasize that the greatest change that I see is that the Black person in South Africa can no longer keep quiet and just accept anything as it was before.

Women's rights is another area. An expectant mother would before be dismissed immediately when it is noticeable she is pregnant. But today you are not going to lose your job only because you are pregnant. We see this as a great achievement.

There has been a lot of fragmentation of small unions. For us to get what we want, we've got to get together. So a major trade union federation will be coming in South Africa very soon. We do have certain problems amongst ourselves ideologically. But we will find a way of overcoming them.

Mr. Pendleton has stated that Black leaders who battle for affirmative action are "new racists" and that the President is in agreement with his characterization. There is no doubt that Pendleton is expressing the true position of the Administration and its method of using the Orwellian "newspeakism" of the words "new racism" as the language to cover its retrogressionism.

There has been no indication that affirmative action has displaced or even endangered white male employment and promotions. Neither is there any indication that affirmative action has been in any way able to overcome the fact that Black unemployment is twice as high as that of white (or that women still receive only 59% of salaries that white males do).

Therefore, any defense of affirmative action lies not in its effectiveness in gaining Black employment, but in the fact that affirmative action represents a part of the long battle to overcome discrimination in employment which gained substantial results because of the Black revolts of the 1960s.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND BLACK LABOR

But the battle for equality in employment, training and promotion has a much longer history; it has been an integral part of every Black mass movement since the 1920s. In the 1930s Black workers were an essential force in the organization of the CIO. There were conscious, organized movements among Black workers, in and outside of the unions, to end the doctrine of "last hired and first fired." There were numerous battles against the lily-white practices of the unions, all white departments in factories and the relegation of Black workers to unskilled categories in production.

In the 1940s, the March On Washington Movement made the ending of "white superiority" in war production industries and in the government its central purpose. However, it wasn't until the Black revolts of the 1960s that President Johnson and Congress were forced to add Title VII to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

This addition to Civil Rights laws was not a bold leap in the direction of Black liberation; it was a timid law that *The New York Times* called "riddled with loopholes," which "gives the agency administering it, the Equal Opportunity Commission, no enforcement powers."

In fact, no Administration accepted affirmative action with enthusiasm. It has suffered setbacks, such as the Supreme Court's Bakke decision. Each Administration, however, was content in letting it stand as a "symbol of progress"—except the present one.

The overriding problem remains as to whether the state can ever give any adequate solutions to the issues of Black liberation that were so dramatically brought forth onto the American historic stage in the 1960s. The answer is found along the path of real liberation.

Black youth consciousness

by Eugene Ford

Los Angeles Cal. — Black youth of Los Angeles are on the move. With the assistance of two youth organizations working in South Central Los Angeles, Youth Awareness and Action and the Los Angeles African Youth Council, 35 youth met to discuss both the shooting of four Black youth in New York by Bernhard Goetz, and potential solutions to the nationwide problem of police and vigilante killing of young Blacks.

One sister felt that this oppression goes much deeper because, "We believe what they tell us and they make us think a certain way about ourselves."

The question of What solution? brought about lively discussion. One youth stated: "We don't want jobs in McDonalds or Burger King where we can't exist, or welfare or unemployment that just helps to oppress us."

Most youth in the room were aware of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s as living history. Some of us were able to show what Black youth began in that movement when they printed leaflets at the church of Martin Luther King. That was how he got wind of the rally to free Rosa Parks who was jailed for not giving up her seat on a bus to a white man.

That was the beginning of the Montgomery Bus Boycott which integrated buses and also got Blacks jobs as bus drivers. The demand for jobs by Black youth is not an abstract wish but is a drive for an alternative society, away from capitalizing upon our own people by hustling drugs.

The question of leadership was put on the agenda at the meeting by young women who were demanding a voice in the steering committee of the youth groups. From this developed the idea of a women's youth group. As one young woman stated: "If women are not given a more active role, then we won't keep coming back to these meetings."

The coming together of Black youth within Los Angeles seems to be related to the struggle of African youth within South Africa against apartheid. The relationship of Africa to America is very real, with Reaganism killing Black people abroad as well as at home.

As superpowers watch, where is India going?

(continued from page 1)

India today is a land infected by deep dualities. It's among the ten largest industrial powers; at the same time it is characterized by the largest concentration of rural and urban poverty and underdevelopment known anywhere. The industrialization and the so-called "Green Revolution" in agriculture have increased living standards for the top 25% of the population. However no less than 339 million earn less than the officially stipulated poverty level of \$6 a month.

India boasts two million active scientists and technicians and recently became self-sufficient in nuclear technology, yet is again on the verge of becoming a net importer of food. This is not just due to large population growth. Large tracts of land traditionally used to grow grains consumed within the country now grow soybeans to be exported Western Europe for cattle feed.

In the countryside, only 15% of children under the age of five have adequate nutrition, while over one-third of the rural population of 600 million suffers from malnutrition. The introduction of massive capital-intensive agricultural projects has done little to improve the lot of the peasantry, 40% of whom are without any title to land. According to D.K. Dey, "the so-called Green Revolution notwithstanding, there has been a slowing down in the growth rate of agriculture...while in industry there has been a diminishing rate of growth."

The continuance of feudal relations in the countryside with many areas still afflicted with the hated *vetti* system, or bonded labor, is widespread and has sparked resistance. The Dhulia district of Maharashtra has been the scene of major struggles between landlords and agricultural laborers, while in the Pune district of the same state a major farmers' agitation for fair prices is underway. In the extreme north is the Chipka movement, an organization of Himalayan peasantry that has significant participation and leadership by women.

In response to the economic crisis on the land, massive immigration from the countryside into cities with growing unemployment has forced millions of city dwellers into poverty-stricken slums. Half the population of Bombay—over four million people—lives in these slums, while 200,000 more live on the pavements. Such slums are growing more than twice as fast as the population.

To all of this Rajiv Gandhi offers only an "anti-corruption" campaign and an open invitation to foreign capital: "We want to knock down the barriers to the development of the private sector," he has said. Indeed, a huge surge in foreign investment has been underway for the past five years, with as many agreements with multinationals signed in that period as in the previous 20 years. Accompanying it has been an intense drive to create a "favorable investment climate" through layoffs, use of contract labor to force down wages, and efforts to pump more production from those left.

This effort to turn India into a haven for private and



Farmers march in protest in New Delhi.

state capital out for high profits has set the stage for some of the world's worst industrial accidents. The world was shocked in December when 2,500 died and over 200,000 were injured when poisonous methyl isocyanate escaped from the Union Carbide plant in Bhopal. Since then it has been revealed that not long before the "accident" Union Carbide laid off several technicians at the plant in order to lower costs: and a computerized safety system that could have warned of such a leak in advance was not installed because of "high costs," though such a system is operative at an identical Union Carbide plant in West Virginia.

CREATING MORE BHOPALS

While the Indian government has made many declarations against Union Carbide for this disaster, totally ignored is the fact that its anti-labor policies pave the way for such "accidents." Thus, not only are existing safety regulations not enforced, but there is not even a statutory body in India that can legally decide where fault lies in an industrial accident. Nor is any industry under Indian law compelled to pay insurance to its workers to compensate victims of such "accidents."

One does not have to look at such tragic instances of industrial accidents, however, to become aware of the reality faced by Indian labor today. All one needs to do is look at the daily work conditions experienced by millions. Thus, in the Ramathapuram district of Tamil Nadu (in the south of India) lies the largest concentration of child labor in the world—the match and fireworks factories of Savakasi. Here, 45,000 children, some as young as 3¼, labor 12 hours a day in noxious fumes for a piddling 20 cents a day.

The wretched conditions there recall Marx's statement from *Capital* that "the manufacture of matches...has such a bad reputation that only the most miserable part of the working class delivers their children up to it...Dante would have found worst horrors in his *Inferno* surpassed in this industry."

It is precisely these kinds of conditions that factory workers as well as peasants are struggling against. There are currently 100 major strikes involving 35,000 workers in the western state of Maharashtra. Twenty strikes and 16 lockouts are in progress in the city of Bombay alone. Some of the most militant actions involve the textile, hosiery and jute workers, who are striking against lay-offs and lockouts designed to get rid of "excess" workers. Twenty-four textile mills have closed in the state of Gujarat over the past two years, throwing 49,000 into unemployment. Over 30% of the 200,000 power loom operators in the textile town of Bhiwandi have been thrown out of work.

In engaging in militant strike activity Indian labor has come up against not only private and state authorities but also the trade union leadership and the Left parties out "to lead." In West Bengal, where 70 million live, workers and youth are abandoning the Maoist Communist Party in droves due to the latter's opposition to strike activity on the grounds that it "embarrasses" the state government—which it controls!

Wildcat strikes in the mining regions of Dhanbad and Asansol-Raniganj have been continuous for the past year, and in some cases workers' struggles have connected with peasant movements. Mine workers have joined with adivasi peasants (a tribal grouping) not alone in a struggle against working conditions but also to protest destruction of the environment and rural resources by state-run industries. As Gail Omvedt writes, "a churning is going on in the new workers' movements developing in India which is their independent orientation—a rejection of the past pattern of relationship of political parties to mass organizations."

The status of women in India as a whole is burdened by the dual existence of capitalist sexism and traditional patriarchy; indeed, India is one of the very few nations on earth where life expectancy for women is less than that of men. In Bihar, peasant women have organized against the immolation of brides by their husbands' relatives dissatisfied with the size of their dowry, and against state officials taking no action against these murderers. Women have protested as well the system of forced marriage that underlies such atrocities. In the cities a small but significant autonomous feminist movement is developing.

ROADBLOCKS TO REVOLUTION

The pervasiveness of such freedom struggles by no means implies that Rajiv Gandhi's rule rests on shaky ground. Far from it. That has less to do with any alleged "complacency" of the Indian masses than with the persistence of national, tribal and caste conflicts that the rulers have long learned to use to their advantage. This refers not alone to the Sikhs (and the Sikhs are not the only disenfranchised group) but especially to conflict between Hindus and Moslems and above all to the caste system itself.

The persistence of the caste-system—there are over 100 million harijan ("untouchables") in India despite the "banning" of that caste rank—likewise presents a formidable barrier to the coalescence of revolutionary forces. Though many doubt that Rajiv Gandhi will prove to be as adept as his mother Indira Gandhi in playing the game of divide-and-rule, he has already shown his true colors in the recent state assembly elections, where neo-fascist, Hindu fundamentalists who formerly voted for the Bharatiya Janata Party turned out for him in droves.

That India today can be in such a state of total crisis poses a fundamental challenge not only to the rulers but most of all to the Left. India after all was the first nation of the Afro-Asian World to gain independence from colonialism after World War II, in 1947. India was as well the major force at the Bandung Conference of 1955 which signalled the birth of a new Third World aspiring for a "non-aligned" pathway to development. Where is that promise in 1985? The Left has fallen into the trap of considering a capitalist stage of development, whether state or private, necessary "before" any perspective of total social transformation can be put on the agenda. What remains a void is the failure of the Left to reconnect with Marx's concept of "revolution in permanence" as ground for revolution in India.

This gives still more room for the superpowers to carefully eye India, with the U.S. hoping to obtain even more openings to its capital investment, with Russia speeding delivery of its MIG fighters to Rajiv Gandhi in order to maintain its foot in the door, or China who talks "peace" but still refuses to withdraw its claim upon Indian territory. Though none can predict the possible re-alignments that may be in store for India with its new ruler, one thing is sure—whether on the question of foreign relations or that of the needed social transformation of that society as a whole, the Indian masses have not yet had their final say.

EDITORIAL

End Reaganism before Reaganism ends us

(continued from page 1)

Reagan's obsession with the delusion that this is the "American century"—and that it can be assured by endless militarization and domination of the world—is accompanied by his delusion that U.S. technology can create a shield we can sit safely behind, protected from the nuclear holocaust the world is hurtling toward. His total disregard of the immediate escalation of the arms race his Star Wars project will unleash has made it clear that he will go forward with his scheme, no matter what. He is asking for no less than \$30 billion over the next five years to work it out. (The full cost of a Star Wars system then would be \$1 trillion!)

FROM STAR WARS TO 'CONVENTIONAL' WARFARE

So startling is the budget for a Star Wars future, that what tends to be missed is that as much as 80 percent of the proposed "defense" budget for 1986 is for warfare. Therein lies a "conventional" view of the immediate future. Consider these three non-nuclear programs the Pentagon is planning:

First are what the Defense Department's annual report calls *Force Projection assets*, intended for "rapid-response and forcible entry operations worldwide" (a la Grenada). The Pentagon plans become painfully clear when you couple this with Reagan's persistence in demanding that Congress once more allow him to support the contras in Nicaragua, to the tune of \$14 million this time; and that they increase, from the current \$13 million to \$35 million, aid for the regime in Guatemala—where Reagan sees "overall human rights conditions improved" while beatings, rape, torture, mutilations and assassinations remain a daily state of affairs.

• Second are what the report calls *E.T.* ("emerging technologies") weapons—a group of special high-technology munitions that use computerized guidance explosives to guarantee a high "probability of kill" per round of ammunition. These are for NATO.

• Third are what the Pentagon calls *Special Operations Forces*, like the Army's Green Berets or the Navy's SEAL commandos, who train foreign military personnel in "counter-insurgency" techniques. While the report does not go into any details about where exactly these forces will be deployed, we get a hefty hint of what the future may have in store for us through the report's revealing declaration; "We...support the Philippines' intentions to improve its capabilities to combat an increasingly violent insurgency."

REAGANISM IS NO JOKE

Reagan and his Administration speak plainly enough when they want to. Indeed, Reagan speaks most clearly of all when it is "off the cuff." On March 23 (by coincidence, the second anniversary of his Star Wars speech) he repeated—for the Gridiron Club's annual lampooning dinner—the gallows humor he displayed last year when he "joked" about bombing the Russians "in five minutes." This time it was a joke about rumors he was seeing a psychiatrist. Not to worry, Reagan said—"I just have this problem with pushing buttons."

That utter contempt for humanity, in the guise of "humor," was topped by still another "joke"—this time that America "should keep the grain and export the farmers." That will not be lost on this nation's hard-pressed farmers, who are facing foreclosure at a rate not seen since the Great Depression, who have seen Reagan veto all attempts to provide them with emergency credit, and whose hand-lettered signs at their ever more frequent and vocal protests say exactly what they mean: "Grain, not Missiles," "Farms, not Arms," "Close down Reagan, not the Farmers!"

The real battle lines are being drawn by both the impoverished farmers and the increasingly pauperized workers, as well as the Black masses—whose opposition to Reagan has been the most uncompromising and the most total, as witness the daily protests of his South African policies. The real battle is to end Reaganism before Reaganism succeeds in ending us.

WORKERS AS THINKERS: USA, SOUTH AFRICA, BRITAIN

Some of us in West Virginia have read the pamphlet on the *Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.* and have been impressed by it. We have just started an unemployed committee, the only trouble being the left-wing members who have their own political agendas.

The big problem is balancing survival work, support work, political thinking and action in one committee. Everyone has different ideas on what to do. Over in Clarksburg some glass workers are trying to take over their plant and run it collectively. They have a good handle on it, though they're a little mixed up on the courts and how unions work nationally. We went to their last meeting and they were glad to let us speak. The plant has been down four years and the new owners want to avoid paying what they owe the workers. At the meeting they kept yelling: "Seize the plant!"; "Screw the union!" and "We'll run the plant like family!"...

Can we get some more of those *General Strike* pamphlets?

Labor activist
Morgantown, W. Va.

GM is calling people from Fleetwood over to the new Poletown plant. Right now they're putting everybody through QWL — "Quality of Work Life." It's really brainwashing. GM is supposed to streamline production over the next few years to do away with a lot of jobs, with as much automation as possible. They are going to lose 120,000 jobs because of the Saturn program. For now, someone who works in the GM Livonia plant tells me that they are splitting the plant into three parts so that each one can compete against the other.

GM Fleetwood worker
Detroit

I spoke with a former truck driver and miner who used to work for Savage Brothers in Emery County, Utah. On the Wilberg Mine disaster he said that he was sure that in order to break the record the load on the relay trips was set higher to accommodate the heavier-than-usual weight on the conveyor belt. Ordinarily it would trigger the safety fuse and blow the relay. They would have to do that if they were going to beat the production record. It was a man-made disaster not a "natural accident."

Furious
Salt Lake City

Ed Mogane, President of the Allied Construction Workers Union in South Africa, was here in Los Angeles last month. When he spoke to our mostly Black audience, he excited freedom aspirations and challenged the concept of what a union should be. He began by showing that the Black trade union movement in South Africa practices the principle of "the highest authority in the hands of the rank-and-file." Mogane himself, even as president, as with other paid officials, has "no deciding power."

He said that even the bottom strata of Blacks in the U.S. is better off than the South African, so they can "take guidance" from us about how we made gains; but at the same time, we must take guidance from them about a labor movement that can change the "questionable structures" that hold us back.

Black activist
Los Angeles

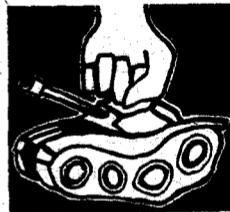
On March 4 the National Union of Mineworkers delegate conference voted to go back to work after 363 days on strike against pit closures. Even with the full power of the state; the arrest of 9,750 miners; the occupation of pit villages by the police; the centrally planned and directed police operation against picketing; and the constant barrage of Thatcherite media, tacitly supported by the TUC and Labour Party leadership; it has taken the government one year to starve the miners back to

Readers' Views

work.

Thatcher has paid a high price for the "victory." It has cost at least 3 billion pounds to save an annual 250 million. It is a pyrrhic victory for Thatcher and Thatcherism. There are now the beginnings of a many-voiced movement against the Thatcher government. It started as women's liberationists and youth actively supported the strike. And it developed as the miners' experience of police brutality brought them closer to the everyday lives of Blacks and Irish living under British rule.

Miners' supporter
London, England



CEASELESS
WAR
IN THE
MIDDLE EAST

The ruling party in my country (Iraq) has only one principle they follow, power. The stupid war against Iran is only to gain an advantage over Syria who is supporting Iran. With Iraq's moving closer to the Saudis and U.S. they hope to play a dominant role in the Middle East and destabilize the Khomeini regime. Your article on the Middle East was good and threw light on these disgusting unprincipled betrayals of my people's ideals.

Iraqi student
in the U.S.

The genocidal Iraq-Iran war has once again taken its toll, with 25,000 youth murdered in less than one week. They were sent to fight heavy tanks and bombers and chemicals while they had only light weapons. While the media is presenting it as if with every death Khomeini's stranglehold solidifies, the opposite is true. People have become so disgusted that they are rebellious again, and this is putting all the rulers' plans in question.

Iranian exile
in the U.S.

Today the 1975-76 Civil War in Lebanon has largely been forgotten. Instead everyone speaks of the events of 1982-85, since the genocidal Israeli invasion.

It is worthwhile to go back and read Dunayevskaya's Political-Philosophic letters from that year, especially the one on "The U.N. Resolution on Zionism" (Jan. 24, 1976). That one was written before the Syrian invasion of Lebanon, but it anticipated the disaster to come, if there was no re-organization of thinking on the Left.

Observer
San Francisco

STUDENT LIFE: IN THE ARMY AND IN REVOLT

An \$8 million ad campaign for the United States army comes as President Reagan is planning to slash most student aid programs. The newest catch is that high school students can get up to \$25,000 in college benefits as of 7/1/85, if they agree to a 2-4 year tour of active duty between 7/1/85 and 6/30/88. Among the qualifications, students must enlist in what the army considers a "critical skill." Some "skills" they consider critical are "infantryman, combat engineer and Pershing missile crew member." Critical for what? Certainly not for life after the army. The army boasts, "Be all that you can be." Can one possibly imagine a Pershing missile crew member as all you can be?

Erica Rae
Chicago

A friend is going to Tunisia. She says that there have been riots there, recently, though unreported. Students from the university started a protest through the streets against the new rule that if students fail an exam they are expelled and have no chance to take it over. As they were marching through town they were quickly joined by unemployed youth calling for education for all and an end to repressive government. Then they were also joined by workers.

It quickly turned into a full-scale riot with many big stores looted and burnt out—people snatching back a little of what they are owed. She says that the university might now be closed.

Myrica Gale
London, England

INTERNATIONAL WOMENS DAY

Today is 8 March and you must be having a grand celebration which I would like to join. We'll be having a small symbolic celebration with singing. This year there have been several "padyatran" in different parts of the country. That means that a group of women go for 15 days from village to village with posters, books, street dramas, slogans, songs, all on women's problems.

There is a large campaign all over the country to ban injectable contraceptives. Pharmaceutical companies are trying to foster their use; they are a great risk for women. There are now regular sterilization camps even in rural areas. Women are not forced, but are given around 200R, which in time of hunger is a great "temptation."

Correspondent
Bihar, India

I found Terry Moon's discussion of Raya Dunayevskaya's new work-in-progress, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, quite provocative. She catches something that is unique to Marxist-Humanism: the interrelationship between forces of revolution and philosophy of revolution. Moon expresses it as the two-fold nature of what is meant by a "new stage of cognition." It is the cognition of forces of revolution—and it is the cognition of a revolutionary philosophy.

As she traces these two determinations of thought in Dunayevskaya's new book, the concept of a single dialectic in life and in thought became much clearer to me.

Student of Marxist
Chicago

REMEMBERING THE COMMUNE

You are the only ones who remember the Paris Commune every year with more than just a nod. Erica Rae's article (March N&L) gave a wonderful feeling of how new, how creative a moment the Commune was in the world history of women, of workers, of youth. There were two points that stood out for me. First, the idea that the Commune created a new concept of "time." I had known for years Marx's expression, "Time is the space for human development." But the way Louise Michel described it in her memoirs of the Commune proved that workers practiced it and were conscious of its newness.

Second, the way the essay coincided last month with the Kanaka revolt in New Caledonia. When I read what Louise Michel had written about the 1878 Kanaka uprising—how she ripped in half her red scarf from the Commune and gave it to the Kanaka rebels as they went off to fight—it brought tears to my eyes. It speaks more eloquently about international solidarity than any collection of theses.

Librarian
Chicago

REAGAN'S ATTACK ON BLIND

Part of Reagan's vicious budget cut-backs are against a program called "Revenue Foregone," which provides free postage for mailings of various non-profit groups. The group that will be hit hardest is the blind. The current law allows reading matter for the blind to be mailed for free—tapes, braille, etc. One of the biggest mailers of material for the blind is the U.S. government itself, and naturally they have no budget to pay postage if free postage is cut off.

Our Right to Know Braille Press is urging all friends of our civil rights struggle to write their representatives and reverse this attack on our only sources of information. For more information, write to:

National Federation for the Blind
1800 Johnson St.
Baltimore, MD 21230

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory. We organized ourselves in Committees rather than any elitist party "to lead." The development of 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 this capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our *Constitution* states: "It is our aim ... to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking. Anyone who is a participant in these freedom struggles for totally new relations and a fundamentally new way of life, and who believes in these principles, is invited to join us. Send for a copy of the *Constitution* of News and Letters Committees.

OUR LIFE AND TIMES

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

March 21, 1960. The Sharpeville massacre—69 Blacks murdered outside a police station while trying to submit peacefully to arrest to protest the pass law. Most were shot in the back.

March 21, 1985, 25 years later. At least 18 unarmed Blacks murdered on cold blood on the edge of Uitenhage, near industrial Port Elizabeth, by South African police who fired on a crowd of 4,000 Blacks marching peacefully in a memorial for 30 Black victims of earlier police killings. The 18 were attacked by gunfire from armored personnel carriers.

*Ronald Reagan, the diabolical racist sitting in the White House, took time out from his campaign of murder, rape and pillage in Nicaragua to give his off-the-

Uitenhage: Azanian revolt heightens

cuff analysis: "There is an element in South Africa who do not want peaceful settlement of this, who want trouble in the streets, and this is what is going on."

Even the South African racists (and Reagan) have begun dimly to realize that their days are numbered. Hence the offer—for the first time ever—of conditional amnesty for Black revolutionaries, including the leader of the generation of 1960, Nelson Mandela. But Mandela, though imprisoned since 1960, spurned their offer, throwing down the gauntlet for a second stage of the Black revolt of 1984-85.

On Feb. 10, his 23-year-old daughter, Zinzi Mandela, read a message to the regime from his prison cell to a crowd of 9,000. It rejected totally the white overlords' offer of amnesty "with conditions": "My father says: 'I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I, and you the people, are not free. Let him (Botha) renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organization, the African National Congress. Let him free all

who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Only free men can negotiate.'"

Late in February, Black defiance day after day, despite nearly two dozen protesters murdered by police, forced the white rulers to back down on mass eviction of "squatters" in the Crossroads settlement. And on March 18, a nearly 100% successful general strike by Black labor of white businesses shut down Port Elizabeth.

Since last year, more than 242 people, mainly Blacks peacefully demonstrating, have been killed in Azania as the Black mass revolt has reached heights unequalled since Soweto 1976. That near-revolution gave the world the concept of "Black Consciousness", eloquently articulated by the martyred theorist and revolutionary Steve Biko. Today that new generation of 1976 plus still younger youth are in the forefront.

As older Black veterans of Sharpeville described the new youth of 1985: "The youth just took over (and) told their parents what to do. They are ready to die."

Miners shake Bolivia

Bolivian workers have taken the initiative for resolving the deep crisis there by organizing a general strike begun March 7. Thousands of tin miners have come to La Paz since the Federation of Bolivian Workers (COB) began demonstrations for "bread and Freedom."

The miners are demanding food and a raise in wages from the government, which instituted price rises of 450% in February for food, transportation and medicine. As the miners marched continuously through La Paz, they set off dynamite cartridges in the air to "let the people know they were there." They have been received with acts of solidarity as market vendors and housewives collected bread and other food for them, even though food has been scarce in La Paz for some time.

Peasants and urban workers have sustained the strike as well. The government seized the Central Bank after the first week of the strike to prevent it from being run by the bank workers' union, which wanted to pay out wages to government workers who have gone without pay since February. The Bolivian workers are trying to change a situation which at present means a fluctuating (due to 2,700% inflation) minimum monthly wage of around \$62 for them, while the basics of life cost nearly as much as they do in the U.S.

Pres. Hernan Siles Zuaso sent army and national guard troops into the streets of La Paz on March 20. A meeting held by miners with the government was disrupted. But threats by the military and the government's efforts to stay in power have not deterred the workers' general strike as yet.



Striking tin miners, 50,000 strong, march in La Paz.

Kenyan student revolt frightens Moi regime

The most serious unrest since the 1982 coup attempt by young Left officers and the near-revolution which followed, involving students as well as the urban poor, took place in February. Thousands of students at the University of Nairobi had gathered on Feb. 6 to protest the recent unexplained expulsion of several student leaders. They also demanded the release of students imprisoned after 1982.

The Moi regime arrogantly replied that "no explanations" would be given and told the students to call off their strike. They had by then marched downtown, avowing themselves publicly as Marxists. When another rally took place on Feb. 10, riot police attacked the unarmed students, killing one and injuring at least 65. In fact, more students' deaths were probably concealed by the government.

The university is now closed down,

but that has hardly solved the problem of a disaffected new generation of youth, who are demanding to know what happened to the African Socialism the Mau Mau gave their lives for in the 1950s. Once in power, independence leaders such as Kenyatta and Koinange transformed into their opposites: they became corrupt, middle-class bureaucrats who ruled by exacerbating tensions between the nation's ethnic groups.

It is their legacy of betrayal, which Moi symbolizes, against which the new generation is fighting, increasingly under the banner of Marxism. Today, Left intellectuals in exile such as Ngugi Wa Thiongo are heroes to the youth and feared by a government petrified by a repeat of 1982. As in 1982, Kenya is a powder keg of poverty, sexism, exploitation and neo-colonialism.

Russia's Gorbachev

Some may think Gorbachev is a new generation and a new development for Russia. But his continuity with Andropov is quite key. Even Stalin did not incorporate into his totalitarianism what Andropov did by absorbing all the posts into his own position, especially the secret police and "ideology" (See "Andropov's Ascendancy reflects final stage of state-capitalism's degeneracy," N&L Dec. 1982). Suslov, who had been the ideologue, and made the last trip of his life to Poland during its ceaseless revolts, was not replaced when he died. Andropov took that job as top theoretician. Andropov knew he was dying and had chosen two younger men to train—Gorbachev and Romanov—in those two fields (secret police work and ideology) that he was experienced in. The fact that Gorbachev is younger and has a long life to look forward to does not in any way change this degenerate stage of capitalism where ideology and secret police are one.

Partial amnesty for Uruguayan detainees

Uruguayans celebrated in the streets as Julio Sanguinetti of the Colorado Party was sworn in as the first elected president after 12 years of military dictatorship. Last fall the generals had banned the leading candidates of the other two parties, the Left Broad Front and the Blanco Party, assuring Sanguinetti's victory. The Colorado Party and the Broad Front had agreed not to prosecute the military for past crimes in exchange for having elections take place.

The generals stepped down from power, as they have in Argentina and Brazil, in the face of deep economic crises and mass unrest from below.

Most workers now get about \$50 monthly with inflation running at 50%. Unemployment is high, even though close to 300,000 Uruguayans work in Argentina and Brazil as "economic exiles." But the military remains intact and the generals have declared their readiness to take over again.

Soon after Sanguinetti's swearing-in ceremony, the new government undertook steps to lift press censorship and legalize banned Left parties, worker and student organizations, and human rights groups of the Church. Thousands in these organizations had been banned from voting in the fall elections.

A central question now is the fate of some 250 political prisoners still in jail after an amnesty of sorts was declared. Under the dictatorship, the military had used jail, torture and killing not only against the Tupamaros urban guerrillas but also any leftist, labor opponent or dissident. In 1975 Uruguay's jails were filled with 7,000 political prisoners. One released prisoner said of his 11 years in jail: "The objective was to destroy us as human beings so as to destroy our ideas." The released prisoners have been active in demanding amnesty for those still in jail.

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

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

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya

published by Humanities Press International

Only \$12.95—regular price \$15.95

from the Introduction/Overview—

What distinguishes the newness and uniqueness of Women's Liberation in our age is the very nature of our epoch, which signified, at one and the same time, a new stage of production—Automation—and a new stage of cognition....every one of the historic periods recorded here discloses the existence of both a new revolutionary force and a new consciousness—Reason itself—no matter how different the situation or the country in which the events unravel, and no matter how hidden from history, past or in-the-making, it has remained.

- Part I: Women, Labor and the Black Dimension • Part II: Revolutionaries All • Part III: Sexism, Politics and Revolution—Portugal, Poland, China, Latin America, the U.S.—Is There an Organizational Answer?
- Part IV: The Trail to the 1960s: The Missing Link—Philosophy—In the Relationship of Revolution to Organization

Order from News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605

Enclosed is \$12.95 for a copy of *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*. Please send it to me as soon as it is off the press.

Name _____ Address _____
 City _____ State _____ Zip _____