

Killing goose  
that lays  
golden eggs

by John Marcotte

The shocker about GM's November announcement that it will shut down 11 auto plants and lay off 29,000 more workers, is not that business is bad—it's that business is good! This shut-down is touted by GM as only the "first phase" of its modernization drive. It is the result of \$10 billion already invested in plant modernizations since the late '70s. And lots of that capital was forced out of the workers' sweat through concessions contracts.

In fact, this layoff is the beginning of GM's plan to permanently get rid of some 120,000 workers over the next few years. It's just like GM did at Fremont in California—they shut down a plant in 1982 that had 4,000 workers making 200,000 cars a year, and reopened as "NUMMI" in 1984 with 2,200 workers making 220,000 Novas and Corollas a year.

## ROBOTS AND OUTSOURCING

The "miracle" here is accomplished by 1) robots and (continued on page 5)

## Reagan's Imperial Presidency

The shocking liaison of U.S.-Iran  
and the need for a biweekly N&L

## Editorial statement

by Raya Dunayevskaya, National Chairwoman,  
News and Letters Committees

The timing of Reagan's shocking U.S.-Iran liaison, which has been kept secret from the American people, from the U.S. Congress, from his own Cabinet and from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and which violated U.S. law governing clandestine operations—a law signed by Reagan himself Jan. 17, 1985—cannot possibly be glossed over by the present hullabaloo about the need to re-shuffle the Cabinet.

The only word of truth that issued from Reagan at the news conference (November 19) when he supposedly finally revealed all—and let us not forget that he had to make the belated announcement of this super-secretive affair after Khomeini's Iran and Assad's Syria saw that it was made public through the Syrian-sponsored Lebanese newspaper, *Ash-Shira'a*\*—the only word of truth from Reagan, we repeat, was: "This was my decision, and mine alone."

What Reagan failed to say was why it was his decision and his alone. It was not to let his advisers off the hook. Nor was the decision taken only 18 months ago, as he insisted. No, what has characterized his Presidency since the beginning in 1981, what got him the Christian fundamentalist and other reactionary support for the presidency, was his counter-revolutionary aim to turn the clock back in the U.S. as well as abroad, Iran included. He expressed himself in no uncertain terms that what characterized the whole world was its division into two, and two only—the U.S., which he calls "the West," and Russia, that "evil empire."

## REAGAN THE RETROGRESSIONIST

That ideology of seeing a Russian, a "Communist," under every bed has been the most corrosive element of Reagan's retrogressionism, more corrosive than Khomeini's designation of the U.S. as the "Great Satan." Clearly, the U.S. being designated as the "Great Satan" didn't stop Reagan from engaging in clandestine schemes with Khomeini-ites, whom he christened "moderates," and sending Iran arms. Whether that was done to "free the hostages," as he claimed at first, or for "stopping terrorism" or for "strategic reasons," based on the geopolitics of the Persian Gulf region, the truth is that Reagan's aims exceeded even what the U.S. did in arming the Shah as the "U.S. policeman" in the oil-rich Persian Gulf.

Back then there was no Iran-Iraq War, and there was

From the civil war in South Africa:  
a revolutionary thinker speaks out

Ten years ago Soweto, South Africa exploded in open rebellion.

by Jongilizwe

*Editor's note: So important is the rare opportunity we had recently to discuss the present ongoing revolutionary struggle in South Africa with a leading activist/thinker of*

*the Black Consciousness Movement, especially as the movement has had to unfold under the counter-revolutionary whip of the current six month long state of emergency, that we have turned over the lead article to this South African revolutionary speaking for himself.*

no Reagan tilting toward Iraq, much less deluding himself that he could stop the Iran-Iraq War by sending substantial arms shipments of the most sophisticated weapons to Iran, the same kind of weapons with which the U.S. had armed the Shah.

What was driving Reagan into the embraces of the merchants of death and the total disregard of West European allies? What deluded him to believe that he had just discovered "moderates" in Iran? The answer lies in Reagan's aim of gaining nuclear superiority over Russia. That is the driving force both of the U.S.-Iran liaison and the push for Star Wars. Not even the fact that the very survival of civilization is threatened by this uncontrolled rush to the global nuclear arms race has stopped him. (For that matter, Russia is trying to do the same.)

Nothing can stop these rulers except masses in motion with freedom as their aim. Reagan's aim is to so pave the way for single world mastery by the U.S. in his final two years of office that his machine would go on in the direction he has set no matter who is President.

REAGAN MUST BE STOPPED:  
THE NEED FOR A BIWEEKLY N&L

Reagan must be stopped long before his two years have run their course. And the best way of stopping him is to tell the truth. The truth is a great deal more than the disclosure of the facts of this latest dismal affair. It is fully the truth only when it is inseparable from the continued struggle for freedom.

The U.S. in its birth did struggle for truth inseparable from freedom. And that struggle began with words, common words, of people talking to each other, writing to each other, and organizing Committees of Correspondence about this purpose—freedom. By July 4, 1776, those "nuisances" of the Committees of Correspondence turned out to be, as the eminent American historian Charles A. Beard put it, "the engines of revolution."

Intellectuals who do not relate themselves to a revolutionary movement consider letter-writing, at best, to be "raw material," a sort of unspoken conversation. The worker, on the other hand, considers his or her letters sent to a newspaper the oft-spoken conversation that has been written down to be heard. That is why *News & Letters* devotes so big a part of its space to "Readers' Views," whether actually sent in as letters, or as heard in conversations with our readers. Indeed, a good many of our articles come from the same kind of discussions, in the words of those active in the freedom

The state of emergency in South Africa has affected all organizations. No one can meet. Some 10,000 activists are in jail, over 70% are youth. The security forces use equipment supplied by U.S. firms like Motorola to film people when they enter meetings and to keep surveillance on political activists.

That equipment is indispensable to the security forces. And yet, I haven't heard any companies acknowledge that they supply such equipment to the South African regime. If the media write about such things in South Africa, they risk infringing on defense and police acts. So they don't bother about it. Therefore, in the West it doesn't exist—but it's happening.

The Soweto Town Council is under armed guard, while other town councils have collapsed. All control has been taken by the government's Regional Services Councils; this has become a point of agitation. In the rent strike people say, "we cannot continue to subsidize our own oppression."

That is why Botha is replacing town councils with Regional Services Councils, headed by Afrikaners and determined by the whites in Parliament. For the past two years, the Army has run the Joint Services Council, made up of the police and security forces. That was only exposed in September, showing the militarist nature of the Constitution. In it, Botha's Security Council is the supreme ruling body.

To the outside world, it is not apparent how the present regime engages in annihilating people. When people are removed to barren areas and left there, the government is condemning them to die. When two million people are starving, when there are six million unemployed Black adults in a population of thirty million Blacks, those facts speak for themselves.

Over the last two years, well over 2,000 people have been killed, those largely children. And what does the West do? Sit back and pontificate about how action is impossible against the South African regime.

## IN THE MAELSTROM OF ACTIVITY

However, the real need to look at and constantly evaluate all actions in terms of a theoretical structure and developing a theory of ongoing practice and struggle is very difficult to engage in. This is because every moment there is some new campaign, action, or struggle that people are involved in, and from which you can divorce yourself only at the expense of an actual feel for what is happening on the ground.

Over the last couple of years, the pace has been so great—almost a spontaneous eruption in different places—that people have not really had the opportunity to sit back for little periods of time and begin to actively assess the situation. We have been trying to do that, but it has been extremely difficult because of all the constraints and pressures. Being in the maelstrom of activity, the question of the relationship of theory to praxis has been difficult to look at.

For instance, we see that the dangers that we faced in the early '70s of liberalism, ethnicity and tribalism

\* *Ash-Shira'a* Nov. 3, 1986. An English translation appeared in *Iran Times* on Nov. 14, 1986.

## 'Myriad Global Crises'

## '80s spark women's search for philosophy

by Terry Moon

*The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II*, by Raya Dunayevskaya (News & Letters, 1986, \$2. See ad, p. 10.)

In 1986 we are in the midst of revelations about Reagan's secret arms and monetary aid to Iran. And while all act as if this aid is about freeing hostages, the truth is, as Raya Dunayevskaya wrote in the July 1980 Draft Perspectives Thesis, "Tomorrow is Now": "Everything in the world changed with the Iranian Revolution." What motivates Reagan is not concern for hostages but that ever since that revolution, Russia has been trying to get a foothold in the Middle East. That is what Reagan is determined to stop.

It was women who tried to open the second chapter of the Iranian Revolution when, on March 8, 1979—International Women's Day—they marched thousands strong in the streets of Tehran chanting, "At the dawn of freedom we have no freedom!" They were the first to recognize and act against the counter-revolution of Khomeini's Iran.

It is this relationship between revolution and counter-revolution—whether that is women demanding their freedom against the counter-revolution of a Khomeini or youth in South Africa fighting against deadly apartheid—that runs throughout the pages of this pamphlet by Raya Dunayevskaya, *The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II* (MGC).

Two essays make up this pamphlet. The "Introduction/Overview—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of World Developments," is the introduction to the latest addition to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, the Archives of Marxist-Humanism. The second essay is "Retrospective/Perspective: Thirty Years of News & Letters" with three parts which take us from the 1950s through the 1980s.

## WOMEN AS THINKERS

While MGC sometimes goes as far back as the 1930s, what is obvious from the very first words in the "Note from the Author" is that this pamphlet is about "the changed world of today." It is the opposites of "great new uprisings" in South Africa, South Korea, Haiti and the Philippines and the counter-revolution spearheaded by Ronald Reagan and his imperialist adventures in Libya, which "demanded a retrospective-perspective of the history of News & Letters and a 1980s view of the Marxist-Humanist Archives."

MGC shows how the concept of women as thinkers as well as activists was presented in N&L from the beginning, before Women's Liberation was a category. Thus the very first issue of the paper in 1955 carried a picture and story about Njeri, the Kenyan woman who founded the first independent women's movement in East Africa. Further, "It was not alone that a Black woman, Ethel Dunbar, authored a column she called 'We Are Somebody,' but that N&L had no less than two other women columnists—Jerry Kegg on the Labor page and Angela Terrano who was also a worker, writing a column called 'Working for Independence,' first on the Youth page and later on the Labor page."

But in addition to these categories, philosophy was also crucial to News & Letters. In Part 3 of the "Retrospective/Perspective" essay, Dunayevskaya refers to the June 1980 article by Olga Domanski, "Women's Liberation in Search of a Theory: The Summary of a Decade." In this essay Domanski showed the diversity, strength, and international character of today's women's movement. She followed that, however, with a sharp critique of Sheila Rowbotham, Gerda Lerner, and Simone De Beauvoir as the most important examples of feminist thinkers who are serious about theory but only if it is opposed to what they perceive as Marxism.

Even—or especially—when what is being discussed in this pamphlet is a question of theory or philosophy, even if it doesn't mention women directly, it takes on meaning for the Women's Liberation Movement because the focus of the pamphlet is on how to transform this oppressive reality. And the philosophy Dunayevskaya is articulating is Marx's Marxism.

## SEARCHING FOR PHILOSOPHY

The establishment of the Marxist-Humanist Archives in 1969 and, in the same year, Dunayevskaya's drive to complete her 1973 work *Philosophy and Revolution* were, in part, meant to help distinguish Marx's Marxism from all others, including Frederick Engels.

While a majority in the Women's Liberation Movement continue to conduct business as usual and, as Domanski has shown, evade philosophy even in the face of the dead end the movement has encountered in the 1980s, there is new evidence of a searching for philosophy that is no longer satisfied with the old anti-Marxist answers.

That could be seen in the review by Adrienne Rich of Dunayevskaya's work in *Women's Review of Books*, entitled "Living the Revolution." (Excerpted in N&L, Oct. 1986). Rich, a long-time Women's Liberationist activist and poet, says that in the 1960s, "a term like 'Marxist-Humanism' would...have sounded like a funeral knell." For her to conclude in 1986 that "...we can't leap

forward from Marx without understanding where he left off, and what he left to us," reveals that hunger for philosophy that is new about the 1980s.

What I think is attracting Adrienne Rich and others to Marxist-Humanism today is the genuine Marxism that Dunayevskaya has been recreating for over 50 years. The Left has used so-called Marxism against the Women's Liberation Movement and, to use Rich's words, "rendered women invisible..." What *The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World since World War II* shows is the development of a philosophy that does not marginalize women or any force for freedom—including the force of ideas. Dunayevskaya's critique of "established Marxists" or post-Marx-Marxists is neither a generalization nor left only at critique. Rather it brings to life what is specifically Marx's Marxism, not Engels', not Lenin's, not Trotsky's not Mao's, but Marx's Marxism, which he called a new humanism, concretized for our age.

## L.A. Take Back the Night

*Los Angeles, Cal.*—Several hundred people, women and men, walked through the streets of South Central Los Angeles on Saturday evening Oct. 25, in a "Take Back the Night" march, focused as a protest against a serial killer, the "South Side Slayer," who has murdered 18 women, most of them Black.

Despite the serial evidence of the crimes—the same focus population (Black women on the streets at night, some of them prostitutes), a 40-mile radius of operation, and the same manner of killing each time—the Los Angeles Police Department didn't announce the existence of a serial killer until after 11 women were dead, in Sept. 1985. It was only under the pressure of a community group, the Black Coalition Fighting Back Serial Murders, that serious media or police attention was finally paid to the crimes.

The theme of the rally following the march, as well as a conference earlier in the day, broadened to include both the many manifestations of violence women face, and forms of protest and organizing women are involved in. Especially moving was the testimony of Carmen Lima, on the harassment and abuse practiced by immigration officials. (See article, page 5.)

The impact of the voices and testimony was powerful. The crowd at the rally greeted with warmth, mourning, and angry tears the mothers and sisters—and children—of several of the Black women killed by the South Side Slayer. Their loved ones had been labeled by police and media as "prostitutes," as if that meant they deserved their fate.

—Michelle Landau

## Women and development

*Women and the Environmental Crisis: Forum 85*, publication of the *Environment Liaison Centre*, P.O. Box 72461, Nairobi, Kenya

The publication of the Nairobi Forum 85 papers, entitled *Women and the Environmental Crisis* goes much beyond demonstrating the degenerative impact of economic development, state or privately sponsored, on the environment. The papers show both the central role of women throughout centuries in maintaining the delicate balance of nature while using its resources, as well as women's grassroots resistance to the total destruction of the environment, particularly in Africa and Asia. It is a movement which confronts not only governments and corporations, but also "pits wives against husbands and mothers against sons."

Vandana Shiva from India speaks of how the "Green Revolution"—land machinery, hybrid seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides—is destroying the environment and bringing famine to the state of Rajasthan in North-east India. Where the traditional villages used to be self-sufficient, now, forced to produce a single crop, they are both unable to sell their crop and to maintain themselves.

In Zimbabwe, Sithembiso Nyoni speaks of the direct impact of pesticides, fertilizers and hybrid seeds on her village. Women have to spend long hours fetching water because local wells have been poisoned by pesticides and fertilizers. Where before women knew how to inter-crop so that during drought some plants would survive, today experts tell them the practice is "primitive!"

And when women stand up as Nyoni did to challenge the experts they are ridiculed for "wanting to take women back to the 18th century." Nyoni writes: "If I was one of those African Third World rulers...I would go back to my people and strengthen them first... But our rulers today, our ministers of agriculture, are busy interlinking with the multinationals, with international markets, and forgetting that we are the basis of their power...While we are starving they have power to ask for more and more aid over our poverty!"

This is a beautiful collection that needs to be read by all those who for too long have been reading about the "development of underdevelopment" and the crisis of hunger in Africa, Asia and Latin America.—Neda Azad



**women-  
worldwide**



This month marks the anniversary of the founding of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, formed by garment workers in 1914 as one of the first industrial unions in that industry. In 1976 the union merged with the Textile Workers Union to form the ACTWU. This past year has seen successful new organizing drives in North Carolina. The ACTWU won a year-long struggle to unionize over 800 workers at five Bates Nitewear plants there, and workers at Armitage Shanks Co. voted 2 to 1 for union representation, even though the company had called in professional union-busters.

A written language used exclusively by women for centuries in Hunan Province, China, was recently made public by professor Gong Zhebing of the South China Institute for Minorities, with the help of two 80-year-old women who had been part of a family of "sworn sisters." Women formed sisterhoods and wrote letters, poetry, songs, and historical narratives. A woman's writings were burned upon her death.

Information from off our backs

Striking nurses at the Visiting Nurse Association of Chicago won a victory in their fight for union representation when the National Labor Relations Board Ruled on Oct. 20 that the VNA was not exempt from NLRB supervision and must bargain with its employees if they chose to join a union. On Oct. 29, ballots were counted and the nurses had voted almost 2 to 1 to join Local 73 of the Service Employees International Union.

Nearly 800 workers, mostly Black women, voted Oct. 10 to join Local 1529 of the United Food and Commercial Workers' Union at the Delta Pride catfish processing plant in Indianola, Miss. Their ten-month organizing drive was against dangerous work conditions and a wage rate of \$3.85 per hour. They received strong community support. Said one: "We are telling the world that we are claiming our human rights."

## Limits on women workers?

*Philadelphia, Penn.*—Soon after I moved from machine helper to operator, some women co-workers began saying that I shouldn't lift boxes, shouldn't move material, shouldn't use the hoist, all part of the operator's job. Instead, I should let my helper, who is a man, do it. When I thought back, I realized that when I was a helper, those same women used to accuse my operator, who is a man, of making me do too much. No matter what my job, I should do less and the men more.

I developed the attitude that I would always do as much as I could for myself when I worked at a meat-packing plant where I was in charge of checking scales on the production lines. If a scale malfunctioned, they could never find a man to move the scale, so I would end up tagging up everything and staying overtime to separate the good weights from the bad. The best solution was to move the scale myself.

I am not big nor particularly strong and sometimes I do ask for help, although I don't like to. The men are usually pretty good about it, but there is always the potential for a put-down. Because it is a man helping a woman, the situation is so different from a younger worker helping an older worker, a taller person helping a shorter one, or a woman helping another woman.

When women began operating machines in this department, the men refused to train them or to help them. They watched and laughed as the women made mistakes. The company hoped the women would quit, and some did, but some stuck it out. Today the company hires only men for the machines, but it can't stop women who are already in the department from bidding on and getting posted machine jobs.

What I feel so strongly is that both women and men have such a wide range of capacities that any generalization about what women can do—wherever it comes from, the company or your co-workers—is unfair. I want a society where each person is appreciated for what they can do, not put down for what they can't, and where each of us is encouraged to develop all of our potential.

—Woman worker

# At home and in South Africa: GM attacks workers

by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

In mid-November, General Motors Corporation intensified the fight of the capitalists against the world working class in two ways:

In South Africa, it called in riot police to end a seven-day sit-in by workers at a Port Elizabeth GM plant. The workers demanded that they be granted the pension benefits due them, and compensation for job security and seniority rights they would lose when GM transferred title of the plant to its South African managers. GM responded by sending in troops, and firing 567 workers.

## 29,000 JOBS ELIMINATED

In the U.S., GM announced plans to close 11 auto plants in 1987-89, eliminating 29,000 jobs. And that's not the full extent of the GM layoffs: a worker at the Oklahoma GM plant told me that 300 workers have been laid off there and that "they are planning to lay off the whole second shift—another Christmas present from good old GM."

Auto workers, with a "strong" union, the UAW, are supposed to be "provided for," but just like the workers in South Africa have to fight for their rights, so GM workers here are not guaranteed to get the benefits that we fought so hard for.

When my plant, GM South Gate, was closed down in 1982, every worker with 10 years seniority was supposed to receive "sub" benefits—95 percent of his or her wages, until he or she found a job, for a period of up to one year. But we only got sub benefits for eight months before we were told they had "run-out"—and that was with 5,000 workers laid off. What will happen to the sub fund with 29,000 workers laid off?

## RETIREMENT ENDANGERED

Another contract provision we fought for was "55 and out": that laid-off GM workers with 10 years seniority and no new job could receive retirement benefits at age 55. But these rights are not secure. At the last meeting of UAW retirees, the international union rep finally admitted that our retirement benefits are up for negotiation with each new GM contract.

That GM contract will be negotiated next year, and

## When our plant closes

*Editor's note: One of the GM plants to be closed in the upcoming massive lay-offs is Detroit's Clark Avenue plant. The following is what one of the workers there told N&L.*

**Detroit, Mich.**—When they stopped the assembly line to announce that our plant would close, it was so quiet! You could just feel the emotion—a lot of the older workers had tears in their eyes. When I hired in 18 months ago I was told there was an agreement to keep the plant open until 1989. A lot of people are upset with the union about this. Our union president wasn't even there that day; he was in St. Louis. A couple days later somebody placed a classified ad in the *Detroit Free Press*: "Looking for Local 22 President M.L. Douglas. No reward."

I feel sorry for the older people, with 10, 15 and even 20 years' seniority. They could have transferred to the new Poletown plant when it opened a couple of years ago. But they would have had to go back on the line, which runs at 60 cars an hour.

We can transfer with the car to a more modern plant in Arlington, Texas. But the high-seniority people who could get those jobs have homes and families here. I feel sorry for the young people, too. There are some pregnant women worried about their benefits, because we think the plant will close before June.

At the Fleetwood plant when they made the announcement, I heard five cars were set on fire. Before, people used to joke about the plant closing down and say "no way, we won't let it close." Now, people seem to feel that there's nothing to be done. But as the actual time for closing gets closer, I wonder what kinds of things people will do.

—Young woman worker

GM will try to use these 11 plant closings to scare workers into more concessions. One plant not scheduled for closing yet is the Van Nuys plant here in southern California, where the workers voted in the so-called "team concept" of work rules that gives workers a meaningless voice and pressures each worker to police other workers. Instead of closing the Van Nuys plant, GM is closing the plant in Norwood, Ohio, that also makes the Camaros and Firebirds.

The Los Angeles Times ran a picture of a Van Nuys worker with a big grin on his face, happy that GM decided to keep his plant open. Another article in the paper hinted that absenteeism was higher at Norwood than at Van Nuys, and that workers at Van Nuys

worked harder and faster than those at Norwood.

To me, these two articles show the kind of propaganda GM is putting out, trying to pit GM workers against each other, and cover up the real reason for more plant closings—Automation, the machine replacing workers from their jobs. We can't be fooled by this propaganda of the capitalists. We the working class must see ourselves as one class. Otherwise the company can pit us against each other, and we all lose.

I think that American workers can learn, too, from what the workers in South Africa are doing, where their fight for their rights as workers is not separate from their fight against the whole system. They need a new human society and so do we.

## Direct from South Africa Freedom Journal

## Workers' control & the state of emergency

**Johannesburg, S. Africa**—When the state of emergency was declared, many of the officials of our union, the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CCAWUSA), were detained. We went on strike. Thousands and thousands of shop workers came out. We did not plan it. Over 200 stores went on strike. We were mad at this government.

Everyone in our Johannesburg office who was not detained had to go underground. It was the same in Pretoria. In some other areas our offices have been closed completely. It is a very serious situation.

We had to do something. We negotiated with our bosses during the strikes and demanded time off to run the union. About ten companies agreed to give two shop stewards two weeks off to work at the union office. The bosses paid us for one week and the union for the other. After the two weeks had expired, some of us got permission to carry on. Others joined us later.

We divided ourselves into three sections: organizing, cases, and administration. There are about 20 of us in all, although some are in Pretoria and Witbank.

We have learned a lot. In administration, for example, we have discovered that the bosses are not paying us the subs for all our members. We have got our records in order and are starting to catch up with arrears subs through the fault of the bosses.

In organizing, we are handling what we call the beginners meeting, where we explain to workers what CCAWUSA is, how it functions, and about workers control.

## Kaiser on strike!

**Oakland, Cal.**—On Oct. 25, over 9,000 workers belonging to Local 250 of the Service Employees International Union (AFL-CIO) walked off the job. It is a fight between the hospital employees and Kaiser Permanente Foundation, the world's largest private health maintenance organization (HMO).

HMOs are thought to be the best form of "social medicine" that can be offered by capitalist America. Henry J. Kaiser founded the HMO in 1933 to cut the production cost due to sick employees. Kaiser claims that a two-tier wage structure would make the pay scale more in line with other hospitals. But Kaiser fails to mention that the high workload of Kaiser workers is out of step with other hospitals as well. Dr. Janet Cahill of Glasboro College revealed, in a stress and workload study, that "Kaiser employees are handling drastically increased workloads, and as a result are experiencing health-threatening levels of stress, fatigue and burn-out..."

The chief negotiator for Kaiser commented that "employees are only incidental to patient care." The only viable way Kaiser can attract and maintain members is by improving patient care, not by squeezing overworked employees and investing in a multi-million dollar advertising campaign. This strike is not merely a Local 250 strike. This is a major fight between health care workers versus the capitalists who profit from the sick. Nurses, housekeepers, clerks, engineers, and technicians are all joining hands in this.

We also have a tremendous amount of support from patients, other labor organizations, and the public in general. The rally and "March on Kaiser" held on Nov. 13 were a tremendous success, with over 4,500 employees attending, accompanied by many sympathetic groups. Our morale is strong. Kaiser hopes to weaken it by dragging its feet in negotiations.

We in the rank and file are actively working on the picket lines to win our strike. Many of us are angered by the compromising nature of the leadership. They have not been taking an active role in mobilizing the rank and file to crush Kaiser management's strike-breaking tactics. The individual rank-and-file member is taking the initiative to do whatever is necessary to strengthen our unity and win without compromise. That's the only way we will win what is just and beneficial, not only to Kaiser employees, but also to the health plan members.

—Kaiser striker

It is better that we workers are the people to do this. Many new workers have joined us—even during the emergency. Growth in CCAWUSA is stronger than ever before.

In cases, we are dealing with everything, especially unfair dismissals. Most of our cases have been successful. We have seen that we can do all these things ourselves. This is not to say that we don't need officials. We do. We need their expertise and guidance. Where we have had the chance we have made full use of this.

Our experience has helped us build stronger worker control in CCAWUSA. To be able to control we need information. You can't control something you know nothing about. Now that we know how everything works, we can control. We have been able to pass this on to the shop stewards council. So information is being spread.

The emergency has disrupted us in many serious ways. But we have also learned a lot from it. And that is something we will never forget.

—CCAWUSA member

## Same old business

**Detroit, Mich.**—The industrialists' calls for competitiveness, increased productivity, and greater profits ring hollow. They are not new at all and pursue no real solutions. The highly paid corporate spokesmen are not being honest. They do not come out and say they are pursuing their goals as they always have; that the lay-offs, plant closings, relocations, and concessions will continue at the corporations' whims.

Technology at best is a mixed blessing. While it has made some jobs easier and created new jobs, it has eliminated countless others. Technology has not yet resulted in what it rationally can and should—a reduction of the workday with no reduction in standard of living.

There is lacking in the unions' forms of countering corporate transgressions a way in which workers can rally to make technology and production benefit the majority—working people. Unions need to point out that increased productivity in factories often means shortened life spans for those who work in them, and that greater profits traditionally come at the expense of the mental and physical well-being of workers.

—Joseph Blough, UAW member

## Hebrew Nat'l still out

**New York, N.Y.**—We are still out on the picket lines at Hebrew National. (See N&L, Oct. 1986). The company had got a three million dollar loan from the city to keep jobs there. They took the money, moved anyway and left over 200 people out of work.

Hebrew National will never get a crew like us again. Fifteen years ago, we still did everything by hand. We worked from 7 AM to 7 PM, six days a week, and the work was never done. They started to cut the hours when they brought in automation. Each machine would put six guys out of a job and leave the others three times as much work.

Then it got to where we had four supervisors for every 13 guys. Forty guys walking around with their hands in their pockets drawing a big check. We workers taught them everything they know. There was a guy who didn't even know what a balogna was. Next thing you know he's assistant manager. Our supervisor even had to ask if there were different kinds of casings.

Management treated you like a piece of dirt, a slave. They don't know how to talk to you like a human being. There was Artie Spitzle, working for a Jewish firm, he called a worker a "wandering Jew". They made him a foreman then. Or Joe Evroan, the butcher foreman, who didn't know a thing about the meat industry. He got at least 15 guys fired here. You couldn't even open your mouth or whistle. We've had a better time on this picket line than 20 years inside. We've gotten to know each other. In there, there was never time to talk.

—Strikers

## News & Letters

Vol. 31 No. 10

December, 1986

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

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,  
National Editorial Board

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

News & Letters  
is printed in  
a union shop.



# THEORY / PRACTICE

by Raya Dunayevskaya

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

Editor's Note: Adrienne Rich's review of Raya Dunayevskaya's major writings appeared in the September, 1986 *Women's Review of Books*. Excerpts were reprinted in the November N&L. Raya Dunayevskaya asked us to share with our readers part of her response to Adrienne Rich's review.

Sept. 18, 1986

Dear Adrienne Rich:

Your review of my four major works created an adventurous journey for me. It was an adventure because it showed that not only does the uniqueness, the newness of today's Women's Liberation Movement no longer stand in the way of its appreciation of Rosa Luxemburg, the great revolutionary Marxist feminist, but it poses as well other critiques to today's Marxism.

The simultaneity of the appearance of Women's Liberation—that had developed from an Idea whose time had come to a Movement—and the appearance of the transcription of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* led me to think (evidently wrongly) that the work I was rushing to completion—*Philosophy and Revolution*—with its final chapter tackling "new passions and new forces," would result in a veritable union of radical feminism and Marxist-Humanism.

Instead, as you so cogently expressed it in your review, "...a term like 'Marxist-Humanism' would, in the late sixties and early seventies, have sounded like a funeral knell," to the Women's Liberation Movement at that time.

From the reception (mostly the lack of it) of my works by so-called orthodox Marxists, on the one hand, and by radical feminists, on the other hand, I felt that both the radical feminists and the post-Marx Marxists lack a philosophy of revolution needed for total revolution. It became clear to me that the Marxists were raised on Engelsian Marxism, not Marx's Marxism, i.e., what Marx from the very start called "a new Humanism..."

It seemed to me that not only was a critique of Women's Liberation Movement needed, but it was also necessary to draw up a balance sheet about that missing link—philosophy—not only in the Women's Liberation Movement, but among even the great Marxist revolutionaries.

Pardon me for smiling at the word "academic" in your description of *Philosophy and Revolution* as "the most academic." What is true is that way back in 1950 when I was active in the Miners' General Strike and writing the dispatches also on the miners' wives, I also dug deep into a study of Hegel's works. Having never been part of academia, (I'm 76), I was not even aware that when, in 1953, I first broke through to a new concept of Hegel's Absolutes,\* I had broken with the whole Hegelian tradition which saw Hegel's Absolutes as a hierarchical system. Instead, I saw in the Absolute, new beginnings, a movement from practice as well as from theory.

This is why Marx never let go of the Hegelian dialectic, which he saw as "the source of all dialectics." Marx held Absolute Negativity—"the negation of the negation"—to be an active creativity that Feuerbachian materialism's critique of Hegel's idealism had not matched. Marx's dialectical, historical materialism did not depart in its critique of Hegel though Marx had discovered a whole new continent of thought and revolution, of class struggles, of the Man/Woman relationship—in a word, "revolution in permanence."

It was only when the turbulent 1960s ended with DeGaulle winning in Paris, 1968, without firing a shot, at the very height of that massive activity that had relegated theory to something that could supposedly be caught "en route," that I finally felt compelled publicly to delve into that missing dimension of philosophy—the Hegelian dialectic that Marx had been rooted in. To tackle the dialectics of thought and revolution, was, I held, what all the new passions and new forces needed to have as their ground. I knew I was treading uncharted waters, not only among Women's Liberationists, but among orthodox Marxists, but I did not expect the response to my findings would be such total silence.

You have hit the nail on the head when you wrote: "If, indeed, Marx was moving in such a direction, we can't leap forward from Marx without understanding where he left off and what he left to us." That's what I thought I was doing when I concretized the task as the need to work out the new signalled by the 1950s that I had designated a movement from practice that is itself

\*Over a decade after those Letters on the Absolute Idea were written, (see my Archives, The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection at Wayne State University, pp. 2431-66 and pp. 5041-5109), as I began writing my draft chapters of *Philosophy and Revolution*, I found that Hegel scholars had left the three final syllogisms of Hegel's *Encyclopedia* (paragraphs 575, 576, 577) fairly untouched, without realizing that it was not Logic, but Nature that had been the mediation, the ground for the self-movement of the Idea, from *Phenomenology*, *Science of Logic*, *Philosophy of Nature*, *Mind*, i.e. the whole *Encyclopedia*.

a form of theory. I involved myself in the recording of those new voices beginning with the miners on general strike, and their wives, in those activities against that machine, the "continuous miner," which they called a "man killer." With it they had posed the question: "What kind of labor should man do?..."

Passions, I might add—and Marx was a great one to talk about "new forces and new passions"—were not restricted to what Audre Lorde calls the "erotic as power." Any struggle for new human relations required not only philosophy and revolution, but self-development, and that both the day of revolution and the day after. That nothing new, much less a totally new society, could be achieved coldbloodedly shows that the creative urge demanded passion. This is what brought forth from Marx such new language as "time is space for human development"—and that in an article on economics.

Towards the end of your review of my books, you place a whole new series of problems before me. You single out "the edges of struggle," asking me to expand on the question of women's liberation's relationship to revolution, since sexuality—"neither sexual purity nor sexual liberation"—has established any relationship to revolution. What remains "still unclear (is) how, and by what historical forces heterosexuality has been socially constructed; the degree to which lesbian and gay liberation has been a revolutionary force; how actual sexual practice informs theory; the conditions under which sex is work, recreation, or in Audre Lorde's phrase, 'the erotic is power.'

My problem is: how can I answer the specificity of sexuality in the sense it is now used without seeming to slough it off if I reply: You are the one who must do it; workers work out their own emancipation and Blacks theirs, so must all other forces of revolution—youth, women, and women not just in general, but the very

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

by Raya Dunayevskaya

(published by Humanities Press International,)

plus a subscription to

### News & Letters

An \$18.45 value

both for only \$13



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

concrete question of lesbianism, or, for that matter, all of homosexuality.

It is true that women revolutionaries in the 19th and early 20th century referred to sexuality (if they used the word at all), and meant by it only the discrimination against women in labor and wages, never bringing the topic in to the "Party", as if it had no relation to men in the movement. And it is true that by the mid-20th century, when we began posing the subject, we were still referring, not to specific practices, but using the word sex as if it encompassed homosexual as well as heterosexual, and thus leaving the impression that we actually narrowed sexism to conditions of labor, class struggle, or race, rather than different sex practices. What was true was that as revolutionaries we were always putting the priority on the dialectics of revolution.

I believe that where I have had the greatest experience with a specific force of revolution demanding proof of the concreteness of freedom for itself is with the Black Dimension. I have been active there from literally the first moment I, a Ukrainian, landed on these shores, the first time I saw a Black man. I asked who was that. I took myself from the Jewish ghetto to the Black Ghetto in the 1920s. In the 1960s, on the 100th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation, we embarked on a short history of the whole Black Dimension in American history, *American Civilization on Trial*, which had as its subtitle, "Black Masses as Vanguard." I was questioned by a Black woman in the late '60s about what the concept of freedom in Marxist-Humanism means to Black women.

Without feeling that I was evading her question, my answer stressed the fact that, far from Marxist-Humanist philosophy limiting us in the fight for total freedom for all, it led me to the creation of the category, "Woman as Revolutionary Reason as well as Force," and that before women's liberation had moved from an Idea to a

Movement. I pointed to Black women speaking for themselves in *News & Letters* not only as activists, but as columnists such as Ethel Dunbar in "Way of the World" and the development of a "Woman as Reason" column. I had to respond that each revolutionary force does have to concretize the question for what it considers, holds, as the proof that freedom is here and does relate to them. No one can do it for Other.

I then embarked on collecting 35 years of my writing for *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*. Clearly, dialectics of revolution was still my preoccupation. This time, however, I wanted to single out women as the subject. The aim was to show how total the uprooting of the old must be, be it in work, or culture, or leisure, or self. And with it, how total freedom must be, which was the meaning of Marx's "revolution in permanence," that is, to continue after the overthrow of the old, at which point the task becomes most difficult, as it involves nothing short of such full self-development that the division between mental and manual is finally abolished.

The Introduction/Overview to that book, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, tried to spell out the dialectic of revolution... Where, in Part III of that book, I speak of "Sexism, Politics and Revolution" in various parts of the world, I posed the question without answering it: "Is there an Organizational Answer?" I deliberately didn't answer it there because I feel very strongly that without that missing link—philosophy—there is no answer to the question of organization, which of course means relationship to revolution.

This is exactly what I am in the process of working out in my book-to-be, *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: the "Party" and Forms of Organization Born out of Spontaneity*. As you saw from Part IV of my last book, I traced Marx's New Humanism together with the *Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive*

and Modern Societies. Here is how I phrased it in my new working papers: "Put briefly, Women's Liberation is the first dialectic of revolution when it is relationship—when it comes out of—the new epoch itself, which we declared philosophically to be a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory, and absolutely inseparable from revolution. It is those three elements—the epoch, the philosophy, and a new force of revolution—which we, and we alone, named when we saw Women's Liberation not only as Force, but as Reason."

My point was that before Marx learned all those great things about the Iroquois that excited him so much as to create still "new moments" for him, he wrote the first draft of *Capital* (which the Marx-Engels Institute a belated century later called the *Grundrisse*), where he analyzed pre-capitalist society and became sufficiently enamored of those societies that he used a most Hegelian phrase to designate human development—"the absolute movement of becoming."

This discontinuity of epochs becomes creatively original rather than being just an "update" when it is deeply rooted in continuity. The new continent of thought and of revolution that Marx had discovered when he broke with capitalism, as well as with what he called "vulgar communism," and critiqued Hegelian dialectics, he called a "new Humanism." That will remain the ground needed until there has been total uprooting of all forms of capitalism, state as well as private, including capitalist-imperialism. That is first when the Self-Bringing Forth of Liberty brings the Self-Determination of the Idea to maturity and the dialectic is unchained. The Universal and the Individual become one, or, as Hegel put it: "Individualism which lets nothing interfere with its Universalism, i.e. Freedom." We cannot tell in advance what a fully new human being is because we are not.

—Raya Dunayevskaya

# Voices of Poland's underground press

*Editor's Note: The most visible sign of Solidarity in Poland is the widespread popularity of the underground press. Below are publications just smuggled in from Poland. These publications have been translated for News & Letters. There are varied, uncensored journals in Poland, from the most prestigious Tygodnik Mazowsze (Mazowsze Weekly) to many independent shop papers and intellectual journals.*

## Taxi protest

On February 10, 72 Warsaw taxi drivers (10% of municipal taxi drivers) refused to accept their paychecks as a protest against low wages. The same protest was repeated on March 10.

Taxi drivers do not have a regular salary. It depends on the fares collected above the norm which means they have to drive 160 kilometers a day. That is not possible in an 8-hour day.

A raise in pay is only one of the drivers' demands. In their leaflets, their publication "Voice of the Free Taxi Driver," and in open letters to the management, the Party and their trade union, drivers are demanding a general meeting that would lead to an election of a self-governing body. They are demanding abolition of norms for radio dispatched work, a raise in the gasoline ration and the inclusion of their own representatives on the Advisory Commission, whose members were appointed by the director in 1982.

Following the March protest the director (Toborowicz) raised the regulation bonus by 1.5% which gives a 1-2,000 zloty raise in a 12-hour day. At the same time he dissolved the Advisory Commission, whose origin (oh, irony!) he traced to underground Solidarity. He did not permit a general meeting of the drivers since, as he stated, "they are not ready for self-government."

Fearing further protest actions, the director dismissed—without giving any reasons—two long-time drivers whom he judged as leaders of the protest: Jan Wojciechowski and Marian Szelig (one of the organizers of the strike in 1980).

One of the letters to the director signed by the drivers (March 12) said: "...As old-time drivers we know ways to earn on the side, but speaking truthfully, man has a right to live honestly, to be paid honestly for his normal work and not be forced by the establishment to dishonesty. Live to scheme, or scheme to somehow live is not for us. Especially since we strongly remember August 1980, when our normal lives were OK. We all learned then that one can work honestly performing a service. And this is the other reason, besides the financial concerns, why we are refusing our pay."

—Tygodnik Mazowsze, No. 168, April 24, 1986

## Russian workers' rights

The defense of workers' rights in the Soviet Union never gained the momentum within the national or religious movements, yet it does have its tradition...

The Free Trade Union association of Working People (SMOT) was created in 1977 when, in the waiting room of the Bureau of Admissions, the authors of individual letters united in signing a joint petition to the authorities against violations of work laws. After a short time of collective, open activity the new trade union movement, independent of the Party and the government, was nipped in the bud. Its activists were still able to express support for Solidarity (then being born in Poland) before the gates of jails and prisons shut behind them.

For many years now there has been no open collective activity in defense of worker's rights. The only proof that the idea of real trade unions as the true defenders of workers still has advocates, is information about individual actions, like the case of the Moscow worker Oleg Alifanow. We quote from...Oleg Alifanow's

letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

"...I am 31 years old. I have worked, including 2 years in the military, for 14 years. I was a metal-worker, a welder, a cement worker, a stone-mason... I got a job as a welder in the 'Lenin's Collective' auto factory. The boss asked me to stay after my shift, to fulfill the Plan, for 10 rubles. I stayed after hours 10 times. I expected to have an added 100 rubles to my paycheck of 140. I got 20. Co-workers explained to me that all new employees are initiated this way...

"A worker is really forcibly tied to the factory... One has to work in one factory 10-20 years to get an apartment... After getting an apartment the worker faces retirement; you can get a good pension only by staying in one place.

"And thus you have to work all your life and be silent, not express your opinion, which could mean losing everything. You can't 'notice' even open, brazen violations of workers' rights."

...After Alifanow submitted his "Letter..." for publication by the samizdat press, he entered the French Embassy (July 1985) to avoid arrest. The following day he was persuaded to leave it by the diplomats. They escorted him to the metro station where he was arrested and to this day his fate is unknown.

It's difficult to ascribe to these individual acts a real meaning—they are less than a drop in the ocean. Nevertheless, the fact that new people are ready, even at the price of such great risk, to remind the world of the real situation of workers in the U.S.S.R., must arouse wonder and hope.

— Jan Klincz

Tygodnik Mazowsze N. 168, April 24, 1986

## Fight for human dignity

*Editor's note: The following are excerpts from comments made by Carmen Lima, an activist on behalf of the rights of the undocumented workers in the U.S. She is currently facing deportation. She spoke at the "Take Back the Night" march in Los Angeles on Oct. 25.*

I became active against the abuses of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) five years ago. Two years ago, I was interviewed by Bill Moyers for a TV special called "Whose America Is It?" Because of my comments there, Phil Donahue invited me to appear on his show in a debate with Howard Ezell, the Regional Director of the INS.

What I discussed in that debate (in a separate studio from Ezell, who threatened to have me arrested) was the rapes and violence against women and children committed by officers of the INS, including one of a 13-year-old Mexican boy who was being held in a detention cell. An INS officer took that child out of his cell and sodomized him three nights in a row. The officer was not disciplined, and was still working at that time.

Ezell was very uncomfortable when I exposed these abuses on national TV. He said he would investigate—but what happened was harassment of myself and my family. On the night of Sept. 2, five cars of police and immigration officials came to my house. I wasn't home, but they pushed past my mother and into my home. The immigration officers didn't identify themselves; the police department officers told my mother I was wanted for a serious crime.

They went all through the house, searching and tossing things around. They shone their flashlights in the faces of my sleeping children.

When I went down to the INS office with my lawyer, they tried to trick and humiliate me, including taking me to a bathroom where I would have to go to the toilet in front of the eyes of anyone who might come by. This is how they deal with the undocumented, as if we are not human beings, as if we have no human dignity. It is this I am determined to fight.

## Workshop Talks

(Continued from page 1)

2) a sell-out contract doing away with job classifications and work rules, both to sweat more unpaid hours of labor out of those left working, and 3) outsourcing parts to get even more sweated labor. GM outsources 30 percent and wants to catch up to 55 percent at Ford and 70 percent at Chrysler.

GM's shut-downs don't show a business in trouble so much as the future business has planned for all labor. The day after GM's layoffs were announced, NSC president Charles Sporck announced "his" lay-off of 500 workers saying, "Even though we have had steady profit improvement...it is not enough just to be profitable." You now hear of executives getting tens of millions of dollars to quit or be fired. It is a fact that from 1982 to 1984, when employment was so high for workers, America's top executives doubled their salaries. All the while they are killing the goose that lays the golden eggs—labor.

Hebrew National admits they were real profitable when they shut down in New York (see story, Oct. N&L and this issue, p. 3). My friend at Marriott Food Services at the airport has just been laid off along with most of those hired this year. Many can't even get unemployment yet. And that was supposed to be such a steady job, at the airport. No one can tell me Marriott's hurting, with their hotels all over the world.

And a friend who works in a baked goods plant that's owned by Armour-Dial tells me, "Management posts a notice by the time clock every time an Armour-Dial company shuts down or lays off at one of their plants anywhere in the country. Why? Workers here want to know, what are they trying to tell us? They've just added a new line here, hired more workers, and are speeding us up all the time. Does management want to intimidate us? Or get us ready for something bad next contract?"

Isn't the opposite to this future being planned for us to be found in the thoughts of workers themselves? Look at the Hebrew National strikers. They both show how management's role had nothing to do with knowledge of the production process but only policing labor, and that the cold months spent running their own picket line, running it themselves, were better than "20 years inside, because we got to know each other." Isn't the "free association" on the picket line, the strike's own working existence, a hint of new human relations?

My question is, do we have to wait till we've been forced out on the picket line, or shut down and left out in the cold, before we begin to form those kinds of associations among rank-and-file workers, and start to do things for ourselves—including our own thinking?

## Won't fly contra aid

**Anchorage, Alaska**—On May 3, 1986, Ken Francis, a flight engineer who worked for MarkAir, was fired for refusing to fly aid to the contras in Honduras. The flight went from Detroit to New Orleans to pick up cargo to be delivered in Aguacate, a contra base in Honduras about 40 miles from the Nicaraguan border. Francis gave five days notice so that they could get another crewman in New Orleans, but he was fired anyway.

MarkAir Pilots Association, a small union with about 60 or 70 members and with close ties to the company, brought the matter to arbitration. There was a hearing in August and Thomas Levak, an arbitrator, issued his written decision upholding the company on Oct. 9th, just three days after the C-123 was shot down inside Nicaragua resulting in the deaths of three crew members and the capture of Eugene Hasenfus.

Ken Francis has had 15 years experience flying, nine of them with MarkAir and its predecessor airlines. He didn't know Aguacate by name because it was called "Las Frutas" in the jargon of the crew. Francis says: "I feel like I got a raw deal on the thing. The reason I didn't go was because I felt it was unsafe. I still do."

MarkAir is an Anchorage-based passenger and cargo airline owned by Neil Bergt, a former pilot and an outspoken hawk, especially about Nicaragua. His company flew seven shipments of supplies to the contras in Aguacate on its L-100 Hercules for the State Department as part of the \$27 million aid package authorized by Congress in September 1985. The \$100 million aid package to the contras may bring Bergt more business, because his good buddy, Alaska Senator Frank Murkowski, allowed him a \$6 million tax write-off in the new tax law because he flies mail in Alaska.

When Bergt was questioned about firing Ken Francis, he couldn't care less. "He refused to fly a flight. He got fired. As anybody gets fired. There's nothing more worthless than a crew member that won't fly. I mean, it's like a car that won't run."

Hopefully more pilots will begin to see their experiences in terms of the risks they take and the unsafe and dangerous conditions they face. At present Ken Francis is living in Oklahoma, looking for work. Letters of support can be sent to him at: HC 64, Box 3, Spencer-ville, Okla. 74760.

—Ruth S.

## Documents on: State-Capitalism and the East European Revolts

### A Half-Century of Its World Development in the Marxist-Humanist Archives

*"To comprehend fully the Polish events... it is necessary to turn back to the first mass revolt ever within totalitarianism, that of East German workers... on June 17, 1953... Even so simple a slogan as 'Bread and Freedom' made clear a totally new refusal to separate a philosophy of freedom from revolution for freedom. Intellectuals have yet to grasp the full implications of the revolts, in fact and in thought, that are still springing from below." (Philosophy & Revolution)*

• **An Analysis of Russian Economy** — 1941 study by Raya Dunayevskaya of the first three Five-year plans in Russia. (microfilm #69) Part II of this study includes "Labor and Society"—based on Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays (#87).

• **Czechoslovakia: Revolution and Counter-Revolution**, — Oct. 1968. An analysis of the events in Czechoslovakia, 1968, including a report by Ivan Svitak. (#3940)

• **Twenty-Five Years of East European Revolt and the re-creation of Marx's Marxism**, — by Raya Dunayevskaya, News & Letters, March, 1980. (#7409)

• **Andropov's Ascendancy Reflects the Final State of the State-Capitalism's Degeneracy**, by Raya Dunayevskaya, N&L, Nov. 1982. (#7411)

• **Mikhail Gorbachev, the New Russian Ruler...** — in the Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1985-86. (#10342)

See literature ad page 7 to order Archives and Archives Guide

## A WORLD IN CRISIS AND THE NEED FOR 'NEWS &amp; LETTERS'

## THE RACE TO HOLOCAUST

The important point in Dunayevskaya's article on "Reagan and Gorbachev in Iceland" (Nov. N&L) was not that Reagan was "trapped" but that neither of them will budge on Star Wars. They are both bargaining for time and superiority. Star Wars is the new stage of the arms race. It is very expensive and will have an impact on all race and class relations. Peace has to be seen as more than arms control. The new vision that has to be found lies in what Marxist-Humanism has revealed about the movement from practice.

Black revolutionary  
Oakland, California

\*\*\*

Just as Watergate was hardly a mere corruption scandal, as N&L pointed out at the time, but rather an outright move by Nixon toward a one-party state, American-style, so too is Reagan's Iran arms deal more than what it seems to the bourgeois press, who are concentrating on the subordinate aspect of who knew what when, etc. It all shows the seriousness of what Dunayevskaya posed in the November N&L, that the collapse of the Iceland summit "actually opens up the race to the nuclear holocaust, meticulously prepared for." That struggle is taking place worldwide, from Iran to Central America to the Philippines.

The revelation that White House operative Colonel North had secretly taken the secret \$30 million from the Iran deal and given it to the Nicaraguan contras, shows the underlying drive of Reaganism: counter-revolution and confrontation everywhere with the other contender for world domination, Russia.

Sociologist  
Chicago

\*\*\*

At a Teach-In on "Why Reykjavik Failed" at Columbia University, Nov. 7, Prof. Jonathan Sanders of the Harriman Institute for Advanced Study of the Soviet Union, after noting the Russian revolutionary date, began his speech by explaining why the summit didn't really fail: "because the Soviets didn't think it failed." He claimed Reagan's "revolutionary vision" makes the Americans today the ones saying "nyet."

In the discussion I reminded the panel of two important events of recent history: the explosion of the Challenger, and the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, indicating a race to nuclear holocaust out of control of even the greatest "specialists."

Activist  
New York City

\*\*\*

The slogan of the demonstration to welcome the Peace Marchers here was "Jobs, Peace, Justice." We sold a wide variety of literature and lots of people were anxious to discuss the issues, but the length of the event (five hours) militated against much enthusiasm at the end. The speakers presented Reykjavik as a chance that Reagan missed, making him solely responsible for the failure of the summit. It appeared to me that like Reagan, they were taken in by Gorbachev's "trap."

Activist  
Manhattan

\*\*\*

About 5,000 people marched in downtown Toronto Oct. 25 to "Make Ontario Nuclear Weapons Free!" The crowd included the Left (Old and New), Central America solidarity organizations, ethnic groups, labor delegations, as well as newer organizations such as "Nurses for Social Responsibility" and youth committees of high school and junior high school-age young people. So much spontaneity was evident that I would never have known the march culminated a week of peace events sponsored by the city: a group of artists sold "Dinosaurs

for Disarmament—Extinction Stinks" T-shirts, and one rally speaker played a tape of the horrible noise experienced by Labrador Native Canadians during low-level test flights of NATO jet planes.

The young people especially were glad to receive a copy of News & Letters, which I introduced as representing the "Other America."

Marcher  
Toronto

POVERTY IN AMERICA—  
NORTH AND SOUTH

"The deepening crisis of poverty in America" (Nov. N&L) reminded me of Steve Biko's statement, "Thus in South Africa now it is very expensive to be poor." The poor in America are unable to afford being poor. It costs more to be without the basic necessities of life. You thereby become even poorer—and homeless.

Reader  
New York

\*\*\*

I was in Nicaragua for ten days recently and what hit me was the poverty there. It is hard to get tortillas or eggs. So many resources have to go for the war against the contras—including the human resources, the youth. The buses in the countryside were filled with mothers and fathers going to visit their children in the military. One woman poured her heart out to me. She was not a Sandinista but told me, "No one wants the contras. We are tired of war and suffering and death."

Against Reagan's wars  
Los Angeles

## THE URGENT NEED FOR N&amp;L

Your Marxist-Humanist publication is very important to me, but it is very difficult to pay from Argentina, both because of the low value of our money against the dollar and because of our low salaries. Would a "donor sub" be possible? It is important to me because your publication gives a lot of space to international news, especially Latin American, and the political and social problems of working people. I teach a course on Mass Media and always show your publication, as students want to know the opinion of the U.S. people and I want to show that it is not only what they see in the TV news. Your publication is important for the "other side of the story." Thank you for your work.

Sociologist  
Argentina

\*\*\*

I like the way N&L stresses the importance of communications. The unions in our strike communicate a lot but it is with each other, through the leadership and the media. There's a problem communicating with those on the picket line. It is important for us to write.

Kaiser striker  
San Francisco

\*\*\*

Hegel said, "the morning reading of the newspaper is a kind of realistic morning prayer. One orients one's attitude towards the world with respect to God or with respect to what the world is. The latter provides the same security as prayer, in that one knows where one stands."

But when I started reading my New York Times I felt only how I stood in relation to the owners of the world, unrepresented. That's why the decision to make News & Letters a biweekly is very important to me.

New subscriber  
New York

\*\*\*

**N&L BECOMES A BI-WEEKLY  
IN 1987 —  
WE NEED YOUR HELP!**  
Send your stories and your financial contributions to N&L, 59 E. Van Buren, #707, Chicago, IL 60605.

## Readers' Views

## 'PLIGHT OF THE UNIONS'

Two hundred production and maintenance workers, members of Teamsters Local 676, struck the Hoeganaes Corp. in Cinnaminson, N.J., on Nov. 1. When I took the November issue of N&L to the picket line, several of the men accepted copies, but no one would talk about the issues in the strike. I wonder if they knew what the issues are?

It seems that the more desperate the plight of the unions, the more desperate they are to control the thought and activity of their members. Isolating the strike and treating it as an "internal" matter between one corporation and "its" union is no way to build a movement. Workers need to break with these dying unions and their moribund ideas.

B.A. Lastelle  
Philadelphia

\*\*\*

As GM closes down 11 plants in the U.S. and pulls out of South Africa on the pretext of bowing to the anti-apartheid movement, 3,000 workers at two Port Elizabeth GM car plants halted production and occupied the plants, demanding representation on the board. GM responded by calling in the police and soldiers. They are no more pulling out of South Africa for "moral" reasons than they are pulling out of Detroit for "ecological" reasons. It brings into question not only where is the disinvestment movement going, but also where are the trade unions going? The UAW, particularly, is very vocal about sanctions against South Africa; but just nods its head when 29,000 of their own members are laid off.

Anti-apartheid activist  
New York

LABOR-  
RURAL AND  
URBAN

I was glad to see Terry Moon take up the subject of homework last issue... At the government hearings on changing the laws to permit homework, farming women from the Midwest testified about how they had contracted with companies to make clothing in their own homes, and found themselves living a nightmare. First they had to buy expensive industrial sewing machines, and then they found that even if they worked 18 hours a day (which they did) and had their husbands and children help them, they still made under \$2 an hour. That is why they chose to speak out against any lie that homework can be regulated and is some great thing. In these days of farm foreclosures and depression, the reality of rural women winds up having a lot in common with that of women in the inner city.

Reader  
New York City

\*\*\*

A Chinese Communist economist spoke quite candidly today on his country's international trade policies. China wants to import foreign high technology to build up modern high-scale industry in the major cities. He conceded that mechanization could create unemployment, but said this wouldn't be a problem because the government is prepared to reduce wages, hoping this will induce the surplus urban population to migrate to the less-developed countryside. There they will work in agriculture and labor-intensive industry.

This plan is the same as that effected throughout the Third World according to the dictates of the capitalist law of value/surplus-value and it's international corollary, the "law of comparative advantage." Yet this economist justified the plan as "Marxist," saying that China's theory of comparative advantage is based on the labor theory of value (just as Ricardo's was!) as against the subject-

ive-value version adhered to in the West!

A. Anilewicz  
Salt Lake City

\*\*\*

I liked the article on the "El Paso Women Textile Workers" in the October issue. The one thing that is wrong is that people do not pay 25¢, they pay \$5 to \$25 to cross the Rio Grande River. As for whether men work with us, they help us to distribute the newsletters, and to make posters when we do protests. Workers meet every Thursday to discuss the problems that week, and we file their grievances for the record. But the most important thing is to politicize the workers. We discuss with them the meetings we had during the week since not all workers can make it to these meetings.

Caritina Jacquez  
Independent Association of Textile  
Workers P.O. Box 3975, El Paso,  
Texas 79923

## 'THIS ANTI-HUMAN SYSTEM'

Did you know that the deadly metal mercury that has now settled in the bottom of the Rhine is what we have right here in Lake Michigan? In the water purification lab where I work, we detect traces of this chemical in the water every day. The mercury from the toxic wastes that companies dump into the lake becomes metallic mercury and remains in a metallic state at the bottom of the lake where it exudes atoms that enter the fish. Lake Michigan is not as polluted as the Rhine yet. But this is what this anti-human system does to all of us.

Chemist  
Chicago

\*\*\*

Lawrence Livermore Labs is planning a large expansion of their hazardous waste facilities, to be completed in 1990, and to include an incinerator that will burn substances containing trace amounts of radioactive materials. A series of permits is required, and we are demanding more information, including an environmental impact study. We need technical help to gather and evaluate information from 11 thick volumes of information that LLL has left at the library in conjunction with the first permit application. If any of your readers has knowledge in this field, we ask them to contact us. The permit process will be a lengthy one and we will need all the ongoing support and suggestions we can find.

Tri-Valley CARES  
PO Box 2781  
Livermore, CA 94550

\*\*\*

During my visit to Poland I spoke with a woman whose daughter recently gave birth. During her daughter's one and a half week stay in the maternity ward she witnessed 20 stillbirths and six cases of live births of horribly malformed children, with no eyes or no limbs... This is in northeast Poland six months after the Chernobyl disaster, when there is no more official discussion of the subject (i.e., everything is "safe" now).

But people in Poland do not have to wait for a nuclear disaster to suffer the inhumanity of the system. My uncle is hospitalized for a coronary condition. Since there is only one hospital in all of Poland that performs heart bypass operations, most needing this treatment are left to die. All of health care is a joke. You have to bribe the orderly to get linen changed once a week. The hospital staff is so overworked that without such "special" measures they have no time to care for patients.

Visitor to Poland  
California

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE

I recently returned to Korea to teach in a private college but was prevented by a decree of the Ministry of Education. I was treated like any foreigner. Foreign teachers are especially unwelcome because it encroaches on the domestic labor market. That makes a certain sense. A second reason, however, is hilarious. According to their published explanations, foreign teachers bring undesirable ideas which may "mislead" students. What an insult to the intelligence of the indigenous teachers and students! Some of the students are at this moment writing, physically and with their young blood, heroic epics to be read only in the years ahead.

Korean-American New York

\*\*\*

The present political situation here is too fluid. Remembering the February and October revolutions in Russia, we have been working for our awaited October, but it has surpassed that time. Maybe October will yet be coming soon.

Revolutionary student Philippines

\*\*\*

The scene in Malta is at present quiescent and static with the two traditional parties still in unchallenged command:

1) The Malta Labour Party (MLP) has been in office since 1971 and is the Maltese section of the Socialist International. It is thoroughly opportunist and is moving further to the right.

2) The Nationalist Party (PN), the Maltese section of the Christian Democratic International, enjoys the support of the majority of the population. It includes some rabid right-wing extremists who resemble in outlook your country's Jesse Helms; the party however, is basically centre-right.

Two minor contenders, the Democratic Party (PDM), and the Maltese Communist Party (PKM), which was set up in 1969, are too insignificant to affect the political scene...There are no other political organizations in Malta which do not purvey one or another of these reactionary ideologies, apart from a

small university student group of "green" inspiration, and Lega Proletarja.

The trade union scene is no more turbulent. Strikes or other forms of industrial action are almost nonexistent. This reflects the degree of control which the trade union bureaucrats exercise over the Maltese working class as a whole...

Lega Proletarja 3, Stuart Street Gzira, Malta



ADRIENNE RICH-DUNAYEVSKAYA DIALOGUE

I just read about your group and the work of Raya Dunayevskaya in Women's Review of Books. I am so inspired by it. It is such a different idea of Marxism from anything I ever heard before; it's not at all like the "vanguard" groups—I don't care for them at all. Please send me Raya's new book on Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution and a subscription to N&L.

N.O.W, activist San Francisco

Ed. Note: Substantial excerpts from Adrienne Rich's essay on Raya Dunayevskaya appeared in our Nov. issue. For Dunayevskaya's response, see p. 4.

\*\*\*

Like Adrienne Rich, I come from a political background of concentrating on women's interests—but anyone in contact with the world can see that this whole system is not for us; everything has to change. Of all the Marxist groups, yours makes the most sense to me.

Feminist reader Los Angeles

\*\*\*

It was exciting to meet with 13 women at a gathering called by the NYU Womyn's Center specifically to discuss Adrienne Rich's review of Raya Dunayevskaya's work. It was a very serious discussion in the context of the direc-

tion of the women's movement as it faces Reaganism. What became clear during the discussion was that the review does not mean the same thing to everyone. One view was that Rich's interest in Marxist-Humanism now meant that she was giving up women as Subject for a total (abstract) view. What I tried to stress was that, far from being in opposition, Marxist-Humanism is a pathway for Women's Liberation.

Laurie Cashdan New York

THE EXPERIENCES OF YOUTH

Reaganism sometimes feels like an incubus. I've been looking for a job for the last five weeks and it's been hard. Got nowhere but messed up. I was thinking that that is the experience of so many youth who came out of school, especially Black youth. The minimum wage hasn't gone up for five years. What can you do on those wages? You certainly can't afford a place to live in New York City. Most likely you live with your parents, who work. I am feeling the pinch of absolute poverty. There is no life for young people. It's not just a case of having to be 21 to be considered human. Age is pretty irrelevant now, because if you can't get a job (and a lousy one at that) the treatment you get is perpetual...

Unemployed and angry Manhattan, New York

\*\*\*

The youth who have been fighting the introduction of IDs in schools here are doing exactly the same as the youth in Soweto, where identification cards have been issued to "thwart" so-called outside agitators. The South Africa rulers may have learned this from American educators who were issuing ID cards in the 1970s—and they probably got the idea from Nazi Germany.

In South Africa the authorities had to close another 40 schools in November, which "wouldn't be re-opened until students proved that they were ready to return to classes." I somehow doubt that that will be soon.

Fred Shelley New York

It's very important for schools to be able to give out birth control. Two friends of mine got pregnant last year, and now they have dropped out of school. My sister, who is 19, got pregnant when she was 17. She dropped out of school too. Now she's working, but she hasn't finished high school. All you have to do is make one mistake and that's it.

High school student New York

TWO APPEALS

Each year the WRL publishes a desk calendar on a different theme. This year's calendar and appointment book is about films with themes on peace and social justice. It includes over 150 films with photos from 54 of them. Ed Asner and Ruby Dee have written introductions, and there is considerable information on books, periodicals and organizations on films. To order, readers can send \$6.95 for one or \$25 for four to:

War Resisters League 339 Lafayette St. New York, N.Y. 10012

\*\*\*

Thousands of children under the age of 16 have been detained in South Africa in recent months and many are still being held. They suffer unbelievable routine violence and their plight has added a special urgency to what are already overwhelming demands on our defense and aid work. Those demands range from funding court actions, to helping a poor family to buy a coffin, to searching prisons and police stations for missing children. Please ask your readers to help the International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa to continue its work!

Kenneth N. Carstens Executive Director P.O. Box 17 Cambridge, MA 02138

\*\*\*

AND DON'T FORGET TO PUT N&L ON YOUR HOLIDAY GIFT LIST!

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
The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
Grenadalist: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion by Raya Dunayevskaya 75¢ per copy
Working Women for Freedom by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
Latin America's Revolutions Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, by Lou Turner and John Alan 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
The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 20¢ postage
Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1.00 per copy
The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.50 per copy
Subscriptions to News & Letters Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 21 times a year \$5.00 per year
Bound volume of News & Letters (Aug. 1977 to May 1984) \$20.00 per copy

ARCHIVES

- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—A Half-Century of Its World Development A 10,000-page microfilm collection on five reels \$100
A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development \$2 per copy

BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future 294 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95 (\$38.50 hardcover)
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution 234 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 to today 1982 edition. New introduction by author 381 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao 1982 edition. New introduction by author 372 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy
Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal Life in the South and North 295 pgs. by Charles Denby \$7.50 per copy

MAIL ORDERS TO: (11-86)

News & Letters 59 East Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, Ill. 60605

Enclosed find \$\_\_\_\_\_ for the literature checked. Please add 75¢ for each item for postage. Ill. residents add 8% sales tax

Name \_\_\_\_\_ Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

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

## Black World

Southern  
Africa  
after Machel

by Lou Turner

The murder of Mozambican president Samora Machel just inside South Africa's border on Oct. 19 signalled to what desperate lengths the Botha regime is now ready to go to carry out its counter-revolutionary war against the frontline nations of Southern Africa. Nevertheless, the one P.W. Botha cannot depend on to bolster his imperialist ventures in the region is his ideological twin Ronald Reagan now that Reagan is preoccupied with his foreign policy disasters over Nicaragua and Iran.

South Africa, for its part, will have to contend with more than its own mass opposition, as was shown by the spontaneous mass outbursts in Zimbabwe and Mozambique in the aftermath of Machel's murder. African youth in Harare stormed the South African Airways office and the U.S. Embassy, while hundreds of Mozambican youth attacked the South African Trade Mission and the Malawian Embassy for that government's logistical support of South Africa and South African-backed contras engaged in destabilizing Mozambique.

## DESTABILIZATION

In September, Machel had, along with Zambia's Kaunda and Zimbabwe's Mugabe, gone to Malawi to warn Hastings Banda against providing further strategic assistance to South Africa and the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) contras several months after South Africa's pre-dawn assault on Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia. Machel was returning from another such meeting in Lusaka, Zambia with Kaunda and dos Santos of Angola that had been called to warn Zaire's Mobutu against providing material aid to Jonas Savimbi's contras in Angola, when his plane "mysteriously" crashed inside South Africa.

Only last year South Africa had declared that area a restricted zone when it set up a chain of radar stations along the Mozambican border to detect low-flying aircraft. So ominous were the indications that Pretoria's intention was not only the destabilization of Machel's government, but its overthrow, that the day before his death the *Zimbabwe Sunday Mail* carried the headline: "Pretoria Wants to Assassinate Machel." And for nearly a month leading up to Machel's death the MNR had intensified its barbaric raids on Mozambican peasants from across the Malawian border into Zambezia Province, causing more than 200,000 to flee into Malawi.

Add to this South Africa's threat to repatriate 61,000 Mozambicans working in its mines, the fact that the MNR's and South Africa's war on Mozambique costs that famine-ridden country \$4 billion annually (twice its national debt), and the fact that just before Pretoria pressured Machel into signing the Nkomati Accords in March of 1984 it supplied the MNR military aid to last it two years. Then there can be no doubt that Mozambique is the target of South Africa's imperialist drive for single power mastery of the region.

## BOTHAS' GRIP UNRAVELING?

Botha's "total strategy" for imperialist mastery of Southern Africa, however, has reached the critical point of unraveling. Not only have the Nkomati Accords been abrogated by the last two years of revolt within its own borders, but even South Africa's grip on Namibia, a country it illegally occupies, cannot be taken for granted. For while all appearances indicate that South African military forces have neutralized the guerrilla movement in Namibia, it has been done at the cost of nearly 2,500 white casualties, which in proportion to the white number of American casualties in the Vietnam War.

What will become decisive in the year ahead is what was so new in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau, when they gained independence. They not only had to fight under the whip of Portuguese fascism, but they inspired revolution in Portugal itself. They not only experienced the emergence of the new revolutionary forces of women and youth, but their leadership, whether it was Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique or Amilcar Cabral of Guinea-Bissau, attempted to "return to the source" of a philosophy of revolution.

This legacy insures that the revolutionary opposition won't stop at the masses' recognition that they might as well be in apartheid South Africa itself since they are suffering so from its stranglehold.

That is why they "demand more than just being hailed." Rather, "The dialectic of their development discloses new forms and new forces as well as the need for tracing the development, knowing from history that in the first stage of revolt, one is still not fully aware of the full might of the counter-revolution—aware, that is, that those who had the power yesterday have ways to hit back. The new revolutionaries are really fighting under the whip of counter-revolution at all times."\*

\*Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87, by Raya Dunayevskaya, p. 9. Available from News & Letters.

## Australia's Black dimension

*Bayview, Australia*—The most significant aspect of Black resistance in Australia is the land rights movement. The government of Prime Minister Hawke was elected on a platform of anti-nuke and pro-land rights, and both of these issues have been betrayed and reversed by Hawke and the Labour Party. Land rights is a struggle about the demand that areas of land (mostly in Queensland, Western Australia and the Northern Territory) be handed over to rural Black communities (actually to tribal councils) to allow an element of self-determination. This is a good place to introduce the word "Koorie." Militant young Blacks use the word Koorie instead of the ambivalent and patronizing term "Aboriginal." Koorie is their own word for themselves.

About a year ago, Hawke announced that due to "the wishes of the majority," there would be no Land Rights in Australia. Here is the rub: much of the land that was destined to be handed over has enormous uranium deposits on it. It is a "sacred site" for Hawke and his friends. They have denied land rights so that they can export uranium to Russia, and to France—a France which terrorizes the western Pacific with bomb tests.

## BLACK RIGHTS AND ANTI-NUKE

This relationship between Black rights and the anti-nuke movement is crucial. It emerged several years ago that when the British did their A-bomb tests at Moralinga (in South Australia, in the late 1950s), they only evacuated whites from the area. The Australian government, who continued to cover this up for years, totally disregarded Blacks who live in the desert of South Australia. There has been no compensation, as British and Australian governments pass the buck to each other.

The internationalism of Black consciousness is creating a dialogue between Blacks in Australia, in New Caledonia, in Tahiti and the Mururoa Atoll, in Papua, New Guinea, as well as East Timor and Vanuatu. In this, the anti-nuclear issue has been important.

Koories, both urban and rural, are speaking out against deeply entrenched racism in Australian society. They are fighting for change, and not simply for separation. There were recent riots in Bourke, a town in

northwestern New South Wales, which were ignited by the barring of Blacks from some hotels.

## UNTOLD BLACK HISTORY

Not all Australian Blacks are Koories. Australia has an untold history of slavery. In the 19th century, slaves were brought from various Pacific islands, where they had been pressed onto ships, to work in the cane fields in Queensland, and in the pearling industry. These were predominantly Kanaks from New Caledonia, who today fight French colonialism. Because their communities were situated in the Queensland cane country, they have suffered under the most racist and dehumanizing political apparatus.

Queensland has long been dominated by the National Party, which caters to the rich landowners in that state. In Queensland demonstrations are illegal, and strikes are illegal. Throughout Australia, though, the Black community is wracked by poverty. The infant mortality rate is one of the worst in the world. The unemployment rate for urban Koories is 60%, seven times the rate of white unemployment.

Black Australians are demanding an end to poverty, racism, exploitation, extermination. They are demanding and creating change, thinking and speaking about Black consciousness. And they continue to be isolated from the Left, which remains uninterested in the conditions of life and the ideas of Black Australians.

—Andrew Murdoch

## S. African activist fired

*New York, N.Y.*—Dennis A. Mumble, a Black South African refugee and trade unionist, was fired from the School for Labor Studies at Empire State College because of his anti-apartheid activities, particularly his involvement in the June 14 event. Mumble said, "I thought that I'd escaped the tyranny of racism in South Africa, but find that I am subjected to the same conditions, albeit in a different form."

He was forced to flee South Africa because of his anti-apartheid activities, and faces certain death if he returns to a white-ruled South Africa. He was also active in organizing the staff at the school, along with helping form the Black and Latino Caucus.

Before the start of the fall semester nine other faculty members were fired. Jim Shannon, one of the fired faculty members, is trying to get the union of United University Professions to initiate a grievance demanding the reinstatement of everyone involved. He said, "Our concept of unionism is struggling together. It is the concept that we teach to our students, and we would be appalled if in practice this concept was jettisoned in favor of legalistic expediency."

—Hal Stone

## Haitian Chronicle

## March for Haitian freedom

by Renan Hédouville, Correspondent

*Port-au-Prince, Haiti*—Charlot Jacquelin, a teacher with the literacy group "Mission Alpha," who was kidnapped on September 19, 1986, is still missing. Charlot Jacquelin was working with illiterate people in Cité-Soleil, a shanty-town in Port-au-Prince. He was arrested at his home at 10 p.m. by armed civilians attached to the Casernes (Barracks) Dessalines and several Port-au-Prince police. However, the government, especially the justice minister, know nothing about the case of Charlot Jacquelin. In other words, they decline all responsibility for this case of a disappearance.

On Saturday, November 7, a colossal demonstration was organized in Port-au-Prince, by several democratic and nationalist organizations, protesting against the policies of the National Governing Council (CNG), and the arrest and disappearance of Charlot Jacquelin.

Stepping off at 11 a.m. from in front of St. Joseph's Church, the demonstrators marched up to the National Palace, seat of the CNG. The demonstrators, approximately 200,000, carried placards. They also chanted slogans attacking the Haitian Army, such as: "CNG = Makout," "Down with the Makout Army," "CNG, the Nation Is Not for Sale," "Down with PREN" (Party Rallying for National Unity).

As the demonstrators prepared to return to their homes, an incident began on Rue Geffard, on the block of the headquarters of Radio Soleil (*an opposition station—trans.*). Some demonstrators threw rocks at the police, who threw tear gas and fired into the air to disperse the demonstrators. The small St. Martial Seminary, where Radio Soleil is located, was fired on several times by the police. During this incident a policeman, Lundi Jean Rosemond, was killed. He appeared to have been hit in the head by a bullet misfired by a soldier. In addition, a journalist from Radio Metropole (*an opposition station—trans.*), Jacques Jean Baptiste, was severely clubbed by the military as he was covering this event.

Eight months after the overthrow of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the embittered former Duvalierists are regrouping. A new political party, Party Rallying for National Unity (PREN) has just been formed in Haiti. It is composed of former Duvalierists: officials, spokespersons, ideologues of the fallen regime, and militia members.

*P.S.*—Because of the generalized anger against the neo-Duvalierist party PREN, the members of this party announced in a communique that they have decided to dissolve this political party. Is this a real decision or a political tactic? It is something to keep an eye on.

## STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

1. A. TITLE OF PUBLICATION: NEWS & LETTERS		
B. PUBLICATION NO. 0028-8969		
2. DATE OF FILING: November 7, 1986		
3. FREQUENCY OF ISSUE: Monthly except bi-monthly January-February, August-September. A. NO. OF ISSUES PUBLISHED ANNUALLY: 10. B. ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$2.50		
4. LOCATION OF KNOWN OFFICE OF PUBLICATION: 59 E. VAN BUREN, ROOM 707, Chicago, IL 60605.		
5. LOCATION OF THE HEADQUARTERS OR GENERAL BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PUBLISHERS: 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605.		
6. NAMES AND COMPLETE ADDRESSES OF PUBLISHER, EDITOR, AND MANAGING EDITOR: News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605; Raya Dunayevskaya (Chairwoman, National Editorial Board), 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605; Eugene Walker, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605		
7. OWNER: News & Letter, an Illinois non-profit corporation, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605		
8. KNOWN BONDHOLDERS, MORTGAGEES AND OTHER SECURITY HOLDERS OWNING OR HOLDING ONE PERCENT OR MORE OF TOTAL AMOUNT OF BONDS, MORTGAGES OR OTHER SECURITIES: NONE		
10. EXTENT AND NATURE OF CIRCULATION:		
	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. TOTAL NO. COPIES PRINTED:	7,000	7,000
B. PAID CIRCULATION:		
1. Sales through dealers and carriers street vendors and counter sales	2,047	2,015
2. Mail subscriptions	4,410	4,370
C. TOTAL PAID CIRCULATION:	6,457	6,385
D. FREE DISTRIBUTION by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies		
	243	315
E. TOTAL DISTRIBUTION (Sum of C & D):	6,700	6,700
F. COPIES NOT DISTRIBUTED:		
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted spoiled after printing	300	300
2. Returns from news agents	NONE	NONE
G. TOTAL:	7,000	7,000

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete. Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager or Owner, Michael Connolly.

12. FOR COMPLETION BY PUBLISHERS MAILING AT THE REGULAR RATES (Section 132.121, Postal Service Manual) 39 U.S.C. 3626 provides in pertinent part: "No person who would have been entitled to mail matter under former section 4539 of this title shall mail such matter at the rates provided under this sub-section unless he files annually with the Postal Service a written request for permission to mail such matter at such rates."

I, in accordance with the provision of this statute, hereby request permission to mail the publication named in Item 1, at the phased postage rates presently authorized by 39 U.S.C. 3626. Signature and title of Editor, Publisher, Business Manager or Owner.

Michael Connolly, Business Manager

**Black/Red View****Black vote vs. Reagan**

by John Alan

President Reagan's personal campaign to retain Republican control of the U.S. Senate went down to defeat in the November elections. However, political analysts have paid only scant attention to the critical role that Black voters played in the defeat of the "Great Communicator's" candidates. Instead, they have given general reasons for Reagan's failed efforts, such as the lack of national and international issues for the voters to rally around. This is pure poppycock—Reagan and Reaganism was the issue, especially for Black America.

Reagan's dream of a realignment of Southern racist, reactionary forces under the leadership of the Republican Party was halted because the Black vote in key senatorial elections sent Reagan's candidates down to defeat.

A look at the Senate races in the South, where Reagan campaigned hardest, shows:

- In North Carolina, former Governor Terry Sanford, the Democratic candidate received 88% of the Black vote and only 43% of the white vote, yet he emerged as the victor with 52% of the vote.

- John B. Breaux (D) in Louisiana defeated W. Henson Moore (R) by getting 85% of the Black vote and 39% of the white, to become the winner with 53% of the total vote.

- In Alabama, Richard Shelby (D) won over Senator Jeremiah Denton, Jr. (R) by securing 91% of the Black vote and only 38% of the white vote.

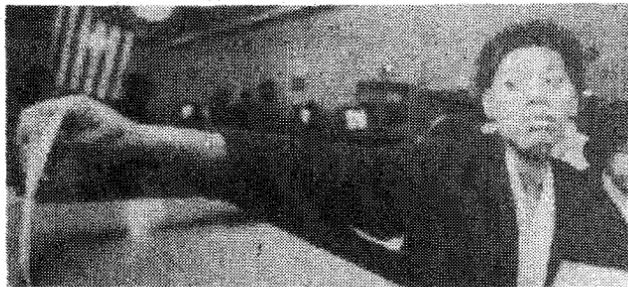
As dramatic as this was, it was placed in historical perspective by the election of Mike Espy as the first Black Congressman to come from the state of Mississippi since the end of Reconstruction, a hundred years ago. Even today, Mike Espy is only one of the two Black Congressmen to come from the deep South; the other is John Lewis from Georgia.

The Republican National Committee was well aware that the key to Democratic victory in many states was the Black vote. The Committee organized a national Republican drive to purge what they called fictitious and outdated names from the voting rolls, targeting primarily Black precincts. In Louisiana alone, the vote

purge almost reached the level of disenfranchisement, when Republicans challenged the eligibility of 30,000 Black voters until a state judge stopped it.

Though this "dirty trick" is a prime example of what the Reagan people think of Black civil rights, that Blacks gave the Democratic Party 90% of their vote nationwide, should not be construed as blind support of the politics of the Democratic Party. Black America has many fundamental differences with that Party.

The significance of the anti-Reagan Black vote lies outside the confines of bourgeois party politics. It is determined by the ceaseless movement of the Black mass struggle for freedom in the United States. Over the last six years, Black Americans, more than any



other group in this country, have presented a solid front of opposition to Reagan's retrogressionism. They have led the battle against Reagan's move to turn the civil rights clock back to pre-1960s days, as well as against the ongoing legal attempts to scuttle affirmative action.

Thus, this changed capitalist world—characterized by economic and political crises, and permanent unemployment for large numbers of Black working people—has placed the Black masses at the very cutting edge of Reagan's retrogressionism. However, the November elections proved, once again, that they are the single consistent force opposing Reaganism in this country.

This is not to say that the Black vote against Reagan is, at this moment, the beginning of a new mass movement to transform American society, but it does show the vanguard nature of the Black masses.

**South African revolutionary speaks from within the struggle**

(Continued from page 1)

have reared themselves in the '80s with a vengeance. That is something we have to contend with very earnestly in the remainder of this decade. If we continue to have people organizing as Xhosas, as Zulus, as Indians and as Coloreds, we're going to have problems.

**TRADE UNION CHALLENGE**

The unions today are much more organized, though there are very serious efforts to de-stabilize them by politically tendentious groups, who want to hijack the working class movement by striving for their own sole, authentic, representative status. Because people are better organized now and more democratic, they will be able to withstand the attacks coming from such quarters.

The new CUSA/AZACTU (Council of Unions of South Africa/Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions) federation is very explicit about not allowing sectarian interests to dominate and influence the direction that the struggle of the working class should pursue. Whilst some of the unions have been characterized as Black Consciousness, in no measure can it be claimed that AZAPO (Azanian Peoples Organization) manipulates these unions. They are quite independent.

Workers have a desire to change their lot and will join unions, because of their quest for universality. But when the time comes, whether some political organizations will allow union activity or not is going to be a serious question. How do you claim to be a workers' party, like the Communist Party, and have a trade union movement that is opposed to some of the things that happen?

We believe that any action that is taken, particularly if it has a relationship to the community and seeks community support, or is a community activity seeking workers' support, needs to be very well considered in terms of what the response is going to be from the state and the capitalist structure in South Africa. The response is going to be absolute repression, and always has been. There have been very few major strikes, stay-aways or boycotts, without loss of life. The ruling class has made Black life cheap.

If you look at what's happened at Crossroads, those people are working people, but they have been terrorized by vigilante mobs. They've been terrorized by the police and the security forces. There has been resistance to that, but our people all the time come out of it hurt.

The campaigns that have been well considered and executed with discipline, without coercion, with consultation and discussion, insuring that there are safety and protective measures at the social, legal, medical and other levels, have proved to be actions that we can look on with pride and as successes in the struggle.

We have encouraged the formation of COSATU (Con-

gress of South African Trade Unions), even though certain elements of the COSATU leadership may be diametrically opposed to our orientation. We believe that it has been one of the most significant achievements of the labor movement, and we have certainly encouraged the merger of CUSA and AZACTU. All that's left now is for these two union federations to form the union federation, which must be totally in worker control, not led by intellectuals only, and not under the influence of bourgeois, liberal elements.

**UNTOLD RURAL STRUGGLES**

However, looking at events, little struggles, little campaigns, only according to a working class analysis, i.e., working class/capital, overlooks the fact that we have a rural situation where people have been in revolt. For instance, Beaufort West which is part of the Karoo-Boland area between the Western and Eastern Cape, has had an uprising that occurred during periods of unrest in the Cape. The people there are rural workers. We don't have a Black peasantry in the classic sense because they tend to be workers for white farmers. Cradock, also a rural area township, was organized by a key figure in the UDF (United Democratic Front). In the Northern Transvaal, we've had uprisings initiated by AZAPO people.

The uprising in Kangwane against Bantustan "independence" raged furiously. The people there have been at the forefront of opposing the present regime and puppets who have attempted to deflect the momentum of the struggle by creating Bantustans, and appearing to provide channels for alternative expression, while actually being government spokesmen amongst the people.

In the Northern Transvaal, white farmers have gone to great lengths to insure their security, and have armed themselves. The youth in those areas have engaged many of these farmers in action.

**YOUTH POLITICAL EDUCATION**

There is an enormous, creative, energy within the youth, which can create a totally new character in revolutionary practice. Right now, it's tending to be deflected in many ways by the state and by liberal bourgeois elements, who need to insure that youth turn on themselves.

The townships are cut off essentially. Within a township, if you have succeeded in a particular campaign and are young, it's easy to believe that the struggle has been won. The fact is that the major method of politicization is the political slogan and the chant. This is unfortunate because the youth have been afforded no real political education and development. Largely it's been sloganeering.

That is causing massive problems, not only for

**Message of the Black Belt**

New York, N.Y.—I visited Selma, Alabama, just before the elections, with a chorus that sings "movement" songs. The Four Parts of the Movement Chorus went to "the cradle of the Civil Rights campaign," as the Black people there call the Black Belt region of Alabama, to show that many people support Blacks' right to vote in the face of the fear tactics being used against them by the Reagan administration.

The Justice Department, this year, sent an army of F.B.I. agents into the area under the guise of investigating voter fraud. The government is attempting to use the same laws that many of the present Black elected officials worked to get passed, in order to disenfranchise Black people again. For years, Blacks had requested the Justice Department investigate voter fraud in the region, but it was not until Jesse Jackson showed the power of the Black vote that Washington stepped in to prosecute and intimidate Black voters.

The chorus went there to show that Selma has not been forgotten. We sang on street corners, in front of bars, barber shops, super-markets, and in shopping malls. Wherever we went, we were greeted with the warmest friendship. Even the white spectators made encouraging comments. Black people wanted to shake our hands and cheer us on.

On Sunday, we raced from one church to another and were greeted with open arms. At the last one, the congregation was leaving as we arrived, but they turned around and went back in to hear us.

Among our songs was one from Nicaragua. The introduction to it says the people of Nicaragua want to run their own country, to have better health facilities and a good education for their children. In each congregation, the people responded to those points with amens. For a Black Northerner who had never been in the South before it was very moving.

What was also inspiring was that in the face of all the oppression, from both the white reactionaries of the South and the federal government, they respond by seeing themselves as the beginning of a turn-around, away from the repressive course of the Reagan administration.

—George Marshall

the youth, but in organizations engaged in alternative programs and activities. The very slogan, "Freedom now, education later," may have sounded revolutionary, but it is actually counter-revolutionary because it is anti-intellectual. It prevents the alternative of "education for liberation" from happening, because people say all of it is education, making no distinction that one is the state's and the other is the people's.

I know this is going to be quite controversial, because people are going to say that the youth are the most developed. That may be true at a particular level. But being able to act with a theoretical understanding, that your actions must have consequences which in turn will create new social forces that you will have to contend with—are not factors the youth are prepared for.

**WHAT KIND OF MARXISM?**

Thus, the theoretical/practical questions—the working out of a philosophy of revolution—is as imperative as the actual day-to-day, grassroots activity. The humanist approach to any analysis of our society, which we have particularly been stressing, needs to be developed, considered urgently and anew.

For a long time socialism has had an ugly, impenetrable, iron-curtain face, which it shouldn't have. In its essence, Marxism is humanist. Many who claim to be Marxist in orientation have actually removed whatever humanist aspects Marx was concerned in addressing. That makes people types of numbers, where they are objects of an analysis of society, and given a program of action as if to a blank slate.

Because ours is essentially a national liberation struggle—not a nationalist struggle—the national and social questions have to be fused. We cannot hope to engage in a struggle for national self-determination, in which once that is determined, we then begin to work toward a socialist orientation. Because the ground is not being prepared for the conditions to arise that will allow for such development, what will then happen is that the push towards a one-party orientation will become too overwhelming to deny at that point.

In Marx you'll never find justification for the one-party regimes that go under the name of socialism. For us, they are a failure. Our task is to root ourselves in the people, have a relationship to material reality and begin to develop the future country we have envisioned.

We know that the elections likely to be called for May 1987 can't mean anything for those who can't vote, except a more sustained period of struggle that demands serious reassessment and new methods of taking the fight to the heart of the ruling class.

# U.S.-Iran liaison and the need for biweekly News & Letters

(continued from page 1)

movements themselves.

As you can see from this, our final monthly issue, the voices from below include activity both within the U.S. and the world over, as we print reports directly from ongoing revolutionary movements in the Philippines, in Haiti, in South Africa. Insofar as South Africa is concerned, the Lead article by Jongilizwe reveals an affinity between the second America striving for freedom and the South African revolutionaries, as against Reagan's collaboration with the fascist apartheid regime.

It is this we are aiming to deepen, by meeting the challenge from this crisis-ridden objective situation and increasing the frequency of the publication of our newspaper from a *monthly* to a *biweekly*.

## THE "CHANGED WORLD"— FROM LIBYA TO NICARAGUA

We have been talking about the need for a biweekly

### "Shoulder-carried" weapons sent to Iran by Ronald Reagan's "peace mission"

#### Hawk Surface-to-Air Missile

The Hawk is a mobile surface-to-air guided weapon system designed for medium- to low-altitude targets. It uses a continuous-wave radar homing system and a digital automatic data processor for target identification and interception. The missile propulsion is a two-stage single chamber solid-propellant motor.

Missile length: 16.4 feet

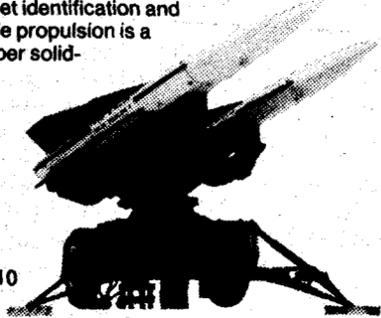
Span: 3.2 feet

Diameter: 11.8 inches

Weight: 1,382 pounds

Speed: Supersonic

Range: Up to 25 miles; altitude from 98 feet to 10 miles



#### TOW Anti-Tank Missile

TOW is an acronym for tube-launched, optically tracked, wire-guided. The TOW is a heavy assault ground-to-ground or air-to-ground guided weapon system. Steering commands are transmitted by two wires that uncoil from the missile as it leaves the launcher. Each missile has two solid-propellant motors. The first motor launches the missile and is burned out by the time the missile leaves the tube. The flight motor ignites when the missile is several feet from the launcher.

Launcher length: 87 inches

Weight: 402 pounds fully assembled (tripod, missile guidance and battery, battery assembly, launch tube)

Missile weight: From 50 to 62 pounds

Speed: 656 feet per second

Range: From 213 feet to 2 miles



N&L ever since the "changed world" of the 1980s came to one kind of climax with Reagan's foray into the Gulf of Sidra, soon to be followed by the bombing of Tripoli, including the headquarters and sleeping quarters of Khadafy.

The changed world that began with Reagan's disregard of independent countries' boundaries intensified with his illegal arming of the contras in Nicaragua. Now that a C-123 planeload of arms, with Americans in the cockpit, has crashed in Nicaragua—and not only with Hasenfus alive to tell his story, but the arms and documents revealing more—how long will it be before

Reagan attempts another of his fantastic schemes to order U.S. soldiers into that land?

To act as if this is minor, and the secret arms deal with Iran is a mystery, is escapism of the most ominous sort. The easy way to evade serious analysis of the objective events as presently seen in the secret deals between the U.S. and Iran, would be to use Churchill's rhetoric—as he was hiding the fact that he was already conspiring to begin the Cold War against Russia, when the Hot War of the Great Alliance against Nazism was still going on—by saying that Russia was a "riddle wrapped in an enigma inside a mystery." The only mystery about the sudden attempted illicit adventure between Rafsanjani and Reagan is that it was kept a secret, but even there we can get some illumination from 1) turning to the first Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Geneva; and 2) —what is really first and foremost—the inseparability of theory and practice in examining the "changed world" since Reagan engaged in summitry.

## FROM GENEVA TO REYKJAVIK— ALL THINGS FALL APART

To grasp the meaning of events, objectively and subjectively, you need to have internalized what Marx meant by history-in-the-making. Naturally—though not out of whole cloth—each generation does bear the responsibility for how history is shaped and re-shaped in its age. Dialectics discloses, if you probe deeply, the process of development, objectively and subjectively.

The meaning of the event is grounded in the event itself; your method of examining it is not just as a single event or one which you judge in a quantitative way only, but in its totality, in its class relationships, where each class has an aim of its own. Rulers make headlines

## Voices from inside Khomeini's Iran

*Editor's Note: We print below two reports from sources inside Iran today, describing the conditions of life under, and resistance to, Khomeini's regime. The first report is from our interview with an Iranian refugee newly arrived in the U.S. The second is a compilation of recent events from Iranian resistance sources.*

Tehran today has changed from being a city of four million in 1979 to a city of 11 million, many of whom are refugees of the Iran-Iraq War. People wait in lines for hours to get food rations, and at every 200 feet on that line face the security police inspectors who are there to monitor their conversations. I do not know the details of the divisions between Rafsanjani, the speaker of the Parliament, and Montazeri, who was to succeed Khomeini. But I do know that both of them are hated—Rafsanjani as the representative of the large landowners, and Montazeri as "the crazy Ayatollah" who had ordered the creation of concentration camps for women who do not wear full veils. Many women are in these concentration camps now.

In Iran you see the different forms of resistance. A few months ago, when 33,000 people had gone to see a football game in a stadium in the outskirts of Tehran, the game was cancelled; they were left without any means of transportation, and told to walk back to the city. They suddenly turned the event into a demonstration, chanting "death to Khomeini" and fighting the Pasdaran who were sent there to arrest them.

One important labor protest was at the Iran National factory when hundreds of workers were laid off this summer. They were laid off because Mohsen Rezai of the government had declared that Iran has too many manufacturing plants, and if it turns 500 of them into military production plants, then it can produce not only arms for the Iran-Iraq War but even more arms to export to other countries.

The youth, especially high school students, are not willing to go to the war. The moment the school officials aren't around, they write slogans such as "death to Khomeini" on the walls. The police kidnap youth from the high schools and send them to the war front.

because of their power to exploit and destroy; it is that military might that seeks to terrorize people, to make us believe that our fate is in their hands. In truth that is not so, and dialectics will help us see the truth. Dialectics shows the nothingness of accomplishment at the Reagan-Gorbachev summit in Geneva. It was made to appear as a great achievement but, in truth, the global crises that have brought the world to the edge reveal that the two Behemoths were simply not yet ready to launch a nuclear holocaust at that moment.

How long will that moment of acknowledged unreadiness last? It becomes imperative not to wait. It is imperative both to intensify all activities and to hold these inseparable from theory. That is why our newspaper's logo reads: "Theory/Practice." That is why we are increasing the frequency of appearance of N&L, by transforming it into a biweekly. The next issue you will receive, in January, will be the first issue of that biweekly. Time is of the essence, not just as analysis, but for action.

—Nov. 25, 1986

JAN. 23 IS THE MAILING DATE FOR OUR FIRST BIWEEKLY ISSUE. WE WILL BE PUBLISHING 21 ISSUES A YEAR, AT AN ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION RATE OF \$5.00.

You can help assure our continued existence as a biweekly both by contributing your stories for the newspaper and by making a financial contribution to help us meet the steep costs of publication.

Send your help to: NEWS & LETTERS  
59 EAST VAN BUREN,  
ROOM 707  
CHICAGO, IL 60605

There is also government pressure to take the promise of a high school diploma for going to the war.

Everywhere you go there are voices of protest. At the cemetery, which is now as large as a city, people meet each other every week. Khomeini supporters are treated as aliens and the moment they enter a family gathering, there is dead silence.

—Iranian refugee

While on the surface Khomeini's war machine continues to operate in Iran, various forms of resistance have emerged among nearly every segment of society.

- In Kermanshah, youth have fled to the mountains surrounding the region. The government is forcing their parents to pay an exorbitant ransom in return. In revolutionary Kurdistan, resistance is most pervasive. In the Marivan region, government representatives who went to summon draft-age youth faced an angry crowd from the 20 villages in the region, who forced the Pasdarans to release the youth.

- The squatters of Afsarieh in Tehran, who took over the government houses during the Revolution, saw notices on the walls ordering their evacuation. They sent the children, who immediately collected all the posters. The Pasdarans closed off the roads to starve the community and threatened a massacre if a resistance was put up. But the women of Afsarieh, armed with sticks, attacked the armed Pasdarans and, aided by the rest of the community, forced them out of the area.

- News of the celebration of May Day 1986 has recently reached abroad. In several plants, including Zamyad, Behpoush, and Iran Radiator Company, workers held their own celebrations. Workers spoke of their demands and history of struggle; they expressed their international solidarity with the Afghan workers; they commemorated a Kurdish martyr; and spoke of the memory of Haymarket 1886 in Chicago. They collected money, bought flowers and sweets, made dinner and decorated the factory. The celebration ended with the singing of the Internationale. (Information collected from several Persian sources including Rasaneh, BM Box 3004, London WC1N, 3XX England). —Neda Azad

### HOW TO CONTACT NEWS & LETTERS

CHICAGO: 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707  
Chicago, IL 60605 (663-0839)

Meeting: Thursday, 6:30 P.M.

DETROIT: P.O. Box 27205  
Detroit, MI 48227

Thursdays, 7:00 P.M.—Central Methodist Church,  
Woodward and Adams

SAN FRANCISCO: P.O. Box 77303, San Francisco,  
CA 94107 (658-1448)

Sundays, 7:00 P.M.  
3122 Shattuck Ave. (rear), Berkeley

LOS ANGELES: P.O. Box 29194  
Los Angeles, CA 90029

Sundays, 6:30 P.M.—People's College of Law Building,  
660 S. Bonnie Brae

NEW YORK: P.O. Box 196  
New York, N.Y. 10163 (663-3631)

Mondays, 7:00 P.M.—Grace & St. Paul Church, 123  
W. 71st St., Manhattan

SALT LAKE CITY: P.O. Box 8251  
Salt Lake City, UT 84108

FLINT: P.O. Box 3384  
Flint, MI 48502

PHILADELPHIA: P.O. Box 26663  
Philadelphia, PA 19141

## Two New Essays by Raya Dunayevskaya

The Myriad Global Crises  
of the 1980s and  
the Nuclear World  
since World War II

Introduction: *Overturn—Marxist-Humanism:  
A Half-Century of World Development*  
Retrospective: *Perspective: Thirty Years of  
News & Letters*

by Raya Dunayevskaya

- *Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of World Development*
- *Retrospective/Perspective: 30 years of N&L*

"The changed world of today is expressed on the one hand in the great new uprisings in South Africa, South Korea, Haiti and the Philippines, and, on the other, in its exact opposite—counter-revolution spearheaded by Ronald Reagan...It is imperative that while we conduct the fight against Reaganism on the ground of the immediate situation, we at the same time relate how precisely this objective situation demanded a retrospective-perspective of the history of News & Letters and a 1980s view of the Marxist-Humanist Archives." — Raya Dunayevskaya

\$2.00, postage included

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

## Youth

## 1980s youth see Marx as crucial

by Sheila I. Fuller

Recently I had the opportunity to attend a talk on "Youth of the 1980s, Youth of the 1960s: The Other America and the Idea of Freedom" by Raya Dunayevskaya at the University of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) and would like to share with you some thoughts I had about the talk and the reactions of several students.

One young woman at UIC, who wrote a report of the talk for a campus newspaper, *The Illini*, and who is herself involved in anti-apartheid and solidarity activities, had been very excited about Dunayevskaya's talk:

"...According to Dunayevskaya, when Karl Marx was a middle-class Prussian college student, he became bothered by the fact that there were more laws dealing with peasant theft of firewood than any other offense. His friends asked, 'What are you belly-aching about?' to which Marx replied, 'To be a radical means to grasp something at its root, and the root of mankind is man.' It was then that Marx broke with the Young Hegelians and capitalism and developed his philosophy of 'new humanism.'"

## MARX, YOUNG AND OLD, AND 1980s

Fifteen-hundred miles away, at the University of Utah in Salt Lake City, another student who had just seen the videotape of Dunayevskaya's talk was concerned with Marx's last decade. He had been watching Ali Mazrui's series on "The Africans", in which he heard Mazrui say that Marx believed Algeria had to go through colonialism and capitalism before it could develop socialism. This student wanted to know if Mazrui's statement was really true.

The audience of youth in Salt Lake City was excited to find out that far from Mazrui's claim being the truth, Marx in his last decade had been deeply examining new revolutionary possibilities in what we now call the Third World. And far from that view being a break with his past, he was actually deepening the "new Humanism" that he had developed as a youth. That relationship between the young and the old Marx which Dunayevskaya was speaking of is what they thought was crucial for solidarity activists today.

What was exciting to me in the talk and in the reactions of these youth, was that they were not only asking what is the relationship of the youth of the 1980s to the youth of the 1960s, but what is the relationship of the youth of the 1980s to Marx.

After hearing Dunayevskaya's description of the 1964 Free Speech Movement and the 1968 worker-student revolt in Paris, and how all that youth activism could suddenly disappear, you couldn't help but be jolted by her stress that "the 1980s youth have to see what is the meaning of their activity. That philosophy that will tell you the meaning, is philosophy as action, philosophy as meaning, philosophy as what will give action its direction. And for that we need to return to Karl Marx." In the 1980s, having the totality of Marx means that "you can watch the 1980s with its meaning."

## YOUTH, PHILOSOPHY AND FREEDOM

Contrary to those who put down the youth of the 1980s, Dunayevskaya spoke highly of today's youth for

30 years of  
Revolutionary Journalism

News & Letters

Only \$5.00 per year

Send to: News & Letters

59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707  
Chicago, IL 60605

## Conference disregards youth movement's meaning

New York, N.Y.—Although the leaflet for a two-part panel discussion on "Student Activism: Past! Present. Future?" carried two photos of Columbia students—occupying buildings in 1968, and in mass protest in 1985—what those two generations did and thought concretely was hard to see in the conference. Consequently, "What now?" was answered by each panelist imposing one after another favorite form of activity, at the expense of vision actually extant in spontaneous activism of students today.

While the first four speakers from the 1960s, all former SDS members, demonstrated the break each had made with the American ruling establishment, none would criticize the youth movement that failed at its peak, 1968.

Missing was the 1960s itself. Where was the Black movement-come-north, like in Harlem, where Columbia students stood with poor Black community members against the university as landlord? And it took the intervention of women in the audience—fighting for the microphone—to correct the panelists' amnesia on SDS's male chauvinist history and on women

their serious interest in a philosophy of revolution. She spoke of how the divestment movement had been sparked by the solidarity with Black freedom fighters murdered in Uitenhage, South Africa, of shanty town builders in Dartmouth who were also anti-nuke protesters in front of the Seabrook nuclear plant, of anti-apartheid activists who are also anti-war activists. And Dunayevskaya spoke of the hundreds of youth who in 1983, during her Marx Centenary tour, rushed to her lectures on the relationship of Marx's philosophy to today's freedom struggles across the nation.

Today, living in a changed world, when we are facing on the one hand Reagan and Gorbachev's drive to nuclear annihilation, and on the other, outright revolts and revolutions in South Africa, Haiti and the Philippines and protests within the U.S., a discussion of Dunayevskaya's talk and its relationship to our protests now is crucial. Would you like to order a videotape or schedule a group showing of it? Please contact us at *News & Letters*, 59 E. Van Buren #707, Chicago, IL 60605. Please enclose \$12 for copying and postage.

## Gambian youth in search of future

Banjul, The Gambia—The Gambia is said to be Africa's most stable democracy, but behind this supposed stability lies a lot of repression, fear, corruption and nepotism. Here I want to assess the education policy of Pres. Sir Dawda Jawara's 27-year-old regime and what it offers the average Gambian youth.

In 1977 the government made primary education free to encourage parents to send their children to school, especially poor farmers in rural areas. It was a bold move, but few had the foresight to assess its impact on a fragile education system without direction. With mounting corruption and mismanagement in the country as a whole, there began a dangerous decline in the quality of primary education. Books and other educational aids became scarce, furniture unavailable, and the infrastructure crumbled. Poor parents were forced to provide these to enable their children to have a chance for decent education.

There are only 10 high schools in the Gambia. The massive education drive ignored this reality, knowing full well that it would result in chaos. With 15,000 students scrambling for 1,000 high school places, it became inevitable that a high percentage had to prematurely terminate their schooling, venturing out into a hostile world with little hope, at the tender age of 14. The "Big-man's" children, on the other hand, are being sent to independent private schools where material is in abundance, and they are instructed by highly qualified "imported" teachers.

The children of the poor are virtually condemned to a life of perpetual ignorance, destitution and servitude. They remain dependent on the Big-man, who, in the Gambia today, is synonymous with the colonialists, if not worse. These young boys become houseboys, gardenhands and messengers, and the girls find themselves being used to meet the Big-man's insatiable sexual desires, resulting in numerous "fatherless" children.

Even if they get into high school, the education system makes them begin aspiring to be a Big-man themselves. Most cannot find employment after leaving school. A few bribe their way into college...

Last year the IMF asked the Gambian government to reduce the size of the civil service as a condition for a loan. Some 800 teachers, mostly from primary schools, lost their jobs. This increased classroom size further cut the already low quality of education. Even worse is an embargo on job creation in the public sector.

The youth in the Gambia have become cannon-fodder in the government's losing effort to fight an economic crisis largely of its own creation. In a nation where the class struggle is rife, everything for the

leaving it for good.

In the 1980s portion of the forum, only one panelist, Matthew Countrymen from Yale, touched on the actual things students are doing now, especially the wave of model shantytowns dotting campuses nationally, to protest each university's complicity in propping up apartheid. He related that Yale maintenance and clerical workers had been arrested, along with over 360 students, for disobeying orders to tear down the shacks.

Yet he and the other three had basically two categories of student activists: those trained to become organizers, and a faceless mass of those to be organized.

Never discussed were the concepts of freedom personified by South African youths whose ideas about the future have touched young imaginations here.

A Black student who had been involved in the 1985 Columbia blockade told me afterwards that she too was disappointed in the conference because no one among the panelists wanted to probe the meaning of today's student protests, which would in turn provide a vantage point—and critique—of the 1960s.

—Jim Mills

## Fight against U.S. war

Los Angeles, Cal.—On Saturday, Nov. 1, thousands of people marched up a mile-long stretch of Broadway, in downtown L.A., to protest the U.S.'s war against Central America. The marchers were joined by Free South Africa and anti-nuclear groups in what became a protest of U.S. aggression worldwide.

The protest was well received by the impoverished local residents who lined the streets to watch or take pictures. Especially receptive were the large numbers of Central American refugees.

The march ended in a rally at city hall, where many speakers, including American and Guatemalan Indian groups and an FDR/FMLN representative from El Salvador, gave speeches of hope and cries for justice.

To oppose the atrocities is not enough. We must fight against this horrid massacre, and this demonstration was a beautiful example of people crying out for justice and peace for their brothers and sisters throughout the world.

—High school youth

working class is a privilege. Youth have now begun asking: "What does the future hold for us?"

All the government's efforts are directed towards maintaining a class society to serve a very few. It is obvious that with youth comprising 60% of the population, any effort at socio-economic development must aim at actively involving youth in the process if it is to succeed. With increasing awareness, a larger number of youths are prepared to risk the consequences of active organization. But they really need to educate themselves better if they hope to be successful. It seems that there is a light at the end of the tunnel and the progressive international community must assist them in their search for a future.

—Foday Nyinkiling

## Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Several thousand high school and university students marched in Mexico City last month to protest "reforms" at the Autonomous University, particularly big fee hikes and the end of automatic admissions for state high school graduates.

\*\*\*

At Wellesley College in Massachusetts, 1,100 (about half) of the students boycotted classes Oct. 24 in support of 49 classmates. The 49 had been arrested for holding a blockade after the college's trustees voted not to divest fully from South Africa. After the boycott, the charges against the protesters were dropped.

## Speed-up at King High

New York, N.Y.—The big thing happening at Martin Luther King High School right now is that they are turning the school into a year-round school. The incoming freshmen will be going to school all year, and from then on all the new students will be doing that. Students will be getting out in three years.

Some students will be getting out at 16 years old, and then have to get a job. They'll probably end up at MacDonald's or Burger King or some other fast food restaurant. What I want to know is, why does our school have to be the guinea pig?

That's one reason we walked out of school last June. It was also because our old principal left and we got a new one. This new principal we never see. If I passed him in the hall I wouldn't know who he is because he's never introduced himself to us. The old principal would come and visit our classes, and he would walk you to class if you were late. This new one doesn't care about us.

—Martin Luther King students

## Why I shaved my head

Los Angeles, Cal.—I am 16 years old. I am tired of the way people treat each other in this society. That's why I shaved my head—I have no need to be accepted here. I'd rather be rejected by a society which treats people so terribly.

I went to a punk concert, but I couldn't find people there I agreed with either. People were beating each other up and throwing each other onto the stage. That was their idea of fun. People go to these concerts because we're not accepted in society. We don't agree with what society offers—but then they beat the hell out of each other. It makes no sense.

I want to learn as much as I can. I want to see as much as I can. I want to start going to protest demonstrations, see what that is about. It's time to stop putting things off.

—Maggie

## Our Life and Times

# Chernobyl on the Rhine River

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

"Chernobasel" read the placards carried by some of the 10,000 who demonstrated in Basel, Switzerland on November 8. They were protesting the giant multinational Sandoz chemical company's criminal negligence in allowing tons of toxic chemicals to spill into the Rhine River on November 1. The demonstrators were mainly high school age youth and even younger children. Some broke Sandoz office windows. They also objected to the way in which "children were used to tranquilize the public opinion" when officials ordered them to attend school as usual after the disaster despite the presence of a chemical cloud. Other signs read, "We do not want to be the fish of tomorrow" and "The fish are powerless, we are not."

When Sandoz and government officials tried to hold a public meeting to "explain" the Basel disaster on November 9, the same youth came out in force, hooted them down, sprinkled them with polluted Rhine water, and pelted them with dead eels, forcing the officials to flee.

The scope of the disaster is immense. Sandoz's warehouse fire on November 1 spilled 30 tons of agricultural chemicals and solvents plus 440 pounds of mercury into the Rhine, all because proper storage procedures were not followed. The day before, Switzerland's largest chemical company, Ciba-Geigy, sent 88 gallons of the weedkiller Atrazin into the Rhine by an "accidental leak," which it claimed would not do much harm.

Switzerland, especially Basel, contains the highest



Rhine protest: "Take Care of Our Earth"

concentration of chemical plants in Europe, and is headquarters for Ciba-Geigy, Hoffmann-La Roche and Sandoz. Because of the preponderant influence of the chem-

ical industry, which accounts for a fourth of Swiss export earnings, Switzerland never even signed the "Seveso Directorate" of the European Economic Community, enacted after a 1976 disaster at a Hoffmann-La Roche plant in Seveso, Italy which had forced the evacuation of the whole town.

Today 500,000 trout, carp and eels have been killed as well as countless smaller organisms, destroying the upper Rhine's ecosystem. Walter Herrmann, a Basel fishing inspector, stated: "The Rhine is dead. We will have to forbid fishing for at least two years and wait almost ten years for the elimination of the toxic concentrations." A whole decade of river cleanup has been wiped out.

The greatest danger, however, is the 440 pounds of mercury. If it settles on the bottom, it could transform into deadly methyl mercury which killed more than 220 people in Minamata, Japan in the 1950s.

It was the creative genius of Basel's youth who coined the slogan "Chernobasel," which in a single word summed up the global nature of a nuclear armed state-capitalism gone mad. From Bhopal to Chernobyl, from Seveso to Minamata, and from Three Mile Island to the Challenger explosion, the post-World War II world has been wracked with the destructiveness of "peaceful" technologies, even as the same officials who assure us these are safe urge us to achieve "defense" through more megatons added to nuclear missiles and now Reagan's Star Wars. In a single word, "Chernobasel," that total crisis was summed up and subjected to the withering critique of a new generation of youth.

## Yugoslav tensions

New tensions have broken out between independent intellectuals and the regime. A petition from the Committee for the Defense of Free Expression has been sent to the Federal National Assembly, openly challenging the single-party state and its "arbitrary exercise" of power. It calls for complete freedom of the press, abolition of all censorship, and an end to totalitarian laws such as those against "hostile propaganda" or "diffusion of false information." Seventeen leading intellectual and cultural figures, including the Marxist humanist philosophers Mihailo Markovic and Ljubomir Tadic, the painter Mica Popovic, and the literary writers Dobrica Cosic and Dragoslav Mihailovic, signed the petition.

## Algerian students

Nationwide student strikes in October against poor living conditions on campus and against adding "Islamic and political education" to the Baccalaureate examination have led to rioting in two cities. In Constantine, demonstrating students were joined by urban slum youth. Both downtown shops and the city's office of the ruling FLN party were damaged. In Setif, rioters also damaged Air France offices.

Different tendencies exist among the youthful protesters, some of whom are Islamic fundamentalists, with others holding a revolutionary Marxist standpoint. Some 36 students have already received stiff jail sentences in kangaroo court proceedings held immediately after the riots. These severe outbreaks follow the food riots in neighboring Tunisia and Morocco in 1984, and show that the whole region of North Africa is in a deep crisis.

## S. Korean students

Unrest in U.S.-dominated South Korea continues to deepen. When 1,700 student revolutionaries occupied Kunkook University in Seoul, South Korea in late October, they (1) openly called for the actual overthrow of what they termed the Chon "military dictatorship" and (2) demanded the withdrawal of 41,000 U.S. occupation troops and dismantling of all U.S. nuclear bases. No less than 8,000 riot police were needed to retake that university as students fought them inch by inch with homemade weapons. In the end, all 1,500 students were arrested. The government wants to sentence 1,300 of them to jail terms, while nine of their leaders face possible death sentences.

Hardly an isolated band, the Kun-

kook University students were supported by strikes at 20 other universities, which had also sent people to join the Kunkook occupation. Nor is it only a student movement. The student revolutionaries have important links to radical labor groups in South Korea's major universities. Despite the government propaganda about alleged links to North Korea, it is the genuinely independent, decentralized form of this movement, which has study groups on all varieties of revolutionary thought, including Marxist-Humanism, which illustrates its truly revolutionary character.

## Japanese miners

In November the coal mine on Takashima Island, owned by Mitsubishi Coal Mining, will be shut down. Eight hundred and seventy Mitsubishi miners, entitled to unemployment benefits, and 750 contract miners, entitled to nothing, will be laid off with no prospects of future employment. So much for guaranteed "lifetime employment" in Japan. The company town is expected to wither and die.

The miners held a sit-in in the mine-shaft, where they hung banners protesting the closure. Above the shaft, some 40 miners and their wives alternated in a sit-in inside a wooden shack. The "Internationale" played through loudspeakers across the town.

Since the high point of the 1960s, Japanese coal mining employment has dropped from 231,000 miners to 14,000—from 622 mines to 31. The Jap-

anese coal industry, in an "efficiency policy"—it is three times cheaper to import coal—plans to close half the remaining mines in the next three to four years. The Takashima miners will join other basic industry workers, from shipbuilders to steelworkers, who are now in Japan's permanently unemployed army.

## Philippines protest

One hundred thousand people converged in Manila's streets on Nov. 20 for the funeral procession for Rolando Olalia. Olalia was head of the KMU (Kilusang Mayo Uno-May First Movement) union federation of some 500,000 workers, and of the recently formed Peoples Party (Partido ng Bayan). His body was found the week before, the day after he disappeared following a union meeting. There is little doubt that Olalia and his driver were slain by a military death squad.

Lettu Villar, a KMU executive council member, spoke at the "Labor Notes" conference in Detroit on Nov. 14. He reported on hearing of the murder of Olalia, to whom the conference was dedicated:

"One hour before I left the Philippines the wife of Rolando Olalia called me, and asked where her husband was. She thought we had a meeting. I said we didn't...It was very unusual he did not call up his wife. Then I left my country...It's only last night that I learned he was shot four times in the face, four stab wounds in the body and his two eyes blown out. Still it is lucky

because his body is found. In the Philippines, it's seldom that 'salvaged' victims are found...

"Exploitation continues under the government of Cory Aquino. Of course, President Aquino is very popular. But in spite of our principled support of her government, we are very vocal in criticizing her program, especially on the issues of economics, wherein her direction is just to continue the economic program of the deposed dictator..."

"She just approved import liberalization through the new draft constitution which we will approve in February. In it is the opening of our country to all industrialized countries...In that constitution she will campaign for...is provision for continuance of U.S. bases in the country. So the question of sovereignty is there. How can we say we are a free and independent country, when foreign bases are right in our country, especially now that we are in a nuclear world? These are the very basic problems we are facing..."

Please help us as we begin biweekly publication of News & Letters. See notice page 10.

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

present.

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

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