

Conditions of Labor in Korea Affect U.S.



by John Marcotte

Mass unrest in South Korea has been in the news lately, on the one hand. On the other hand, South Korea is exporting a new small car called the Hyundai, which is selling for a thousand dollars less than any Japanese or American car. What unites those two facts is the horrible conditions of industrial labor in South Korea today.

South Korean workers put in the world's longest work week—an average 54.4 hours! Their average wage is \$8 an hour. Overall, they live and work under totalitarian, 1984-like conditions. The factories are run like military camps, with workers having to snap to attention and salute the bosses, often living with their families in company housing, with their medical care and their recreation dependent on the company.

The barracks discipline of their obligatory two-to-three-year stint in the military never ends for the South Korean worker. Marx's statement in *Capital* that "The technical subordination of the workman to the uniform motion of the instruments of labor...gives rise to a barracks discipline...dividing the workpeople into operatives and overlookers, into private soldiers and sergeants of an industrial army," is the raw, literal truth of South Korean labor.

Just as cheap as labor is in South Korea, there's always going to be some part of the globe which can force labor to work cheaper for a time, like China right now. So South Korean Daewoo Heavy Industries has installed its first fully automated assembly line.

"FORCED" TO AUTOMATE

One of Daewoo's directors says that South Korea "must have to find other ways of being competitive" than cheap labor, and that's why they've started to automate—while at the same time they and the military

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Black World

Black thought at home/ abroad



by Lou Turner

The fate of Spain had hurt me, had haunted me; I had never been able to stifle a hunger to understand what had happened there and why... An uneasy question kept floating in my mind: How did one live after the death of the hope of the world?... Suddenly resolved, I swung my car southward, and those humped and ragged peaks of the Pyrenees, which some authorities claim, mark the termination of Europe and the beginning of Africa.

—Richard Wright, *Pagan Spain*

Two recent world crisis points impel this column on the international dimension of Black thought. The March 24 and April 14 bombings of Libya by that same world outlaw Ronald Reagan intensified when, on May 19, the world witnessed the state-sponsored terrorist invasion by the South African Defense Forces of more than the capital cities of the three neighboring countries of Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Truer words were spoken than those of the South African official who defended those acts of war as being more than what the American government carried out against Libya.

At the seemingly opposite end of the world—Ronald Reagan's America—the meaning of such current events are made to appear, by the media and bourgeois ideologues, as if they are either remote from us, or so overwhelming in scope as to have us believe that state powers determine our destiny. In fact, such critical developments abroad are inseparable from Black reality at home.

It was that relationship of "at home/abroad" in Black thought which revealed such sharp contradictions following Reagan's in-the-dark-of-night terrorist bombing of Libya, as some in the Black community fell for Reagan

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Does Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster show us our future?



Demonstration in Wroclaw, Poland, in response to nuclear accident at Chernobyl power plant and against the construction of a nuclear plant in Poland. One sign reads, "We demand full information."

by Eugene Walker, Managing Editor

The horror of the explosion and near meltdown of the Russian nuclear reactor at Chernobyl in the Ukraine has been too quickly treated in the West as an isolated phenomenon of the failure of Russian technology, instead of a human tragedy ultimately involving the fate of perhaps tens of thousands of lives in the Ukraine. The Reagan-type mass hysteria/propaganda claims that nothing of this sort could happen with the U.S.'s superior technology. Nothing could be further from the truth.

We have only to return to the 1979 partial meltdown at Three Mile Island in Pennsylvania to see a near-Chernobyl on American soil. Indeed, a whole series of major accidents at nuclear installations in the U.S., in Russia, as well as in Canada, Britain, Switzerland, France, Japan and Argentina, sharply pose the catastrophic danger that humanity faces in this state-capitalist-imperialist super-power age even before we consider the Armageddon-like nuclear weapons arsenals of each side.

ATTITUDES TO CHERNOBYL

Attitudes toward Chernobyl on the part of both Russia and the United States are an expression of the super-power ideology which is overriding the human tragedy and still-ongoing danger. Russia was so intent on suppressing information of the accident, especially to its own people, that it delayed for 36 hours the beginning of an evacuation of some 84,000 people from the immediate area of the nuclear disaster, and only announced the accident more than two days after it occurred, and that only after monitoring stations in Swe-

den had detected the radioactive fallout. The Reagan administration was so intent on taking advantage of the gravity of the disaster for propaganda purposes, that no genuine human concern for the Russian and East European people exposed to the nuclear radiation was expressed, only seizing a chance to beat the drum about the "evil empire."

The people of the Ukraine, Poland and Czechoslovakia are experiencing radioactive contamination of

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Youth opposition to Reagan's war drive

by Gary Clark

A nightmare ... that's what the world looks like these days. The past year, especially the last three months, have rushed at us at such a quick pace of destruction and terror. Reagan's bombing of Libya, the Challenger explosion, aid to the contras, the Chernobyl meltdown—all point to the world rulers' goal of World War.

Here in the U.S. Reagan is ready to put us in war immediately. The draft can begin on a 24-hour notice—the Draft Boards are trained, the forms, manuals and mailing lists are complete and ready to mail.

VOICES IN OPPOSITION

Reagan would have us believe that everybody in the U.S. supports his war drive, especially his bombing of Tripoli. But young people are not with him. Listen:

• "The day after Reagan's bombing of Libya, the students at my high school decided to hold a candlelight vigil. About 100 people came. Reagan is so war-hungry;

a lot of people are really scared. Even a baby died in the bombing but he didn't care. I'm not for terrorism but what Reagan is doing is terrorist, too." (17-year-old Venice, Calif.) High school student)

• "Every time someone tries to use their minds in this country they're beaten back. It happens in my high school everyday, and it's what Reagan's trying to do in Nicaragua. Reagan sees people around the world trying to think and do for themselves and he uses American guns and money to destroy that." (16-year-old Chicana)

• "I remember Three Mile Island and how terrified we all were about dying in a nuclear war or accident. And now I see the Chernobyl disaster, the Star Wars project—Reagan and Gorbachev are driving us into a world where we'll either die in a nuclear accident or nuclear war." (20-year-old Black student)

In the days immediately following the Libya bombing I was on the campus of Cal. State Los Angeles.

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Simone De Beauvoir, 1908-1986

by Olga Domanski

The 78 years of Simone de Beauvoir's life spanned a torrent of historic turning points. They saw the rise of Stalin in Russia; experienced world Depression, the rise of Fascism and World War II; witnessed the birth in the post-World War II decade of a whole new Third World, with revolutions soon erupting in China, in Africa, in Cuba, the rise of a New Left and of a worldwide Women's Liberation Movement.

Living in a world pulled by all these events, the French philosophers, Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir, sought to find their role—first as bystanders, then as participants. It was World War II that became the point of what de Beauvoir in her work, *Prime of Life*, called their "metamorphosis." Describing her years from 1929 to 1939 in that autobiographical volume, in page after page of which you witness the rise of Nazism, she castigates herself: "Today [the work was copyrighted in 1960] it astounds me to think how we could have stood by and watched all this so calmly..." (p. 120). "Our life, like that of all petit bourgeois intellectuals, was mainly characterized by its lack of reality..." (p. 288). But in 1939, "suddenly, History took hold of me, and never let go thereafter... History burst over me" (p. 295).¹

THROUGHOUT THE REST of their lives, their commitment was manifested both in their writing and in their activism. They participated in the French Resistance Movement in the 1940s; supported Algeria's struggle for independence through the 1950s and early 1960s, opposing for seven long years France's bloody war against the Algerian people; participated in the international tribunal in the 1960s condemning the U.S. war against the Vietnamese people. And, although she did not join the Women's Liberation Movement until quite late, in the 1970s De Beauvoir joined the fight, both in manifesto and in marching, to gain abortion rights in a land where even contraception was still banned. But their commitment, first and foremost, was in their writing, both in their individual works and in a new kind of journal, *Les Temps Modernes*, which they co-founded with others in 1945.

Thus, the disorientation of a new generation of revolutionaries in the aftermath of World War II, to which the philosophy of Existentialism contributed, was not one of lack of "commitment" to uprooting a totally degenerate society. Nor was it even only a matter of twisting Marx's theory of liberation—into which they openly, from 1957 on, attempted to "integrate" Existentialism—into a rationalization of existing Communism, as fatal as that was in leading them to a constant flirtation with the Communist Party.

Rather, the disorientation was imbedded precisely in the philosophy of Existentialism itself, which gained a "mass" intellectual following in the immediate postwar years in France when intellectuals, feeling the need to be responsible for their own destiny, seized on Sartre's theory of "free choice" and individual freedom. As De Beauvoir put it, in 1947: "Men may make of their own history a hopeless inferno, a junkyard of events or an enduring value." To Existentialism, however, this was not Marx's concept of being "individualized through the process of History" but a matter of "free choice"—the illusion that by "rejecting" history, one became "free." It was *Being and Nothingness* (published in 1943, in still-Nazi-occupied France) that remains Sartrean Existentialism's most closely argued and carefully elaborated work; and it was in that work that *The Second Sex*, De Beauvoir's most famous study, begun in 1946, was deeply rooted.²

INDEED, WHILE IT IS TRUE that De Beauvoir, in none of the 21 works she authored in her prolific lifetime, ever elaborated a "system" as Sartre did, it is not true that she was merely a "follower." Constantly insisting that Sartre was her "superior" and the one who was "ideologically creative," in the Epilogue to Vol. II of her autobiographical *Force of Circumstance* (which details the years from the Liberation of France and the end of WW II to the winning of Algerian independence) De Beauvoir writes: "... so assiduously have we always criticized, corrected or ratified each other's thought that we might almost be said to think in common. We have a common store of memories, knowledge and images behind us; our attempts to grasp the world are undertaken with the same



tools. Very often one of us begins a sentence and the other finishes it... Our temperaments, our directions, our previous decisions, remain different, and our writings are on the whole almost totally dissimilar. But they have sprung from the same plot of ground."

Nowhere is that more true than in *The Second Sex*, the work she said she liked best of all her writings. Whatever one may think about that work today,³ when

2. For a full philosophic critique of Sartrean Existentialism, see Chapter 6 of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution, from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao*, "Jean-Paul Sartre, Outsider Looking In."

3. For my own sharp critique, see "Women's Liberation in Search of a Theory: The Summary of a Decade" in Chapter 12 of *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* by Dunayevskaya.

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Meridel Le Sueur writes "work history"

North Star Country, by Meridel Le Sueur, University of Nebraska Press, 1945; Bison Book printing, 1984.

*"It's the story of how, under kerosene lights
And far into the dark of the long winter nights
Of the snow-drifted north, by the unsalted sea
Man dreamed of the day when he would be free.."*

In *North Star Country*, Meridel Le Sueur has given us a unique history of the explorers, settlers and laborers of Wisconsin, Minnesota and the Midwest and Great Lakes region. It is not a history to satisfy those who demand precise recitation of dates, times and places. Rather, it is human history as "work history," in a lyrically told story-form which is as unique as its Subjects—river boatmen, farmers and farmers' wives, lumberjacks, loggers, miners, "navvies" who built the great railroads, truckers and laborers on the Soo locks.

Punctuating her own narrative—which can move from sheer poetry to an edge of steel in the same passage—with quotes from those she is writing about, Le Sueur allows them to speak for themselves through folk sayings and tales, letters, newspapers and poems of the time.

Le Sueur reminds us that among the immigrants to the New World were German revolutionists (the 48ers), French Communards, Irish and Finnish socialists and Germans like Carl Schurz who became Abolitionists and "raised the ideological level of the Middle West"—facts frequently left out of standard texts. It comes as no surprise, then, when she tells of conversations in covered wagons on the works of Fourier, Marx, Rousseau and Darwin and that "the works of Marx and Lenin could be found on the bookshelves of rutabaga farmers."

*"The man and woman moving behind the western sun
wanted room to think fast and big, invent, speak, plant
land and children with freedom's plow. They wanted new
ways of being together.."*

Le Sueur tells their story, both as man in struggle with nature and as labor in struggle with capital. Her language reveals both the sweetness of nature and the terror it can hold.

"...on a warm night when the bright moon is up after a

Take Back the Night

Ann Arbor, Mich.—"About 1,500 women marched over three miles, through the red light district, through the area around the hospital where there are no lights through part of the university, and women came out from the dorm to join the march. It was a great feeling." So spoke one student participating in the seven annual Take Back the Night march here the night April 26.

"This year the march was more political," said another student who had worked on the planning committee. "At the rally we heard demands to remove the sex 'Feel the Velvet' Canadian Club advertisement, and consider the bombings of abortion clinics as terrorism against women. There was discussion of the bombing of Libya. The question of how far to step out of the sex assault arena was a big issue at the planning meeting. The rally wound up being very politicized, with much more than rape prevention discussed."

Another woman participating for the first time said the best part was the way the speakers "were opening the issue from just taking back the night." She especially appreciated a speech by a Black woman member of the Free South Africa Coordinating Committee, and questions other speakers raised about why Take Back the Night in Ann Arbor is mostly by women.

In 1985, 238 Ann Arbor women reported acts of "criminal sexual conduct," ranging from rape to other forms of sexual assault. That fact was underscored during the march when a male spectator began to harass one woman, shoving her and trying to kick her. Instantly 40 women surrounded him, biting and hissing until he left.

Just one week earlier in Ann Arbor, 150 women participated in a March for Women's Lives, which brought home the way many young women activists seeking a full concept of liberation. The march was organized by the local N.O.W. chapter to carry on the spirit of the big women's protests in Washington, Los Angeles in March. Most speakers stuck close to the issue of reproductive rights, but a number of students at the rally were talking about other questions as well, especially Reagan's attack on Libya just five days earlier.

Several participants read the *News & Letters* from the Washington March for Women's Lives, stressed the need for the women's movement to find philosophic ground for a new beginning to fight Reaganism. They wanted to know more about Marxist-Humanism, not only its relation to women's liberation, but as a philosophy of revolution it differs from the view of Marxism they had been reading in class.

These questions, and the way the Take Back the Night march was broadened, indicate many women feeling that renewed militancy is not alone enough to combat Reaganism, and that a more total view must be worked out.

—Laurie Cast

*shower has fairly wet the earth and waked up the
corn, I will swear that you can see the stalk stretch
swell in its new sheath, rise through the contracted lip
the upper blade to crack and burst and murmur in a
tongued speech.*

*At night when the wind is down, you can hear a
silence for miles...The silence is enormous; women whisper to
other afraid of breaking it; the insane asylums are full
of women who could not stand it."*

Le Sueur writes that "drudgery is the mother of invention," telling of field laborers lying awake at night thinking of ways to lighten their labors and of John McCormick, whose greed later led to the Haymarket Tragedy, going from town to town ruthlessly buying and stealing patents for these inventions.

Her love of these settlers and workers who themselves robbed of the fruits of their labor is tinged with sadness, however, as she tells in detail of the treatment of the Indians, the Native Americans. Realizing how little of that history was known in 1945, we appreciate the sensitivity which made the author set it out as she did.

"By the treaty, the articles of which were never fulfilled, the United States Government got possession—for a small money which was never paid—of...in all, nearly 24 million acres of the choicest land existing on the globe...The Indians learned bitterly how words could stand as a shield of greed."

Many of the stories are not at all dated but quite relevant, such as the elimination of hand work by machinery, the farm auctions at which farm families stood silent and refused to bid on their comrades' land. Labor struggles, such as the 1934 Minneapolis teamster strike in which the skirts of the Women's Auxiliary were stained with blood tending the wounded at headquarters, call to mind not only last month's celebration of the centennial of Haymarket and May Day but of strikes such as Hormel, still ongoing in the *North Star Country* of today.

This book is to be treasured as a history told by those who not only observed it but participated in it. It is not only observer, but revolutionary herself, who created these images.

—Suzanne

Waitress demands dignity

San Francisco, Calif.—Today I was fired from my job for asking to be treated as a human being—with respect and dignity. I worked as a waitress in a coffee shop in Walnut Creek, Calif. since the end of January. I got along with my boss, I worked hard and he didn't bother me. But my eyes and ears were open when I would witness his abuse of power.

Last Monday he berated me for forgetting to give a customer a glass of water when I delivered her coffee. He asked me why I wasn't doing my job. I couldn't be silent any more and asked why was he yelling at me for such an insignificant thing. In essence, I was asking him to treat me as a human being.

Tuesday he ignored me. Wednesday another waitress asked me to take her place. It was all arranged properly, I was in uniform, ready to go onto the floor when my boss sent me home and told Kerry she had to work or else. Thursday was my day off.

When I walked in Friday the headwaitress, who is also my friend, said the boss told her to tell me I was fired. This was supposedly because I embarrassed him Monday by speaking up when there were four customers who perhaps heard.

This on a small scale is so reflective of the world events on a larger scale. This man, my ex-boss, makes decisions about the lives of us women (the waitresses). If you speak up, you are fired. If you try to make the workplace a place fit to work—that threatens the power structure. It should be a basic right that workers be treated with dignity and respect. A worker should be able to voice the right without fear of being fired or, in my case, being fired.

—Ex-waitress

May Day: today and yesterday, in South Africa, Poland, the U.S.

Haymarket centennial

Chicago, Ill.—From as far away as Germany and Japan, people came to Chicago in May to commemorate the centennial of Haymarket and the first May Day, 1886. The groups in charge of event after event on the crowded calendar, from Social Democrats to anarchists, tried to narrow the scope of Haymarket or appropriate its history in order to control the direction of today's event. But by contrast, the passion of youth and activists who came to Chicago from struggles as diverse as strikes and the anti-apartheid movement, all opposed this society which has hung on, stinking and rotten, century after Haymarket, proved how alive it remains today.

At the largest conference, on "Labor and Haymarket," the Illinois Labor History Society tried to control the discussion by allocating two-thirds of the seats to the labor bureaucracy. But a group of GM workers at that meeting from Anderson, Ind. talked about the widening rift between the union bureaucracy and the ranks—how they traced the turning point in control of their own union to when the labor bureaucrats had bought the promise of automation and refused to fight its introduction.

At the graves of the Haymarket martyrs a black flag which anarchists had placed on the Haymarket monument was removed, thus stifling ideas of freedom at a tribute for those who were hanged for such ideas. But the anarchists in turn claimed a private property of the day by denying that Marxists had a right to commemorate Haymarket. What was disappointing was that the Marxists must have agreed with them—few Marxist groups appeared at the cemetery. (For a Marxist-Humanist view of May Day and Haymarket see Editorial May N&L)

So great was rank-and-file labor participation in all events that it was appropriate that the march to the Plaines and Randolph Streets, the site of the Haymarket rally 100 years ago, began at the Chicago Tribune picket lines. Hormel workers from Local P-9 in Austin, Minn., Local 431 in Ottumwa, Iowa, TWA flight attendants and others have given new respect to the labor movement while its leaders have chosen no-strike contracts over solidarity and have permitted defeats like the CO to be repeated.

—Bob McGuire

Underground Solidarnosc

Chicago, Ill.—The most inspiring and thought-provoking event I attended during all of the Chicago Haymarket centennial activities was a lecture and discussion on the labor movement in Poland, sponsored by the IWW, by Marek Garztecki from the London Solidarnosc Information Office. According to him, there are less than 600 underground workers' papers in Poland. They range from two-sided mimeographed sheets of several pages that are put out monthly or weekly, to since the Bolsheviks has the leadership of a movement been able to go underground for as long as 4-5 years," he proudly boasted of his comrades.

Mr. Garztecki said, "We know the workers are with us in Warsaw alone one million workers still pay dues. So you ask, what are we waiting for?" Solidarnosc anxiously waiting for the development of similar workers' movements in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and other Eastern-bloc countries. Now there are only small intellectual groups. May Solidarnosc soon be joined by workers from around the world, allies in the spirit of Haymarket!

—Chicago Reader

May Day! Job hazard

Los Angeles, Cal.—Today, May 1, I think instead of celebrating the eight-hour day we need a revived struggle for the shortening of the working day, because the celebration of May Day as the fight for the eight-hour day seems far removed from most workers' lives. A truck driver where I work stated, "Hell, I don't want an eight-hour day, why should I celebrate? I have to work 12-15 hours a day, six days a week."

The production line workers at my job work 10 to 12 shifts, five to six days a week, sometimes more. It is a slap in the face to health and safety. Five years I know have had heart bypass surgery in the year-and-a-half, due to the asphalt fumes and silica that pollutes the air from making roofing tiles.

When a line worker told me he had complained to the maintenance mechanic, to the foreman and to the personal director about a slipping clutch on the production line. While he was threading the paper through the clutch slipped and his arm was snapped.

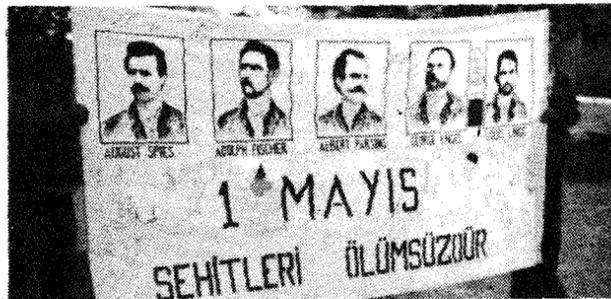
When the foreman sent the worker to the nearest

doctor's office, the director of the company got mad because he wasn't sent 15 miles away to a company doctor who would have had the worker report back to work the next day, without hospitalizing him for two days. To the company, this means a loss of safety hours or production time. He was put on light duty after two days off.

Within the next few weeks a maintenance worker had three fingers cut off in a chain link motor because the production manager didn't want to shut down the line for five minutes to make repairs. He was back to work that same day.

The only thing that workers have is their labor. This is our main weapon against capitalism. We must learn to hold back our labor under unsafe working conditions, striking out for the shortening of the working day against speed-up hazards.

—Eugene Ford



—News & Letters photo

Turkish workers in Germany painted this beautiful banner of the Haymarket Martyrs and sent it to Chicago for the centennial.

Solidarity in Ottumwa...

Ottumwa, Iowa—On May 10 over 500 workers—machinists, postal workers, TWA flight attendants, farmers, west coast longshoremen—came to this small farming town in support of the 500 Hormel meatpackers, members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 431. They had been fired for refusing to cross the picket line set up by strikers from Local P-9 at Hormel's Austin, Minn., plant, and had to fight even to get unemployment benefits.

At the rally, a young woman, Sherri Hacker, spoke out from the Ottumwa Support Group: "We decided as wives what could we do that our husbands could not. We decided that we could go on strike; to go on those picket lines and that we could boycott Hormel. The company couldn't believe that we had the guts to stand with Local P-9."

A young Black worker from Local 325 in St. Louis also spoke about Local P-9: "If you want to know the true meaning of brotherhood, sisterhood, solidarity...it spells out the name of Austin, Minn."

What was emphasized time and again was the drive by this administration for Third World conditions of labor and life here in the U.S. One worker stated in his talk that the companies are trying to reduce workers' wages to the point where "we'll be eating a few bowls of rice a day like in the Third World."

Jerry Parks, a farmer from Chillicothe, Mo., spoke passionately both about his own plight and the situation that we all face: "I just lost my land nearly 48 hours ago because I needed a \$50,000 loan to put in my crop. The bank refused my application because the bankers saw me on TV at several different rallies."

Many expressed the need for this kind of support in other towns and cities. Many felt this was a good beginning, but only a beginning.

—Diane Lee

...and defiance at Fremont

Ottumwa, Iowa—I am one of 48 Hormel workers in Fremont, Neb. who on Jan. 26 refused to cross the picket line of striking workers from Austin, Minn. and lost my job. Six of us are now going around the country to speak out, and trying to make it on \$126 a month unemployment benefits.

Any help that you could give is desperately needed for those of us who honored the P-9 picket line, and would be greatly appreciated. Please send contributions to: Local 22-Hardship Fund, Box 86, Fremont, NE 68025.

Our plant is also very much like the Austin plant. Our hands get smashed in unsafe machines, and the company doesn't do anything until after the fact. And then we are told that if we want to get faster treatment, we should not apply for Workers' Compensation. This way, injuries don't get reported.

I ran a high-power hose myself for 10 years and was in such excruciating pain that I finally went to the doctor recently, only to find out that if I had waited a few more weeks, I would have lost the power to use my arm. My whole arm and tendon had to be operated on. This is not to mention the hysterectomy that I, like a great share of the women in our plant, had.

But this is not all that we want to speak on. What I want is solidarity with other people in the world, with those workers in South Africa and Mexico who are suffering from the same conditions of labor that we are fighting. Did you know that Hormel is building a plant in Mexico? And they are using that plant to get rid of the Fremont plant in Nebraska.

The attacks we are getting shows that the Hormel strike must be making a big impact around the country. In Fremont, the company is trying very hard to intimidate the 48 of us who honored the P-9 picket line. Ten of us were forced to go back to work, only to end up with the worst jobs and no seniority. But I will be continuing to speak out around the country about the Hormel strike.

—Locked out woman, Local 22 member

Specter of workers' power

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

This year on May 1, the Black South African workers showed what the real spirit of May Day means. Over a million and a half workers refused to go to work; it was the largest general strike in that country's history. The life of the whole nation, which runs on cheap Black labor, was disrupted.

Thirty thousand Blacks rallied in Soweto and cheered Winnie Mandela when she said, "The wealth of this country belongs to you. It is your hands that made this country rich...It is the workers' power that is going to liberate this country."

Seeing how the Black workers in South Africa celebrated May Day this year took me back to when I was a boy, growing up in coal mining country in Kentucky. That was in the 1930s, during the great workers' struggle for organizing the CIO.

The workers always made May Day into a holiday, with big labor rallies. I remember huge crowds of people, whole families. Women would bring baskets of food and we'd sit at long tables and listen to great speeches from miners about organizing in the coal fields.

STOLEN FROM RANK AND FILE

To me, the spirit of May Day disappeared in this country after the war. It is because the spirit of the labor movement was different. There was still a lot of militancy, but the rank-and-file workers themselves weren't in control. The union bureaucrats had taken over. That was inevitable once workers lost control of production after their battle in building the CIO. The division between thinkers and workers that is the principle of capitalist production was bound to lead to the creation of a labor bureaucracy.

Today it is the rank-and-file workers of Local P-9, on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minn., who are rekindling that spirit of workers thinking and organizing for themselves. I heard a tape of some songs written and sung by some of the Hormel workers available from Adopt a PQ Family Fund, UFCW Local P-9, 312 NE 4th Ave, Austin, MN 55912. Those songs say so many things that mean so much to me. One song says, "They say we should be happy to compromise," but "The more we concede, the more we get burned," and "In these times of concessions, the lines are finally drawn."

SAME SONGS, NEW WORDS

Some of the songs are old tunes that go back to the 1930s. I remember them from the organizing of the CIO. But the Hormel workers have added new words, not only on the Hormel strike, but also on women's liberation, on Black/white relations, and on South Africa and Latin America.

In one sense the words are new, but in another sense the meaning is returning to what these songs meant in the 1930s. When the Hormel workers sing about "sticking with the union," they mean themselves, that they are the union, they are in charge. That is what "union" meant when "Solidarity Forever" was sung in the 1930s, but today the big labor bureaucrats sing that song as if "union" means the actions of the bureaucracy.

But look what is happening to the Hormel strikers. The rank-and-file workers are sticking together and going against the union bureaucrats, who have told them their strike is hopeless. The workers are reaching out to other rank-and-file workers all across the country for support in their strike and in boycotting Hormel; the International bureaucracy is not in control.

And because of this, the International bureaucracy is trying to crush the strike and Local P-9. The International is moving to take over the local union. They are working together with the capitalists because they are afraid of the power of the working class.

As a worker, this is what I think about a lot, the power of the laboring class. It is so clear to me. And this is what got me interested in the writings of Karl Marx, who listened to the workers in his day. If he were alive now, he would be listening to the Hormel workers.

For Marx, freedom meant a society where all people are equally thinkers and doers, full human beings. That is what I have been fighting for as long as I can remember, and what people all over the world are still fighting for today.

THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Founder of Marxist-Humanism in the U. S.

May 1, 1986

Paul Buhle, Director

Oral History of the American Left
Tamiment Institute, New York University

The taped interviews by Grace Lee Boggs (3/28/83) and James Boggs (3/29/83), on file at the Oral History of the American Left, have just been called to my attention. I have learned for the first time that they were interviewed at the same time Oral History of the American Left approached me for an interview during my Marx Centenary lecture tour in 1983. But what I had been told was that the Oral History of the American Left was interested in an interview in connection with the opening of Max Shachtman's documents. I responded that I wasn't interested in participating in a discussion on Max Shachtman.

The calls from Tamiment Oral History, however, persisted. First, Dan Georgakas called. I refused to be interviewed by the man who wrote *Detroit, I Do Mind Dying*, on the Black revolt in Detroit in the 1960s, and had no mention anywhere in that book of Charles Denby—despite the fact that Georgakas knew the work of News and Letters Committees and the many activities in Detroit and in the South of Charles Denby, the Black worker-editor of *News & Letters*, who was also President of the Michigan-Lowndes County, Ala. Movement for Human Rights.

I WAS CALLED once again, this time by someone unknown to me, Jonathan Bloom, who said that he was interested in interviewing me on labor history. I accepted that interview since it meant I could discuss an event I considered most relevant to a history of the American Left—namely, the 1949-50 miners' general strike, the most critical strike in post-World War II labor history, the first strike against automation's introduction, a strike that had never been fully recorded anywhere before. I had participated in those events and had just come to New York from a lecture in West Virginia where I had met in my audience some who had participated in that great strike. I have since expanded the 1983 interview I gave to Tamiment into a full-length pamphlet, *The Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.*, which I co-authored with a rank-and-file participant in that strike.

Let me now turn to the interviews with Grace Lee Boggs and James Boggs. Although both interviews contain wide-ranging distortions of the history of the State-Capitalist Tendency from 1941-55, one segment in particular is so serious a re-writing of history as to demand that this letter of protest be sent to you as director of the project.

The historic moment I am referring to is the period of the split-up of the Johnson-Forest [C.L.R. James-Raya Dunayevskaya] Tendency in 1955. Grace Lee and James Boggs were supporters of C.L.R. James (J.R. Johnson) in that split, while the proletarian majority of the organization—headed by the editor of its paper, *Correspondence*, John Zupan, and by the Black worker-columnist, Charles Denby, who wrote its front page

WORKSHOP TALKS

(continued from page 1)

dictatorship are scared to hell what will happen with the lay-offs and unemployment automation will cause.

The fact that South Korea today, and some other country tomorrow, can turn out a cheaper car is also what stands the UAW's sellout strategy on its ear. The UAW leadership gave away the shop, all the hard-won rights and principles, in their agreement with GM over the new U.S. Saturn plant. G.M. already imports two lines of cars from Japan and is planning to start importing another line from Korea. Ford and Chrysler are already planning to make small cars in association with Japanese or Korean affiliates, importing many components.

All of this has UAW president Owen Bieber crying that this leaves him naked in front of the rebellious rank-and-file: "I can tell you it would be a lot easier to convince UAW members of the need to be competitive, if so much of the so-called foreign competition they face was not in fact the direct result of aggressive foreign sourcing moves on the part of the Big Three," he said.

UNEMPLOYED ARMY

What Bieber is beginning to see but not understand is that you cannot stop "foreign competition"—which is not "foreign" after all, but is simply capital—by cutting any deals as long as the laws of motion of capitalism hold sway. The Absolute General Law of capitalism, as Marx called it, the Unemployed Army, is with us both in the U.S. and in Korea.

Where the philosophy of a labor bureaucrat wants to cut a deal with capital, the philosophy of a Marx thought first and foremost about how the workers feel, so he could anticipate the key question of our epoch: is productivity to be increased by the expansion of machinery or by the expansion of human capacities? That is the class line Marx draws.

Open letter to Paul Buhle

column, "Worker's Journal," was author of *Indignant Heart*, and later became worker-editor of *News & Letters*—supported me.

HERE IS THE fantastic way Grace Lee describes the issues involved, as recorded in your collection: "In 1955, the Subversive Activities Control Board listed Johnson-Forest as one of the subversive organizations. I'll never forget it. What happened was that Rae [Raya Dunayevskaya] felt that it would be necessary for us to withdraw—not completely in the organizational sense or actually go underground—but to curtail our activities. Lyman and Jimmy in particular—I think the Americanism is very much responsible for this—said, 'we are American. We ought to challenge this. We are carrying on the kind of activity that patriotic Americans ought to carry on. Rather than retreat, we ought to step up our activities.' This was the basis of the split."

A similar, though more brief, version of this fantastic fabrication is told by James Boggs in his interview. He, however, concludes: "I can't quite pinpoint what that split was about..."

There is no truth whatsoever in this fabrication of events by Lee and Boggs. Far from proposing that we "curtail our activities," as these "patriotic Americans" would have us believe, the majority of the State-Capitalist Tendency enunciated its direction loudly and clearly. What Johnson attacked as my desire to "politicize" the organization was my proposal to fight the subversive listing both by consulting a lawyer in New York on how to oppose it legally when we had only 10 days to do so, and by my undertaking a national tour to prepare the Correspondence Committees organization to fight the listing politically.

The full account of the split between the co-founders of the State-Capitalist Tendency can be found in the *Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, Archives of Labor and

Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan 48202. See especially pp. 2408-2592 for the documentary record of the period; for an early critique C.L.R. James after the split, see "Johnsonism: A Political Appraisal," by O'Brien (Peter Mallory).

WE FORMED NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES in April, 1955 and set ourselves a dual task—publication of *News & Letters*, edited by a worker, and my completion of *Marxism and Freedom*—from 1949 until Today, as the full theoretical foundation of Marxist-Humanism, in which the 1949-50 strike is central. (See Section Two of Part V, Chapter XVI on "Automation and the New Humanism".)

We have continued to develop this dual task for more than 30 years, while the organization directed by C.I. James, Facing Reality Committees, collapsed. The organization of Lee and Boggs, now called National Organization for an American Revolution, has openly abandoned Marxism.

I request that this letter be appended to my interview in your collection and that it be offered to all researchers examining the history of the Johnson-Forest Tendency. Newly discovered documents, which illuminate development of Marxist-Humanism as the Johnson-Forest Tendency began to reveal open differences that to the split between Johnson and Forest, have just been added as part of a new Volume XII of my *Archives* (See especially Sections II and III of that Volume: "Retrospective and Perspective, The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, 1924-1986.")

Dr. Philip Mason, Director of the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, will be happy to assist those who wish to examine my *Archives* in Detroit. A copy of this letter is being forwarded to him, as well as to Dorothy Swanson, of Tamiment Institute. Raya Dunayevskaya

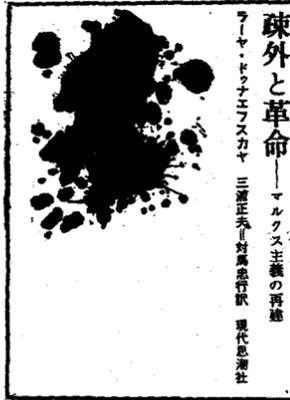
The Language of Freedom is International Selected Marxist-Humanist Literature in Translation

Japanese

- Marxism and Freedom
- Workers Battle Automation*
- Philosophic Essays of Raya Dunayevskaya*
- Afro-Asian Revolutions*

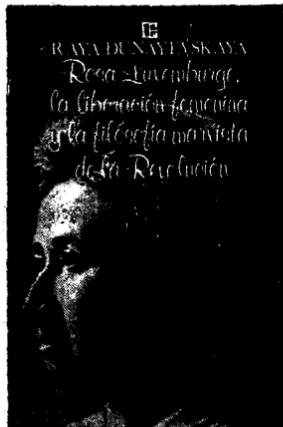
Polish

- Today's Polish Fight for Freedom



Spanish

- Marxism and Freedom
- Philosophy and Revolution
- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution
- Latin America's Unfinished Revolutions*
- "Marx's Humanism Today" in Erich Fromm's *Socialist Humanism**



Italian

- Marxism and Freedom
- Philosophy and Revolution
- "Analysis of Rosa Luxemburg's Accumulation of Capital" in *Prometeo**

Chinese

- "The Challenge of Mao Tse-Tung" from *Marxism and Freedom**



French

- Marxism and Freedom
- "African Socialism and the Black Problem" in *Presence Africaine**
- "A New Revision of Marxian Economic Theory" in *Revue Internationale**

Serbo-Croatian

- "Lenin's Philosophical Ambivalence" in *Praxis*

German

- Philosophy and Revolution
- *Indignant Heart: Black Worker's Journal*

Farsi

- Political-Philosophical Letters on Iran*
- Afro-Asian Revolution
- Woman as Reason
- Marx's 1844 Economic Philosophic Manuscript

* Available on microfilm in *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism—A Half Century of Its World Development*. Most others available in print.

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- DETROIT: Thursdays, 7:00 P.M. 1249 Washington Blvd., Rm. 1740
- S.F. BAY AREA: Sundays, 7:00 P.M. 3122 Shattuck Ave. (rear)
- LOS ANGELES: Sundays, 6:30 P.M. People's College of Labor Education, 660 S. Bonnie Br.
- NEW YORK: Mondays, 7:00 P.M. Grace & St. Paul Church, 123 W. 71st St., Manhattan
- SALT LAKE CITY: Mondays, 7:30 P.M. U. of Utah, Olpin Union Room 3

EDITORIAL

Sanctuary and the Latino dimension of freedom

Simone De Beauvoir

(continued from page 2)

it appeared in France in 1949 (and in English translation in 1953), it was clear that it had struck deep into the male chauvinism of France, and of the world. Its very audacity shocked its readers and non-readers alike. Published in two volumes, six months apart, the first volume sold 22,000 copies in the first week, and the attacks—vicious attacks—came from everywhere. "What a festival of obscenity on the pretext of flogging me for mine!" she wrote of the torrent of both signed and anonymous abuse she received. And after the second volume appeared, "The critics went wild... I was a poor neurotic girl, repressed, frustrated, and cheated by life, a virago, a woman who'd never been made love to properly, envious, embittered and bursting with inferiority complexes with regard to men, while with regard to women I was eaten to the bone by resentment..."⁴

The work was attacked from all sides: by the Right, by the Pope, by the Communists and by the non-Stalinist Marxists as well—who insisted that "once the Revolution was achieved the problem of women would no longer exist." (Ironically she, herself, repeated that evasion in the periods when she was "fellow-travelling.")

THE IMPORTANCE OF The Second Sex is two-fold: First, precisely because of the audacity of the questions it had raised, precisely because for the first time sexuality was being discussed openly, it marked a critical transition from earlier concepts of feminism to what became today's Women's Liberation Movement. Its second importance lies in the fact that De Beauvoir chose to quote, in the conclusion of her over-800 pages, Marx's profound statement in his 1844 Humanist Essays that: "The infinite degradation in which man exists for himself is expressed in this relation to the woman... The direct, natural, necessary relationship of man to man is the relationship of man to woman." It is astounding to see De Beauvoir follow this passage with her fantastic "conclusion" that it is therefore up to man to free woman!⁵

What today's Women's Liberation Movement has yet to answer is why, so long after the critical transition point had been made, neither Simone De Beauvoir nor they went beyond it? The truth is that the magnificent "quotation" from Marx at the conclusion of *The Second Sex* could not become the new beginning needed so long as it was imprisoned within a conception of woman as "Other," and of philosophy as abstract concepts raised by intellectuals rather than in the profound questions raised by masses of men and women struggling to be free. Those concrete, living battles are what the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism, which is the restatement of Marx's Humanism for our age, recognizes as "a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory."

IT BECOMES a dramatic experience to compare this with *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection — Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development*, a collection which encompasses exactly the same period as De Beauvoir's life and work. Every historic turning point that bewildered and buffeted Existentialism can be seen as a challenge that was met and that thereby became part of the development of the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism.

It is stunning to follow the contrast, whether it be the call for an international conference to unfurl a new banner of Marxist-Humanism at the point when DeGaulle came to power in France and a quarter of a million demonstrated in Paris against him; whether it be the warning given the Third World about the trap it faced in a "halfway house" at the point when the Afro-Asian Revolutions were opening new pathways to freedom or whether it be the vision of Woman, not as "Other," but as both Revolutionary Force and Reason.⁶

More than a quarter of a century after *The Second Sex* was written, Simone De Beauvoir confessed in an interview how uncertain she was about whether the revolution she had hoped for would come—confusing genuine revolution with her disenchantment, at last, with fellow-travelling. "But the changes that women are struggling for," she added, "yes, that I am certain of. In the long run, women will win."

To fulfill that goal demands grounding Women's Liberation not in the philosophy of Existentialism but in the philosophy of revolution—in **Marx's Humanism** as it is spelled out for today. That is the unfinished task that remains for the Women's Liberation Movement if it is ever to achieve what Simone De Beauvoir wanted passionately to work out, but could not so long as she remained trapped in Existentialism.

4. *Force of Circumstance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), p. 188.
 5. For a further discussion of this passage, see Raya Dunayevskaya's "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies," published in *Praxis International*, January 1984.
 6. It is especially striking to recognize that the earliest of the 35 essays in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, the journalistic report on the creativity of the miners' wives during the historic 1949-50 Automation strike, appeared the very same year that *The Second Sex* was published. The full Raya Dunayevskaya Collection is available in five reels of microfilm from the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Mich.

The conviction of eight Tucson activists in the movement to give sanctuary to refugees from Mexico and Central America on May 1 is glaring proof that the acts of war unleashed by Reagan's attacks on Libya in March and April are as well being directed against the American people right here at home.

The activists were found "guilty" of "conspiring against U.S. law" for giving aid and protection to refugees from El Salvador and Guatemala, even though any of these immigrants face possible death should they be deported to their native countries. The government used all the means at its disposal to push through the trial and conviction—spies, undercover agents, wiretapping, bribery and slander. From the very start of the trial six months ago, the judge made a mockery of "justice" by instructing the jury to ignore any "political issues" or the plight of the refugees fleeing persecution and starvation.

CONVICTIONS DEEPEN RESISTANCE

Far from putting an end to the sanctuary movement, which now encompasses thousands of individuals in 34 states, the convictions are sure to deepen the resistance. We are motivated by the message spoken by Martin Luther King, Jr. a generation ago, when he said "we must recall that everything Hitler did in Germany was legal while everything the Hungarian Freedom Fighters did in Hungary (in 1956) was illegal. Naturally, this calls for a confrontation with the power structure."

Nor can the government's claim that the sanctuary movement is a "conspiracy to import illegal aliens" hide the fact that it is the conditions of life and labor imposed by U.S. domination over Latin America that is responsible for the increasing flow of immigrants into the U.S. In Mexico, where wages have fallen by half in the past few years, the continuing economic crisis is forcing thousands of landless peasants and tens of thousands of unemployed workers to cross the border in search of jobs. In Central America, the deepening economic crisis

and escalating Reagan-supported counter-revolutionary militarism and repression by the Right are forcing tens of thousands to flee their homelands.

It is the ever-tightening economic and political links between the U.S. and Latin America that is responsible for the rising number of immigrants crossing the border, which is expected to double in the next year.

But this is not just a movement of stomachs in search of food, of hands in search of work, or of bodies in search of a safe home. The Latino immigration into the U.S. as well represents a movement of ideas, of individuals touched by the realities of revolution and



by Jose Venturelli

counter-revolution in Latin America who have ideas about creating a new human society.

MOVEMENT OF FREEDOM IDEAS

The growing links between that idea of freedom and the freedom struggles north of the border is seen in the many immigrants from Mexico daily crossing the border, who can easily see that the new riches being reaped by a tiny fraction of the American population are being gained at the expense of ever-greater impoverishment and unemployment in Mexico and the United States. It is seen in new developments among American youth who, upon coming into contact with or discussing the Central American refugees, come to grasp the barbarism of Reagan's effort to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution and the need for solidarity to oppose such moves. And it is seen in the daily discussions on the shop floor, especially among Blacks and Latinos, who are questioning the direction that Reagan's militarism is taking this entire country.

Far from simply being an effort to silence eight religious activists in Tucson, the latest attack on the sanctuary movement is an attempt on the part of the Reagan administration to drive apart what the objective situation is challenging us to bring together—the inter-communication of revolutionary ideas in the inter-change of "immigrants" and "residents."

This is also what motivates the increasing attacks upon Latino immigrants. The border police are resorting to the most brutal of measures, such as shooting at those trying to cross the U.S.-Mexico border. The Department of Housing and Urban Development announced in April that residents of federally subsidized housing must prove their citizenship or face eviction after July 1. And the House and Senate have passed bills that would sharply curtail the Latino immigration: they have failed to work out a common bill so far because they have not yet found a way to resolve the issue that truly concerns them—how to hold back the flood of immigrants while leaving the door open for bringing in cheapening overseas labor to harvest the fields and work the factories. For all parties of decadent capitalism, the Latino dimension means nothing but the chance to exploit labor power.

If this be the attitude of the rulers toward the sanctuary movement and immigration, then our actions against them demand a new attitude of thought that grasps the immigrants crossing our border not just as force, as only labor power, but as human beings bearing ideas of freedom who desire a dialogue on the imperativeness of a philosophy of revolution. Our protests and such dialogue becomes an objective necessity in face of the latest barbarism displayed in the government's attack on the sanctuary movement.

Nicaraguan women speak

I come from the village of Jorjito. One never forgets the pain...the pain of loss of family. The contras attacked from 4:30 a.m. to 6:00 a.m. They left only blood and human remains. A woman's husband's face and feet were peeled. The contras killed a baby...first they cut the hands and they were bleeding, bleeding...Then, when they watched the baby suffer, they shot it through the neck. One woman had twins, but they were hiding them because the contras didn't find them."

She showed a slide of this woman's story at Delta College in Stockton, Cal. as part of a symposium on the Contra aid debate "Freedom Fighters or Terrorists?" I was asked to offer my personal experiences and show the concrete reality of U.S. foreign policy from traveling to Nicaragua with the Second Annual International men's Day Delegation of Witness for Peace. We stayed five days in the war zone, in the village of Bozale Paiwas in the central region. Paiwas was a village of 400, but because of increased contra activity in the area, 2,000 refugees have resettled on the outskirts, given aid by the government to start a new life.

We've heard many testimonies, like the one above, about contra terrorist activities. It was a blunt, painful example of the theory and practice of counter-revolution. How easy it is to send \$100 million to support terrorism when one does not see the profound concrete effects of this aid on people's lives.

Paiwas women's presence is strong in many aspects of life. The Catholic service we attended was run by women, most of the delegates of the Word (lay Catholic ministers) are women, women organized and active in sewing and baking co-ops. In our meeting with LAE, the main Nicaraguan women's organization, we were told that the revolution has made a path for women where before there was none. There are some active men, but as the regional AMNLAE coordinator told us, "a lot are afraid and they hold on to their old ideas and attitudes concerning women and their roles. One of their current projects is raising money for a day care center in town because so many women are unemployed."

We visited the Bertha Calderon Women's Hospital in Managua. A doctor there told us that there are about 100 known self-induced abortions a year in this town alone! She told us "the Catholic Church is making decisions as Catholics and doctors to take away men's lives. It's better they took the pill than let men dying by giving themselves self-induced abortions. We are presently working on a family planning clinic."

It is essential to recognize the difference between the church and the church of the people. In Paiwas delegate Word explained it to us: "As far as the Cardo y Bravo is concerned, he is the one pulling from the church. He is ignoring the crimes happening in Nicaragua."

The issue is that the poor are reclaiming their lives and that is a huge threat that the U.S. cannot ignore. —Josephine Miller.

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
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Don't forget Appeal, p. 12

CHERNOBYL, LIBYA AND MARXIST-HUMANIST ARCHIVES

Does anyone care about the Chernobyl workers who have died? I hear that now workers are going into the reactor building, or diving under it. They are dead men, as far as I can see. Their bosses know that the radiation dose will kill them sooner or later. But no one here seems to care, since they're Russians. At my job, no one seemed to care about the Libyans Reagan bombed either. "Humanism" is not an abstraction to me; it's about real people or it is nothing...

Office worker
Chicago

I recently attended a talk on "the problems of the Russian economy" given by a professor from Leningrad—I think the large turnout was due in part to the terrifying disaster at Chernobyl. The first part of his talk was on the teaching of political economy in the USSR. I took the floor against this state-capitalist bureaucrat by drawing the audience's attention to the 1944 *American Economic Review* articles by Raya Dunayevskaya on "The Teaching of Political Economy in the USSR," on Stalinist revision of the law of value. I attacked the fact that the Russian state-capitalists could talk about "economics" as if categories like the law of value were not capitalistic but just analytic tools that any economy could use, and linked that to how the resulting separation of science from life leads to disasters like the Challenger explosion and Chernobyl.

He naturally disagreed, saying that in all societies you need "productivity" in order to survive. What was new to me is how Marxist-Humanist concepts come so alive in today's battle of ideas, and how current our "archives" really are.

Marxist-Humanist
Salt Lake City

Why is everyone so quick to forget about Libya? Reagan showed the world a new method of assassination—just send in 15 bombers and carpet-bomb a man's house. Who cares if there are little kids there? It's great, this American civilization, isn't it? Now that the Russians have a disaster, everyone can forget what the U.S. did.

Furious
Chicago

The events at Chernobyl and U. S. bombing of Libya have shown that the "free press" only serves as a mouthpiece for the right-wing "vision" emanating from the White House. But while the Left and alternative press has tried to give a different view, I think they have stopped halfway.

For that reason I was interested in Raya Dunayevskaya's discussion on the Spanish Civil War in the May N&L. What caught my attention was her statement that the Spanish Civil War represented the "historic roots of counter-revolution." Dunayevskaya reveals that some within the Trotskyist movement began to question whether the Russians, like the Germans, were using the civil war as a testing ground for world war. That meant a theoretic reorganization was necessary and Dunayevskaya began her economic study of the Russian economy.

By taking us back 50 years, Dunayevskaya is showing us that we must do battle with the counter-revolution that emerges from within the revolution. That is what the Left has still failed to grasp.

Biologist
Berkeley

The fact that Archives aren't museum pieces, but a living body of ideas, was beautifully shown in Raya's "Retrospective and Perspective" on the new Vol. XII of her archives (April and May N&L). I was particularly interested in tracing her work on the "Black dimension." It was instructive to see that in 1959 she went to the Milan conference

of European socialists opposed to both the U.S. and Russia, and demanded that African revolutionaries be invited.

One truly gets a feeling of the period in the 1920s also, with Raya's correspondence with Black intellectuals at a time when "Black" and "Red" got together and Blacks had an intense interest in the Russian Revolution and Marxism. Even the Garvey movement was involved in this.

Veteran Black activist
Berkeley, Calif.

I liked the new introduction to the Marxist-Humanist Archives because it showed how to battle "retrogression" like we are facing today. Chernobyl is something that everyone I know is discussing. They are saying that we should get rid of nuclear power altogether; some say that it could happen here just as easily as in Russia. I agree with that, but I think that nuclear power isn't the only problem. What about nuclear weapons? What about toxic chemicals in our environment?

It seems like "retrogressions" are all around us. I understand that word for the first time now. The greatest pollution it brings with it is pollution of the mind.

New reader
Western Michigan

This week's disaster at Chernobyl led me to look up Raya Dunayevskaya's writings on Hiroshima. I remembered them because I had gone to the exhibit on her manuscript collection at Wayne State University in March, 1985. The whole beginning of nuclear horror is there in Hiroshima, but Raya spoke to Japanese revolutionaries about the meaning of Marxist-Humanism also. Everyone should go read these writings...

Health worker
Ann Arbor, Mich.

FIGHTING UNION-BUSTING

The media these days doesn't report on so much of the resistance to union busting that is going in. I was one of the women who started the committee in support of the P-9 strikers at Hormel in Austin. For months the papers wouldn't take note of us women until we shut down the corporation office. We were brutally arrested and jailed. There we were denied a phone call, made to sleep on the floor in urine, and denied even a blanket. But the local papers reported on none of this. They made up a lie and accused us of contaminating the lake! You can't trust the media these days any more.

Working woman
Austin, Minnesota

Things here are worse than ever. My husband's pit was on strike last month as the N.U.M. (National Union of Mines) Branch secretary was sacked for putting up a notice on the notice board regarding an N.U.M. branch meeting. He was reported to management by a U.D.M. (the company union) member and sacked instantly. All N.U.M. members came out on strike to get him reinstated, but were told to return to work after one week or they too would be sacked.

In the pit canteen if any more than four men are sat around one table, they are reported to management—as a union meeting... It is going to be a very hard thing to unite all the miners again.

Striking miner's wife
Notts, England

A recent CBS News report brought to mind Marx's "General Law of Capitalist Accumulation," which "makes an accumulation of misery a necessary condition, corresponding to the accumulation of wealth." Many corporations are looking to Kroger Corporation, a midwest grocery chain, as a model for future contracts with their workers. Kroger has been able to demonstrate the vile

Readers' Views

logic of the two-tier wage system.

By negotiating a series of two-tier contracts over a period of ten years, each piggy-backed on the last, Kroger has been able to drop the entry level wage from \$10.80 to \$4.60! Two workers doing identical work but with a \$6.20 pay difference were interviewed. The worker making \$4.60 was Black, the higher paid worker white. It was evident that Kroger's system, accepted by the union, was not only impoverishing a section of the work force but had undermined worker unity as well.

David Park
Chicago

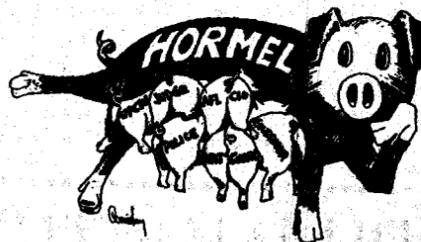
FIGHTING SLUM HOUSING

Among the several speakers I heard who addressed a rally of 100 community activists in front of the State of Illinois Building on May 15, protesting the housing crisis in Chicago, the one who spoke her mind in the sharpest, most critical terms was a Black woman:

"We are tired of paying high rents for condemned, rat and roach-infested housing. Decent, affordable housing is a right, not a privilege, for poor and working people. We have worked hard in our communities just to keep them from deteriorating any more than they have. Our communities weren't 'built on Rock 'n Roll,' they were built on blood, sweat and tears... And when we do get a little money, we spend it here, downtown. Now we are demanding that downtown give some of it back."

We can expect to hear much more on the housing crisis in Chicago, as new organizations, such as the recently formed union for the homeless, hit city politicians and institutions.

West Side tenant
Chicago



I noticed that you recently used my Hormel "pig" cartoon in your newspaper. I am flattered. I have no objection to your using it, or any other of my cartoons, but I do request that when you do please allow my signature to remain (you did that), and please acknowledge the source publication from which it came.

William Comiskey
Bloomington, Minn.

Ed. Note: Bro. Comiskey's cartoon was originally published in New Unionist, the paper of the New Union Party, 621 W. Lake St., Ste. 210, Minneapolis, MN 55408.

AMERICAN ROOTS OF MARXISM

Reading the letter from Meridel LeSueur reminded me of stories my mother had told me about her father, who was a socialist. He was involved in some of the earliest union organizing of teachers. The letter shows the American roots of Marxism. But all that history has been pushed under the rug.

Feminist
Los Angeles

The celebration of May Day reminds me of my grammar school childhood in Alabama, where it was a festive day of softball, children's games, family picnics, etc. But around 1962, right after the time of the Cuban missile crisis, we were told by the state that this was a Communist holiday and that we could no longer celebrate it. So they turned an American day of labor struggle and leisure into its opposite, another day of work.

Black worker
ex-Alabama

I liked Meridel LeSueur's letter to Raya Dunayevskaya (May N&L) very much, how she connected the history of the past to Raya and the present. In her letter she revealed the great unknown history of America that has been covered over with capitalism. Most people are surprised to learn how great the socialist movement was in this country at the turn of the century and how great this country was then. The roots of Marxism showed very clear in her article and how alive those roots are today.

Tears came to my eyes when she wrote to Raya, "Your contributions are so great, illuminating this movement comes up green like corn found in caves for a thousand years, moisture and heat and they make cob again." Yes, I can see in the struggles in South Africa and Austin, Minn. the green corn has begun to "come up" again. This time, armed with philosophy of revolution, the movement will be like corn covering this earth, forming a new society, world freedom.

Felix Marti
California

ABORTION RIGHTS

The article "International Demands for Abortion Rights" by Terry Moon in the March N&L issue was daring, linking national politics with power over women. Our problems here are the same; our degree of consciousness is different. We feminists in Latin America face the task to let women know the political importance of the control of our bodies. Even women who have abortions think about it as "killing life." Conservative and religious thinking is almost universal even in people on the Left. We have much difficulty raising abortion as an issue.

I am designing a project on violence against women. One part may lead to group of support or shelter for women (which we don't have now) and the other part involves a campaign in the media to treat correctly violence against women.

Feminist
Pe

MARX'S MATH NOTEBOOKS

I have to agree with "Supporter, Chicago," who wrote in Readers' Views (May N&L) that too often theoretic articles are too abstract and only play next to activity articles. The article Marx's Mathematical Mss. remained abstract and often the transitions were unclear, as when he goes from inverse of calculus to proletarian revolution.

Computer analyst
San Francisco

Math has always been a subject foreign to me, but upon reading Frank Dmitryev's essay on Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts (May N&L) it could be distant. What I like best is he showed how the concept "negation of the negation" was pivotal to his writings on math and illuminates dialectics as the difference between and all post-Marx Marxists.

Engels failed to grasp "negation of the negation" concretely, which led to a "mechanical view of development" as Dmitryev puts it. But it isn't a question of Engels—so many have either ignored or reduced to abstraction "negation of the negation." The essay showed that unless we engage in a continuous battle with all "post-Marx Marxists" on a dialectic basis, we won't really get to the capitalism's divorce of science. I agree that the todayness of the writings on Marx isn't a question of solving calculus problems—it's a question of sweeping away the roots of post-Marx Marxism on all questions.

MEXICO IN CRISIS: IDEAS IN FREE FLOW

I attended a meeting on May 10 here in Los Angeles of "Mexicans against the debt." The discussion reminded me of the article in the May N&L. The people there were mainly workers from Mexico. What everyone talked about was the need for Mexico to reject the whole concept of the debt. Some people were saying that what is needed is a complete change in the social structure in Mexico.

Reader
Los Angeles

What the article on Mexico pointed to, on the owners of the textile factories leaving bodies under the buildings while going looking for the cash boxes during the earthquake, shows the dehumanization that capitalism has produced.

Black worker
Chicago

I agree when you say that the Mexican people aren't going to accept the debt crisis any longer. But it's no mystery to me why a revolution hasn't happened yet in the 1980s in Mexico. The reason is the United States. They may let Duvalier get away, but they aren't going to let go of the PRI (Mexico's ruling party) so fast. It would be too big of a revolution.

Chicano
Los Angeles

Wermuth and Jaclard's article on Mexico shows a great searching among some on Marx's Marxism, but there is such a long journey to take in working it out for today. That is why you need to appreciate what Marxist-Humanism has done in four decades of experience.

Look at Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy & Revolution*, especially Chapter 7 on "The African Revolutions and the World Economy." Though it is written on Africa, when you look at Mexico now caught in the vortex of the world market, you realize how many Mexican revolutionaries can identify with that chapter. Oil was supposed to be an economic "miracle" for Mexico, and yet it has turned out to be the reverse. Mexico is certainly caught in the state-capi-

alist world market—and many governments in Mexico have used a "revolutionary" language to co-opt leftists and intellectuals into it. The category of "post-Marx Marxism" takes on real importance for those in Mexico today.

Marxist-Humanist
Chicago

PHILIPPINE DIALOGUE

I consider the documents from the Philippines on the youth page of the May N&L to be of great interest and importance. The SURGE statement will be of special interest to young activists in Kansas. Many of the arguments made in that document have a close affinity to, or are nearly the same as, arguments made by Latin American solidarity activists on campus. From my point of view, this "coincidence" is an indication of the unity of the international opposition to the post-colonial world system (as well as to Reaganism). I would like the Philippine youth to know there is support in America for the project SURGE has adopted.

Solidarity activist
Lawrence, Kansas

PEASANTS IN REVOLUTION

I just returned from Haiti and was excited to see the article in April N&L because it caught the spirit of what is happening there. While I saw a lot of extreme poverty, there was also a lot of elation over Duvalier's departure. You could see it in the daily demonstrations and strikes.

In a country of 6 million people, over 300,000 had been affiliated with Duvalier and the Tonton Macoutes. Many people were afraid that there would be fratricidal war. But the people have a very selective memory and have been very particular about who they wanted to get rid of.

There was a strike at the Agricultural Ministry by workers who wanted to get rid of the Duvalierists. Redistribution of the land and land-tenure are critical questions that they still have to face. Only 3% of the original forest remains, yet wood is the major fuel source for

the peasants. Deforestation has caused major soil erosion problems which reduce crop yields. Giving land to the peasants and developing a reforestation program will mean stepping on a lot of toes.

Deck hand
San Francisco

Peter Wermuth's essay on Bolivia (April N&L) very adequately emphasized the independent character of the peasant movement in 1974, 1978 and 1979. But it seems to me that the question of the "independence" of the peasant struggle does not come out as clearly when he refers to the peasant unions immediately after the revolution of 1952. Most probably the workers were involved in these unions, but not exclusively; just as pertinent was the government sending in its agents.

It is important to follow the process that occurs among the peasants, now that the government intends to implement "improvements" in Bolivian agriculture. The emphasis the essay places on the "turn" of Victor Paz with respect to the countryside is very important, for it can mark his definitive political downfall.

Bolivian student
Mexico City



FREE
POLISH
PEACE
PRISONERS

Two leaders of the Polish independent peace movement "Freedom and Peace," Piotr Niemczyk and Jacek Czuputowicz, have been arrested, and have been in prison since Feb. 19, 1986. They are accused of "belonging to an illegal organization." They risk up to three years in prison. Their movement wants to take legitimate action against the militarization of the Polish nation, for the rights of all those called up for military service, and for world peace.

We are circulating a petition to demand their immediate release. Peace movements in Holland, Britain, France and West Germany have already endorsed it. Write to us for copies of the

petition and further information:

CODENE, groupe Pologne
23 rue Notre-Dame de Lorete
75009 Paris, France

AS READERS SEE US

At the same time that people here are suffering under cuts like the near-collapse of the National Health Service, the American/British war machine is acting to ensure the third world war. The alternatives of socialism or barbarism never seemed clearer. The Labour opposition presents an electoral strategy of "community policing"—it is the same tactic that brought the troops into Northern Ireland.

There is a crying need for N&L to be produced more frequently. But there could be more cartoons and material on "economics." The article on math last issue was hard but interesting. I have read it several times...

Union activist
Oxford, England

I received the Constitution of News and Letters Committees, thanks. I am still going over it trying to catch up with every point. Some questions were brought to mind regarding it. What is your stand as far as Albania is concerned?...

Don't you think that all of us should expect a Third World War when we refer to history? The course of the first two world wars were through recessions. It is very true that when the imperialist is strangled by economic problems, the best way they think to liberate themselves is by war...

New correspondent
Gambia, Africa

Ed. Note: *Whether Albania was an ally of Russia, as in the period of Stalin's rule, or an ally of China, beginning with the Sino-Soviet split in the early 1960s, or "independent" as in the most recent period (which really means maneuvering among state-powers), the nature of the regime of Hoxha and his successors has always been one of state-capitalism. Whatever they call themselves, it is the production relations that are the key. All readers are invited to order a copy of our Constitution. Send 20¢ postage to N&L.*

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
- Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion
by Raya Dunayevskaya 75¢ per copy
- Working Women for Freedom
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan
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- Latin America's Revolutions
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism
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- 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
New Expanded edition contains Introduction/
Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner
and John Alan
Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa
Thiong'o \$3 per copy
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Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts
by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev,
Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees
..... 20¢ postage
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BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics
of Revolution: Reaching for the
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by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95 (\$38.50 hardcover)
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BLACK-RED VIEW

I am pleased to turn over my column this month to the review-essay by Michael Connolly on Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought.—John Alan

by Michael Connolly

I. DUALITIES: 1978-86

The horror that awaits all humanity in this nuclear world was revealed by the disaster at Chernobyl, and no less so was it underlined by Reagan's militaristic regressionism—raining bombs on Tripoli, attempting to slaughter even children. This is what today's reality offers to the future; it calls out at the same time for a revolutionary alternative, on this 100th anniversary of the origins of the international workers' holiday, May Day.

May Day 1986 in South Africa was marked by a strike of unprecedented proportions. Some 1.5 million Black workers, joined by smaller numbers of mixed race ("Coloured") and Indian workers, and even a few whites, stayed away from their jobs. In every urban center, industry and commerce were crippled. Auto plants and mines shut down; youth joined the protest by boycotting the schools; many domestic workers stayed away from the homes of the wealthy, forcing them to cook and clean for themselves.

The new-found strength of the Black trade union movement, now organized in two labor federations—COSATU and CUSA/AZACTU—with a total of some 750,000 members, was clear even to the vicious apartheid government of South Africa's Pres. Botha. Minuscule in size as late as 1978, the independent Black trade union movement grew so rapidly, in militancy as well as numbers, that 1985 saw 469 strikes, with political demands nearly as common as economic ones.

The 1986 expanded edition of Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought* demonstrates both its continuity with the first edition, published in 1978, which traced "the triangular trade of ideas of freedom" from Africa to the Caribbean to Black America and back again, and what is new since 1978. The photographs¹ in the front of the new edition prove the point immediately, as they depict COSATU's founding convention in Durban last December, and the uprising of the "little shorties" in Miami in 1980.

Whether one looks, however, at the freedom struggles in the Caribbean, in Africa, or in Black America, what stands out in the eight years since the first edition of this work are the dualities. Where the impulse to publish in 1978 was provided by Black Consciousness movement founder Steve Biko's affinity with both American Black thought and Frantz Fanon's philosophy as a "new Humanism," the 1986 expanded edition was compelled by world events, "of freedom struggles and of counter-revolution" (p. 2, emphasis mine).

The authors, who dedicated this new edition to Steve Biko and Charles Denby, considered the 1983 counter-revolution in Grenada such a crucial event in need of re-examination now, that they included Raya Dunayevskaya's 1983 Political-Philosophic Letter, "The Caribbean Today and the Challenge from 30 Years of Movements from Practice That Were Themselves a Form of Theory," as Appendix C of the pamphlet. The fact that what opened the door to Reagan's 1983 imperial invasion of Grenada was the counter-revolution from within, the murder of Maurice Bishop and dozens of supporters by the revolutionary party and its army, then headed by Austin and Coard, could not be overlooked. Dunayevskaya's article discloses the contradictions in the post-World War II concept and practice of revolution, focusing on the separation between philosophy and organization which, in Grenada, meant that ideological debate was restricted to the innermost circles of the leadership—and then ended by murder.²

Ongoing revolutions today, whether in Haiti, the Philippines, or South Africa, face great obstacles to their development as well. The fate, not only of the Third World revolutions, but of all humanity, is threatened both by the imperial reach of the superpowers and by those who, while fighting capitalism, would truncate the concept of revolution.

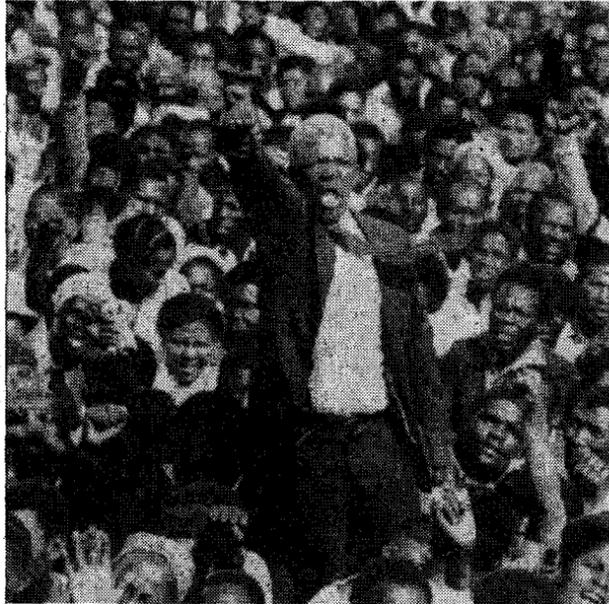
Against all this the Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan in this 1986 edition boldly singles out the "Idea of freedom" as central to revolutionary transformation. Thus, at the outset the question of "what to do to correct the fantastic imbalance of forces" between the unarmed South African masses and Botha's military machine, is seen as inseparable from working out "how to recognize the freedom Idea itself as a great force of Reason in this life and death struggle" (p. 1). As the Idea of freedom is embodied in ever-newer layers of the population—workers, youth, women, peasants—it becomes force of Reason when it fully knows itself as such.

This is the fundamental question that links all the

New work on Black thought probes questions raised by today's Third World revolutions

parts of the 1986 expanded edition: the Introduction/Overview, the new Appendices on language by the Haitian René Depestre and the Kenyan Ngugi wa Thiong'o, the Appendix on Grenada 1983 by Raya Dunayevskaya, and the Afterword on Marxist-Humanist Perspectives.

Thus, the new edition begins where the authors had concluded in 1978. They had posed the problem sharply then: "It is always easier to recognize a new stage of re-



Man raises fist and shouts "Amandla!" — "Power" — at funeral in Duncan Village, near East London.

volt than a new stage of cognition, especially when the movement from practice is first striving to rid itself of what the great English poet William Blake... had called 'mind-forged manacles' (p. 68). Now, however, they seek to recognize explicitly that new stage of cognition as a pathway out of the Reagan-Botha terror.

II. "A NEW HUMANISM" FACES THE "ADMINISTRATIVE MENTALITY"

In 1961, Frantz Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* raised the banner of a "new Humanism" over the African Revolutions, proclaiming: "For Europe, for ourselves, for humanity, comrades... we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man."

At the same time, however, state-capitalism had given birth to a new phenomenon, with the rise of the petty-bourgeois intellectual who sought to lead the emerging Third World revolutions by imposing on them the State Plan, the single Party, and above all the concept of the "backwardness of the masses," though those masses were the very ones who had fought for independence from colonialism. In her 1959 work, *Afro-Asian Revolutions*, Dunayevskaya called this attitude the "administrative mentality."

One year later, that "administrative mentality"—in the form of the neo-colonialist Tshombe—was to tie Congolese liberation leader Patrice Lumumba hand and foot, and have him shot. Dunayevskaya's Feb. 17, 1961 letter of solidarity to Thomas Kanza, the Congo's UN ambassador, after the murder of Lumumba, is included in the newly-added Vol. XII of the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs. This new volume also makes available many documents on the trip she took to Africa in 1962, seeking Marxist-Humanist co-thinkers.

"The point of affinity," she asserted then, "between African and American Marxist-Humanism is the present as it is related to the future—world developments and the unfinished revolutions to be brought to a conclusion on an international scale."³ In Senegal, there was a lack of affinity with Léopold Sédar Senghor's "Humanism," which ended up as a neo-colonialism in the service of France. In the Gambia and Nigeria there was the excitement of discussions with workers, women and youth seeking more from their movements than just independence. In Guinea there was the experience of finding the first serialization of Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* in a Conakry newspaper. And everywhere, she said, "My thoughts were of South Africa... The very first meeting of the opposition Nigerian Youth Congress I attended in Lagos opened with 'Izwe Lethu'."⁴

The revolutions of the 1960s, however, ended with no breakthrough on the crucial question of the relation of practice to theory, as all was subordinated to "activity." In the 1970s came a new wave of revolutions in the Third World—from Angola to Nicaragua, from Zimbabwe to Grenada, from Guinea-Bissau to Iran—which did express serious interest in theory. The new Introduction/Overview takes the measure of those revolutions by considering what was being discovered at the same time—Marx's Marxism as a totality, including his

writings in his last decade on what we call today the Third World. They shed such a new light on Marx's view of multilinear pathways to revolution that all Marxist thought and practice since Marx was in need of re-examination.

Presenting Marx's view of the Black Dimension as part of his global revolutionary perspectives was so urgent a matter to the late Charles Denby, editor of *News & Letters*, that he asked that Dunayevskaya's projection of it be included in the 1983 edition of *American Civilization on Trial*.

As the new Introduction/Overview puts it, viewing the world scene after the 1983 counter-revolution in Grenada: "The global ramifications of the relationship of theory to practice, of language to class structure, and above all, of conflicting tendencies in the leadership to the masses, makes it all the more imperative to keep philosophy and revolution inseparable" (p. 7).

III. LANGUAGE, CLASS AND THE HAITIAN REVOLT OF 1986

The relationship of language and culture to class may have sounded more theoretical than practical at the end of 1985, when the authors decided to include Appendices by René Depestre from Haiti and Ngugi wa Thiong'o from Kenya in the 1986 expanded edition. Yet only five weeks into the new year, Jean-Claude Duvalier, dictator of Haiti, and son of the exponent of a debased form of "Negritude," fled the country after continuous mass protests. Depestre's "Critique of Negritude" (Appendix A) takes on urgent relevance as he reveals the duality within the concept of Negritude. He asserts that what had begun as "a form of authentic revolt opposed to the contemptible manifestations of racist dogma," had, under Duvalier, become the "ideology which feeds the most monstrous tyranny," and masks the role of the "black bourgeoisie."

The fact that the category of Negritude contained such possibilities for neo-colonialism is developed further by Ngugi wa Thiong'o in "Politics of African Literature" (Appendix B). He insists that the African petty-bourgeoisie "develops a vacillating psychological make-up," which, even when it is in opposition to neo-colonialism, seeks to create a literature of revolt in the language of the European rulers, thus separating themselves from the life-blood of the revolution—the African masses.

Quoting this great Nigerian writer Chinua Achebe, Ngugi skewers this whole tradition: "The very adjective African can call up hideous fears of rejection. Better then to cut all links with this homeland, this liability, and become in one giant leap, the universal man." (p. 80).

Whether or not Achebe or Ngugi have studied Hegel's Doctrine of the Notion, they have made a crucial philosophic point. No better manifestation could be demonstrated of those who wish to unite Individual and Universal "in one giant leap," without ever having to work out the mediation, the "Particular," than those they critique. Nor is it a problem only for Black intellectuals inside Africa. Listen to C.L.R. James, author of *Black Jacobins*, deny his African roots, as late as 1984: "I am not aware of the African roots of my use of the language and culture... We of the Caribbean have not got an African past. We are black in skin, but the African civilization is not ours. The basis of our civilization in the Caribbean is an adaptation of Western civilization" (p. 93).

Frantz Fanon put it best in a passage from *Wretched of the Earth* that is even sharper than others from his chapter on "National Culture" quoted in the 1976 edition. Fanon, who had given up his French citizenship to join the African revolutions, nevertheless never stopped criticizing the African leaders. His sharp critique was hurled at "the native intellectual (who) has thrown himself greedily upon Western culture... Rabelais, Shakespeare and Edgar Allan Poe..."

The irony is that, it is in the Caribbean—Haiti to be exact—where the African heritage is today being most hotly debated. In that land where African traditions still undeniably shape the lives of the masses, the peasantry and proletariat have overthrown Duvalier and exposed his counter-revolutionary misuse of those traditions. Haitian intellectuals are coming home to find new indigenous forms of struggle.

Indeed, the masses in the streets of Port-au-Prince and Gonaives created a new revolutionary category when they launched "Operation Dechoukaj" (Uproot), and demanded total transformation of Haitian society. As the revolt unfolded, the cities and countryside saw women's mass marches and peasant self-organization, youth groups and political study sessions.

IV. PHILOSOPHY, ORGANIZATION AND REVOLUTION: SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACK TRADE UNIONS

The great divide between leaders and ranks, as the great debate on forms of revolutionary organization, did

(continued on page 9)

1. The power of photographs to tell the story of the struggle against apartheid has never been better demonstrated than in three photos by David Turnley: "The Unseen; The Unwanted; The Resilient," featured in the *New York Times*, May 4, 1986.

2. Grenada's tragedy was followed this year by events in South Yemen, where not only was one leader shooting another, but 10,000 lay dead, while both sides called themselves Communists.

3. "Marxist-Humanism," an article by Dunayevskaya, printed in *Présence Africaine*, Vol. 20, #48, 1963.

4. All documents from Dunayevskaya's 1962 trip to Africa are now included in her Archives. See sections beginning with #3184 and #9573.

Miners' struggles: in America, in South Africa

Chicago, Ill.—It was unusual to see, listed on the month-long Haymarket Centennial Activities calendar here, a meeting on May 18 called "South African Miners and the Black Lung Association, an exchange of experience and vision." Nearly 150 turned out for that exchange—Black activists, retired miners from Appalachia with their families, Hispanic community activists, white students, striking Chicago Tribune workers, representatives from the Bridgeport Committee to Fight Infant Mortality.

A vigorous retired miner, Lawrence Zornes, spoke first for the Black Lung Association, recalling the tough battles in Harlan County in the 1920s and '30s to win the union, the same hard struggles he found when he came to Chicago looking for work, and the fight the miners are still forced to wage today just to get their benefits. Denying that any working people are "foreign" to each other, and noting that with Reaganism all conditions have become worse, he got hearty applause when he ended with a vow that all present would keep on fighting both to help the South African struggles (it was pressure on Chicago for divestment and a boycott of Shell that the meeting especially endorsed) and to win our own battles, "so the American people can be free with the South African people."

A surprise came when the spokesperson for the South African miners' union turned out to be a soft-

spoken young Black South African woman, Nomonde Ngubo. Her thanks to the people of the U.S. for their support; her simple description of what it means to live and work in an apartheid land and of how she learned what the words "freedom fighter" meant at the age of four, when two white policemen tore her house apart and her mother calmed her fright by explaining that that is what they were hunting for; her description of how, in less than three years, the union had grown from a handful to 250,000 and of the massive May 1 general strike this year that had demonstrated where the real power now lies; her explanation of who are the children in today's "children's revolution"—youth from 24 down to 3 who were born out of 1976 Soweto and will not settle for anything less than total freedom—all this held her audience completely captive.

But it was the story she told first of how she had to fight to become one of the founders of the South Afri-



can Miners Union that set the tone for all the stories that followed. She had just graduated from her university in 1980, with a degree in labor, she said, when she learned that people were being sought to help organize the mine workers. She applied at once and was politely turned down as "not qualified." When she demanded to know what the qualifications were they told her they needed someone who was "committed, determined, with a lot of stamina, prepared for a tough job"—she was all of those things, she insisted—"and who was a man."

She went home, put on pants and a shirt, hid her hair under a big hat and went back to the same man who had interviewed her the first time. "I'm the 'man' for your job," she said—and they were finally convinced she was the organizer they needed.

Just as exciting to us was the fact that we were able to take to that meeting to discuss and sell together, our own pamphlets on the Miners' General Strike of 1949-50, which had raised the profound question for our Automation age: "What kind of labor human beings should do?"; and Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, which demonstrates the great contribution the South African workers are now making to the development of the labor movement world-wide with their conception of "Amandla" that does not separate "trade union questions" from the movement to create a totally new society.

—Olga Domanski

Black thought and Third World revolutions

(continued from page 8)

not first arise in the 1980s. In the Third World revolutions of the post-World War II period, it was expressed in divergent attitudes to the problem of underdevelopment, with the leaders searching for technological and "market" answers, while considering the masses as backward. As for the U.S., the description the authors of this pamphlet offered in 1976 still holds: the Black masses have been in "dual alienation from their own leadership as well as from the American system ever since the mid-1960s" (p. 30).

In a particularly telling passage of the Introduction/Overview, Fanon is quoted deepening his critique of the party: "The single party is the modern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, unmasked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical."

But this 1986 edition goes further. It critiques even those who have rejected the vanguard party. In her letter on Grenada, Dunayevskaya singles out Trinidad's Bukka Rennie, who rejects the party and declares Russia a state-capitalist society, without, however, attempting any sort of philosophic reorganization on which to base his conclusions. "Is it just a question of form of organization that has kept us shackled?" Dunayevskaya asks (p. 91-92).

Rennie's views turn out to be those of C.L.R. James, who likewise supposedly rejected the vanguard party, only to write on Grenada's tragedy this fantastic assertion on the relationship of leadership, organization and the mass movement: "A mass movement above all needs leadership, and if the political leader does not give it, people turn to another organization, often the Army. The Army consists of organization—commanders, lieutenants, majors, etc." (p. 92).

Dunayevskaya, Turner and Alan argue that what is on the agenda today is not only what form organization should take, but how to end the separation between the Idea of freedom and its organizational expression. That is precisely the challenge facing all political organizations in South Africa today, as the massive upsurge of the Black trade union movement has posed new questions to the African National Congress/United Democratic Front (ANC/UDF), to the Azanian People's Organization (AZAPO) and to all the Left parties, whether Communist, Trotskyist or Social Democratic.

As the Black trade unions have grown since 1981, they have revealed new dimensions within their ranks. Women have been among the most militant, and leaders like Emma Mashinini have gained respect outside their own union ranks. Youth have joined the workers in planning strike actions, as they did on May 1. A deep internationalism has marked union actions, whether in solidarity with Poland's Solidarnosc, or in support of striking Hormel workers in Minnesota.⁵

Where in 1978 this pamphlet quoted Nigerian workers who didn't want to hear Nigerian government statements on South Africa while they lived in slums, today the same question is being asked from a different direction. At a recent UDF meeting a trade unionist asked: "How do we know if you get into power that what's going to happen here is not what has happened in other parts of Africa?" Rank-and-file workers are seeking answers from all the parties about their concept of the goal of revolution, their vision of a new society.

A woman activist in the South African Allied Workers Union (SAAWU) wrote N&L (Jan.-Feb. 1986): "Women are surprised at being oppressed and hindered by men when doing the same job men do... No man disrupts us from political activities or being detained, but when facing a point of leadership and equalization of jobs, men oppress us." Women are confronting the leadership on questions of thought as well as of action.

Throughout the unions, there is a widespread questioning of the "two stage" revolution concept (first a "democratic" one, then socialist), as suggested by the ANC "Freedom Charter." It does not mean that they are therefore endorsing AZAPO, or any other party. Listen to Moses Mayekiso, Alexandra Township activist and secretary of the Metal and Allied Workers Union: "The Charter is a capitalist document. We need a workers' charter that will say clearly who will control the farms... the factories, the mines. There must be a change of the whole society... Through the shop stewards' councils people are opposed to the idea that there will be two stages toward liberation... It's a waste of time, a waste of energy, and a waste of people's blood."

All these challenges taken as a whole reveal the rich meaning of the Marxist-Humanist concept of the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. They have raised, from practice, "the concept of new human relations, of not stopping the revolution with the overthrow of the old society." The task for all of us, this 1986 edition argues, is to work out Marx's vision of "revolution in permanence" for our age.

In South Africa, the trade unions and the youth organizations have called for the most massive three-day general strike June 16-18, on the tenth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising. As Marxist-Humanists we solidarize with them, both by participating in support demonstrations here in the USA, and by deepening the Idea of freedom as part of a world exchange of ideas. I consider that this new edition of Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought is a most valuable contribution in that effort.

5. Workers at Renown Food Products in South Africa, which has ties to Hormel, have just announced their "solidarity with the Hormel strikers." "We will do everything we can to help them," said David Makekha, general secretary of the Sweet Food and Allied Workers Union.

BLACK WORLD

(continued from page 1)

an's patriotic con-game, while others, who had been present at Qaddafi's Third World conference at the time of the Gulf of Sidra bombing, have rushed to declare his brand of retrogressive anti-imperialism the pathway to Black liberation. All that did was shift the revolutionary developments in Haiti and South Africa onto the back burner at the moment when the masses had intensified their struggle, a fact brutally shown when only two days after Reagan's March 24 bombing, some 40 people were killed in Botha's undeclared civil war against the unarmed Black population, marking the greatest loss of life in a single day in the last two years of turmoil.

In the U.S., such attitudes to objective world crises and deepening subjective developments in revolution in the Black and Third World make it imperative, therefore, not to leave these events as mere passing immediates of yesterday's headlines, but to pose them, however briefly, in their historic-philosophic context.

Take Richard Wright's view of Franco's Spain as a society existing "after the death of the hope of freedom," a view in which counter-revolution is related to a simple geographic description of Spain as marking Europe's opening to Africa, a continent that had only then (1954) begun to stir, but which would over the next decade remake the map of the world through revolution.

Two letters I received recently from Raya Dunayevskaya illuminate this further. In the following passage from the first she cites her "Special Marxist-Humanist Statement" on Reagan's bombing of Libya: the second passage comes from that "Special Statement" itself:

"...the 'Special' related the 1986 U.S. assault in the Gulf of Sidra to the historic roots of global counter-revolution as they were seen in what had happened in 1936-37 during the Spanish Civil War when the so-called Workers' State, Russia—which was supposed to be for the Spanish Revolution—was testing its weapons just as was Nazi Germany. It led to Franco's counter-revolution crushing the Spanish Revolution." (April 10, 1986)

"...it is true that nothing comparable to the counter-revolutionary situation that followed the defeat of the Spanish Revolution—the outbreak of World War II—exists today. Nevertheless, the objectively reactionary situation in the U.S., whether it be over Libya or Latin America, or in the deterioration of thinking, shows us that the dialectic method is as urgent now as it has ever been..." (A Preliminary-Marxist-Humanist Statement on the Last 48 Hours, March 27, 1986).

What, in other words, we are forced to confront, is the brute fact that behind Reagan's imperialist adventures abroad, from Grenada to Central America to Libya, stands his reactionary retrogressivism on all fronts at home. Thus, no matter where Reagan's Pax Americana precipitates global crises in the Black and Third World our methodological point of departure and return must be the principle that the absolute opposition to Reaganism is not another state power, whether Libya or Russia, but exists within the U.S. beginning with that dimension of American civilization which has always exposed its racist Achilles' heel—Black masses in motion.

For that reason Marxist-Humanism has held that American imperialism abroad has always returned home to feed on native, racist, exploitative ground.* Not only does Reaganism make that truer today than at any other period, but if a new stage of Black thought is to reach full philosophic expression, the most serious discussion of current world events, unseparated from dialectic method, becomes imperative.

*See the Statement of the National Editorial Board of News & Letters, American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard, Part 3, "Imperialism and Racism," pp. 15-18.

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Does Chernobyl nuclear disaster show us our future?

(continued from page 1)

milk, vegetables, meat and water. The failure to evacuate the immediate area promptly, the massive suppression of information, has meant that thousands face the prospect of long-term radiation damage, including a variety of cancers. The people of Kiev, a city of two and a half million some 70 miles south of Chernobyl, do not yet know the full impact upon their city or on their lives, and many will not know the full consequences for years to come. Fully 50 million people live in the area which has experienced some contamination.

A new dimension of what it means to be a satellite of Russia became apparent as the radioactive winds blew over East Europe and not a word of warning was issued by Russia. The question of freedom of information, of communication, was shown to be something more than just a "bourgeois right" as a state-capitalist state chose to suppress the news as much as possible for days, while a private capitalist state sought to sensationalize and exploit it. A Polish Solidarnosc (Solidarity) activist in exile, whose daughter was right then being exposed to radioactive fall-out in Poland, told us that here was proof that freedom of information was a basic human right.

THE CONSPIRACY VS. THE ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

Chernobyl brings to the fore the truth that the United States and Russia have conspired to hide and distort the full nuclear reality which has been with us throughout the four decades since Hiroshima. It still remains the fact of the nuclear age that the U.S. dropped the first atomic bomb on Japan, a non-white nation.

Both the United States and Russia have created mutually assured destruction (MAD) that has loaded our world with tens of thousands of nuclear weapons; they both have developed first strike capabilities; they both are thinking about and planning for a "winnable" nuclear war. They have both minimized by propaganda the dangers of nuclear reactors, and tried to suppress a full discussion of nuclear accidents.

This conspiracy of the two nuclear superpowers has only been broken by the outpouring of an anti-nuclear movement at different historic moments. It was the protest after Three Mile Island that really brought to the fore the dangers of nuclear reactors. But it has been the tremendous massive Japanese anti-atomic war movement which has given birth to an anti-nuclear movement globally, including both Europe and the U.S.

In the wake of Chernobyl there is sure to be a new outbreak of nuclear protest within Russia and East Europe. Already we have seen protests in Poland. They are but the beginnings of new discussions and actions that will be taking place from below in East Europe and within Russia itself. The Kiev families trying to protect their sons and daughters from nuclear exposure will not be assuaged from a deep discussion of their own society by early openings of summer camps for the young. A trip of high government officials to the area, the dismissal of a few Party officials in the Chernobyl

area, the appearance of Gorbachev on television, will not stamp out the questions and protests already arising on a deep level.

CAPITALISM, PRIVATE AND STATE, IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

The atomic horror that the U.S. rained upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki to open the nuclear age did not at all repel Stalin's Russia. It supported the dropping of the A-bomb. Rather it meant that Russia needed to catch up with the West in nuclear weaponry, whether under Stalin or "de-Stalinized" Khrushchev. (See especially "Khrushchev's 50-megaton bomb" in November, 1961 N&L.) Thus the arsenals of death became loaded—in the missile silos, in the bomber bays, deep in oceangoing submarines—for Russia as well as the U.S. It is our joint heritage; our "legacy" to the future. Nuclear reactors can no more be separated from these war preparations than they can be separated from the state and private capitalist use of science and technology which produced them. The Chernobyl reactors as well as nuclear reactors in the U.S. are used to produce the fuel for the nuclear warheads of these weapons.

Five nuclear reactors in the U.S., precisely the ones which produce plutonium for nuclear weapons, have no containment vessels. Their fuel and the plutonium are far more dangerous than the lower grade nuclear fuel found in commercial reactors.

Chernobyl and Three Mile Island prove that we do not have to wait for nuclear war for Armageddon. A nuclear disaster is being lived today, and not alone in the Ukraine, but globally. Radiation recognizes no national boundaries.

The splitting of the atom for purposes of mass destruction was not tied solely to an "accident of war," nor to the necessity to "catch up." It was a consequence of a social division of labor carried to its ultimate. In all class societies, science and life have been separated. This separation reached a veritable chasm in capitalist class society once science became wedded to the technology of the industrial revolution. Within the capitalist economy technology acquired a whole new function: it took production out of the hands of the laborer and into the realm of the machine under the direction of the capitalist. The machine was now not the tool that transmitted the worker's activity to the object. Instead the worker was reduced to transmitting the ma-



chine's power to the material. The skill and knowledge required in the production process have become the objective attribute of capital. As Marx wrote: "Machinery then appears as the most adequate form of capital as such."

This destruction of a creative self-developing dimension of labor is most intense in the factory system. There, science and life are not a unity manifesting humanity's development, but a forced bondage of alienated labor. The most perverse manifestation of taking production out of humanity's hands and attempting to give science an "independent existence" has now become our post-Hiroshima nuclear world of missiles, bombs and death-spewing reactors.

The consequences of nuclear reactor accidents are catastrophic. But every worker will recognize the class basis of these accidents, as well as of non-nuclear disasters—of a Challenger space shuttle explosion, or a Bhopal, India chemical plant release of deadly poisons—in the drive for more production, the working at the pace of the machine, the attempt to make it faster and cheaper, the hierarchy of managers and supervisors standing over workers. All of this occurs in factories upon factories upon factories, here in the U.S. and the West, in Russia and its satellites, and in the sweatshops of the Third World, whether one is making parts for radios or parts for nuclear reactors.

Before Chernobyl exploded, a woman who was evidently a senior manager at the Chernobyl nuclear power plant had warned of a possible disaster. Writing in a Kiev newspaper, Lyubov Kovalenska, she told of the substandard construction due to both a drive to cut construction time for the fifth reactor by one year, and a lack of building materials. The workers were put under pressure to meet the deadline, and still more pressure when the construction materials were delayed. There was a rush to make Chernobyl the world's largest atomic power facility. "The failures here will be repaid," she wrote, "repaid over the decades to come." A month later Chernobyl exploded.

Even when technology "succeeds," it is often a threat to the workers directly involved: witness those thrown out of work by the invention of new machinery, those still able to keep working having to labor under the discipline and pace of the machine, of technology perfected.

And now the Chernobyl site must be cleaned up. Three Mile Island, some seven years after its partial meltdown, is still heavily contaminated. Chernobyl is a far worse case. But human beings, workers, will be faced with the task of going in to try to decontaminate the area, and thus face the probability of being contaminated in the process. And those people of the Ukraine who live closest to the site, the children especially, will be living their lives in the shadow of radioactivity. Will they find out its effect only after it is too late?

THE GLOBAL RAMIFICATIONS

The global ramifications of Chernobyl are intimately tied on the one hand to the superpowers' maneuvers, and on the other to the power of anti-nuclear and other freedom movements. That practitioner of state terrorism against Libya, Ronald Reagan, proceeded to the Japan economic summit not to deal with the economic crisis affecting masses in the developed and underdeveloped world, but to mobilize allies against Libya and to propagandize against Russia over Chernobyl. Gorbachev took to the airwaves to "explain" Chernobyl *a la* Madison Ave., calling another moratorium on nuclear tests as a public relations exercise, without of course any critique of the state-capitalist practice in Russia which brought about the disaster. He has not paused one moment in his drive for greater productivity from the Russian workers. And of course both Reagan and Gorbachev are full of maneuvers concerning the summit, to be or not to be. If held, will it be as empty as the first summit? (See "The Summit that Wasn't," Dec., 1985 N&L.)

The global ramifications that can open a pathway out of the superpower death spiral for all of humanity will not be found in any Reagan/Gorbachev summitry, but rather in the new beginnings emerging within the anti-nuclear movement and within other freedom movements worldwide. These movements taken as a whole face a Herculean challenge if they are to truly become pathways forward. Can they work out a full version of the kind of total social uprooting necessary so that there is no separation between the necessity to oppose nuclear power and the necessity to oppose nuclear weapons? So that opposition to nuclear technology is at the same time an opposition to the class-based capitalist society where manipulation of science and technology threatens humanity in such a multitude of ways? So that there is a refusal to take sides between the nuclear-armed superpowers, and thus an opposition to capitalism in both its private and state forms? And most crucially, can the freedom movements refuse to separate what we are opposed to from what we are for—a new human society whose birth and development comes from hewing out a unity of freedom actions and freedom ideas as a new beginning? This remains the human endeavor.

European responses to U.S. bombing of Libya

Milan, Italy—By now the two nuclear giants are fighting openly for control of Western Europe and not just the Middle East, and for the first time European leaders have begun to face this reality.

Just the day before the U.S. bombing of Libya the representatives of the EEC met and decided to support the U.S. in its policy against Qaddafi and international terrorism on the condition that only political, rather than military, means be used. Despite this, the U.S. informed the European countries of its intention to attack Libya only a few hours before the actual fact.

The European governments began to cede to U.S. demands almost immediately. Then Gorbachev came on the scene showing that all of his peace talk had its limits. He would defend European autonomy and make Qaddafi a Russian puppet to save Europe from military and terroristic attacks. This shows how contradictory Russian foreign policy is; Western Europe has the right to autonomy, but the Middle East does not.

The real problem for the European people is not necessarily that of losing their national sovereignty but that of losing their own rights. Reagan is using this situation to justify his policy of state terrorism be it in the form of international military aggression or in the form of political and economic control over other countries. It is the people that go into the midst and have to pay for their governing class's attempts to save and gain always more power.

Peace demonstrations have taken place throughout Europe. In Italy more or less spontaneous demonstrations took place in at least 20 cities the day after the announcement of the bombardment of Libya. What was unexpected is that most of them were in the South. Probably this is due to the fact that in the last few years the people of the South have finally begun to protest against the political control of the mafia, and this

has given to the youth a more general political consciousness. —Margaret Ellingham

Oxford, England—The F-111 aircraft that bombed Tripoli on the night of April 14-15, the EF-111s that jammed the Libyan radar and the air tankers that refueled them en route flew from four U.S. bases in England: Lakenheath and Mildenhall in Suffolk, Fairford in Gloucestershire and Upper Heyford, just twelve miles north of Oxford. Overnight, Reagan's duel with Qaddafi became a local issue.

The peace movement was able to respond quickly with leaflets, posters, demonstrations and collections for the bomb victims in Tripoli. On April 19 I took part in a protest of about 100 people at Upper Heyford. The place is a huge American military settlement, set incongruously in the midst of pretty countryside and little villages with thatched cottages. There are 12,500 Americans stationed there, including 5,000 military personnel, and the base has its own shopping centre, housing, sports facilities, schools and a hospital. The base was on full alert. Outside were large numbers of local police; inside were British Ministry of Defense police and American soldiers in full combat gear with automatic rifles.

Some people, as a symbolic gesture, tried to cut the perimeter wire with hacksaw blades. The police, quite good-naturedly, confiscated the blades. I only saw one person arrested—a young man who managed to get inside the base—and he was released after a few minutes. Meanwhile, in London, several thousand people were holding a sit-down protest outside the U.S. Embassy in Grosvenor Square.

Reagan's and Thatcher's act of state terrorism has really jolted political consciousness in Britain. Even before 14 April, by-election results and opinion polls indicated a decline in support for Thatcher. Now many people feel really endangered by her warlike actions.

—Richard Bunting

YOUTH

Polish youth: peace only with freedom

The nuclear disaster at Chernobyl has sparked intense discussion and activity among Poland's youth, resulting in a sit-down demonstration in Wroclaw May 2 by the group "Freedom and Peace." The youth protested against Russia's handling of its nuclear "accident" as well as Poland's plans to build its first nuclear reactor.

The increased discussion among youth in Poland centers upon the fact that there is no hope for living within the system. Those who were 12-13 years old during the birth of Solidarity are now coming into adulthood. Many do not expect to ever find a job, and do not believe that whatever job they might get will be a source of satisfaction. The youth believe that education does not guarantee anything.

One Solidarity activist said of them: "what future do they have? In their songs they sing 'I will get an apartment in 2010.' When I listen to that I feel despair. It is so hopeless, but they are trying to do something, to organize, to give their lives sense."

"Freedom and Peace" was founded in April 1985 in Krakow to take back the meaning of the word "peace" as that which can only exist with freedom. A Warsaw group defending Marek Adamkiewicz, the soldier who refused to swear loyalty to the Polish authorities and acknowledge the "friendliness" of the Russian Army and was convicted of refusing to serve and sentenced to 2½ years in prison, decided to join them. Groups from Wroclaw, Gdansk and Szczecin joined in the summer of 1985. After the petitions and hunger strikes proved ineffective they decided to start returning the "military document" (a form of a draft card which all men must carry), with a statement saying they are protesting Adamkiewicz's sentence and in effect wanting nothing to do with the authorities. In their statement to a peace conference in Amsterdam they state: "Our activity for peace should be an activity for freedom of the peoples in Cuba, Indonesia, Afghanistan, South Africa, Chile, Crimean Tartars, and others."

The authorities at first tried to label participants in the movement "crazy." When that didn't work, many more were convicted and sentenced for returning their military document. Jacek Czaputowicz, one of the signatories of an open letter against U.S.'s intervention in Nicaragua as well as Russia's in East Europe and Afghanistan, was arrested in February with another activist Piotr Niemczyk. Many in Poland and abroad have heard of this group and support it.

Indeed, the youth are organizing their own groups independent even of Solidarity. The punk life style has become most popular among youth who see pink hair, earrings and studded jackets as a gesture of freedom.

Last year in Gdansk another organization, Alternative Society Movement (RSA), participated in the May Day parade carrying large black banners with bloody lettering: "Solidarity fights." Their anarcho-pacifist declaration states that one cannot passively surrender while under attack by the ZOMO, riot police for example. They are active wherever 16-20 year olds are present, at schools, stadiums, etc. At a concert in Jarocin they distributed anti-election leaflets. They publish their own paper, Homek. They are against the system, but also have a very critical attitude to Solidarity's leadership as too willing to compromise. In Gdansk they come from mostly working

class neighborhoods (Grabowek, Chylonia) and have now established good relations with youth in Nowa Huta and in Wroclaw.

Other high school youth are creating school newspapers and self-education circles. Some invite Solidarity activists to speak about the 16 months of Solidarity, about the martial law afterwards, about the underground. In Wroclaw alone there are 70 such groups. They are sometimes active in school self-governing com-

mittees, where they organize "quiet" breaks between classes to protest the Dec. 13 anniversary of martial law broadcast by their own radio programs, make space for learning independently, answer TV propaganda, etc. Some, like Federation of Fighting Youth, turn to Solidarity directly. Others work alone. Though many admit they may not remember exactly what was happening in 1980, they have learned from it that their only hope is the hope to fight. —Urszula Wislanka



This cartoon by a 14-year-old junior high school student was drawn shortly after Reagan's bombing of Libya.

"You have no say"

Los Angeles, Calif.—I was so shocked and scared when I heard the news about the Chernobyl accident. I was frightened for the people that lived in that area, frightened for myself, frightened for the earth. People were joking about it at school, saying "Don't drink the milk"—I think that joking was a way of dealing with anxiety.

Almost every teenager has some type of opinion on the politics and issues that shape their society, but there are many reasons why they are not heard or voiced more. A lot of high school students feel that no one is listening to us. We can't vote, and no one wants to understand, so why go through the trouble. It's not that teenagers don't care, it's that no one cares enough to teach us and to listen to us.

In school we're not taught to analyze and understand why history took the course it did, but to memorize and know the date of a certain battle without really understanding its causes. Current social and political issues are rarely discussed in a way that gives us a chance to know all angles of a subject so we can form our own opinions. The issues we hear most about are teenage pregnancy, drugs and alcohol, and gangs.

I want to learn and know more so I can express myself better. I have a teacher who was talking about the Russian war in Afghanistan. A student said, "What about Reagan's aid to the contras in Nicaragua?" The teacher refused to discuss it.

There are posters everywhere in the school reminding boys that when they are 18 they have to register for the draft. After Reagan bombed Libya, my history teacher said, "Remember to register for the draft! There might be a war!" He thought Reagan had done the greatest thing. Another teacher said in a more serious tone, "Think about it. A war could be getting closer."

This was very scary to us. Boys I have talked with said that they will register, but if there is a war they will not go and fight. Yet although many students at my school think these kinds of thoughts, it is not always easy to talk about them. There are pressures that make it impossible for a teenager to voice his or her opinions. Maybe it's not "in" to talk about something like this. But this is crazy, because the people who decide what is and isn't "in" don't even understand themselves.

It is hard being a teenager because you have no say. You have to follow what your parents say. But everything that is happening affects us. There have to be more opportunities for students to be able to make their opinions clearer and to have them heard.

—High school student

Opposition to Reagan

(continued from page 1)

Our News & Letters literature table was constantly busy with students coming up to talk about what Reagan was doing, and to try to work out what we can do. And they didn't only want to talk about Reagan; they wanted to talk about revolution.

These new beginnings of a youth anti-war movement mean a lot to me. In January 1980, when Jimmy Carter announced the beginning of draft registration, the urgency of the times drew many young women and men to form an anti-war movement. I was one of them. I grew up in a poor working class family in Kentucky and had felt what this system does to people—the degradation, the alienation, the murder.

I hated this system. I surely wasn't willing to kill or die for it; more than anything I wanted to fight against it. I had in my mind a vision of a free society without the daily terror of war. At that time most draft-age youth didn't support the draft, and at least 10% didn't register.

NARROWING THE MOVEMENT

However, now, six years later, this movement no longer exists and the main reason for that is that the passion for freedom which drew people into the movement was not allowed to develop by the movement "big shots." Anti-draft became solely a question of conscience, of pacifism. This excluded most anti-draft youth who were more concerned with what type of future was facing them if the draft wasn't stopped. These same youth were against nuclear war and U.S. involvement in Central America, and felt that all these questions were integrally related.

It seems that some activist "organizers" have not yet learned to listen to youth's passion for freedom. Here in Los Angeles, a rally was held after the Chernobyl disaster, to call for all nuclear power plants to be shut down. But despite the fact that in 1986 nuclear power, nuclear war, and the whole general war hysteria are inseparable, the rally organizers only wanted the rally to address the one issue of nuclear power!

But the participants didn't allow this limitation to take place. High school students and activists from all different movements, especially anti-apartheid, wanted to discuss what Chernobyl means in terms of the future of society in relation to all of today's problems.

It's in the desire of these new youth activists and thinkers that we can see a direction. The responses I have encountered from young people around Los Angeles to Reagan's war drive shows how deep is youth's passion for a philosophy of freedom. The defeat of Reaganism and the global threat of war demands that we not allow our thoughts and desires to be truncated, but that we develop our minds and a philosophy of freedom as part of all our new activities.

Anti-apartheid graduation

Ann Arbor, Mich.—After a seven-month battle with the Board of Trustees which culminated in an overnight sit-in at the April Board meeting, anti-apartheid students at the University of Michigan held their own graduation ceremony May 3 at which they awarded Nelson Mandela an honorary degree. The students were outraged that after seven months of discussion with them, the trustees turned down their demand to have Mandela honored at their graduation.

At the alternative graduation, which was attended by about 400 people, both Black and white, students, parents and teachers, Free South Africa Coordinating Committee spokesperson Barbara Ransby said that after a year of anti-apartheid struggle on campus, "we are angry, frustrated, and disappointed in the administration...but we are stronger and more convinced of our own principles." She asked those graduating seniors not to "leave their idealism on the steps of the library; if we don't take responsibility, who will?"

As if to underscore the gravity of what "taking responsibility" can mean, the honorary degree of "Doctor of Humane Letters" awarded to Mandela recognized him for "his courage, dignity, and indomitable spirit in the face of one of the most brutal regimes ever known to mankind."

Two hours after the alternative graduation the students took their protest into the official ceremony. As President Shapiro began speaking, a huge "Amandla!" (Power!) banner was unfurled amidst shouts of "Honor Mandela!" Indeed, at least half of the graduating liberal arts students wore on their caps and gowns blue and white stickers that also carried their demand: "Honor Mandela!" —Participant

Youth in Revolt

On May 14, 2,000 students protesting at Al Yarmouk University in Irbid, Jordan, were met by rioting police who injured 200 students and killed three by the official count, and probably many more. The students were protesting both a recent tuition increase and the expulsion of 32 students who had demonstrated against the U.S. bombings of Libya. * * *

Almost all Black students boycotted public schools in Indianola, Miss., in April. The strike was organized by Black parents outraged at the decision of the school board's white majority to hire yet another white superintendent. Students returned to classes April 21, but townspeople continued to demonstrate and boycott white-owned businesses until May 1, when the board named the first Black superintendent ever in Indianola, 90% of whose students are Black. * * *

Drawing the connection to Chernobyl, 1,000 people rallied on May 17 and 18 outside the nuclear waste reprocessing plant in Wackersdorf, West Germany. Hundreds of people were injured and 16 arrested in a clash with 2,000 riot police. * * *

Fifty-four students at Connecticut College occupied the administration building for 19 hours in May, protesting the college's foot-dragging in recruitment of minority students and teachers. They ended the sit-in after winning an agreement from officials that included an affirmative action hiring policy and the implementation of a minor in Afro-American studies.

