

Theory/ Practice NEWS & LETTERS

'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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A biweekly News & Letters



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

At our News and Letters Committees Convention over Labor Day weekend, we took up many important issues going on the world over, but the most important one to me was the vote to transform our labor paper, *News & Letters*, from the monthly into a biweekly, starting January, 1987.

News & Letters began in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation. We called those activities a movement from practice that is itself a form of theory. I see a development through our 30 years. In 1980 we went from a monthly 8-page to a 12-page N&L. Now we have voted for an 8-page N&L every two weeks.

HISTORY DEMANDS A BIWEEKLY

To me, history is demanding a biweekly N&L. Reagan's bombing attack in the Gulf of Sidra led to his bombing of civilian areas inside Libya; he is a Rambo-on-the-loose throughout the whole world, and we have to show not only how to be against him, but what is the society of new human relationships we are for.

A biweekly N&L is needed, when you look at the events of revolution and counter-revolution around the world, not leaving out labor and what is taking place at the point of production. If all the strikes that are happening were reported in the bourgeois press, it would look almost like a general strike in small plants across the country. Mostly it is only the strikes against multinational corporations that are reported, because the news of strikes there are hard

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Black World

Black youth 'underclass'



By Lou Turner

Mr. Ostrowski (my English teacher) said, Malcolm, one of life's first needs is for us to be realistic. Don't misunderstand me, now. We all here like you, you know that. But you've got to be realistic about being a n-----. A lawyer—that's no realistic goal for a n-----.

The more I thought afterwards about what he said, the more uneasy it made me. It just kept treading around in my mind.... It was then that I began to change—inside. —The Autobiography of Malcolm X

A mid-summer issue of the New York Times releases the findings of a Census Bureau study that the personal assets of whites are 10 times that of Black Americans. So-called liberal politicians like Daniel Patrick Moynihan, former mouthpiece for Richard Nixon's policy of "benign neglect" toward Black America and former Virginia governor Charles Robb argue that the focus must be shifted from racism to the "self-defeating patterns of behavior among blacks" to explain what has come to be known as the "Black underclass." A more facile and insidious argument by Nicholass Lemann, writing in the June issue of *The Atlantic Monthly*, contends that the "origins of the underclass" are to be found in the flight

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On the Inside

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Women's Liberation—Deborah Morris writes on Emma Goldman's clouded legacy, p. 2; Cook County hospital housekeepers, p. 2.

Black Dimension—John Alan writes on Rehnquist's racism, p. 8; Direct report from South Africa, p. 8.

As Reagan and Gorbachev maneuver

Ongoing world revolts & economic crises challenge Superpower grip

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Chairwoman, News & Letters Committees

More than anything else, what the current big game in Washington-Moscow shows—whether you refer to the Daniloff-Zakharov case as an exchange of spies or of "citizens"—is how quickly history is forgotten and rewritten. I'm referring to what happened to the 1960 Camp David spirit of "peaceful co-existence" between Khrushchev and Eisenhower.

In a flash, everything fell through, from the skies to the earth, when Eisenhower disregarded all the peaceful co-existence rhetoric and let the U-2 spy-plane continue its flight over Russia—and on May 1, at that! Eisenhower thereby helped Khrushchev achieve his greatest victory: Mao was forced to delay his international challenge to Khrushchev and line up in pretended international solidarity along with the other 80 Communist Parties at the International Congress in Moscow.

Now, 25 years later, we see a repetition of the same polar confrontation, with the names changed, Reagan for Eisenhower and Gorbachev for Khrushchev. And it's

a much more dangerous world today—a changed world. Reagan's retrogressionism has so deadened bourgeois thought itself that there is no whisper of dissent either from academia or the media, much less Congress; technology has become a living monster that forces us to face the threat to the very survival of civilization.

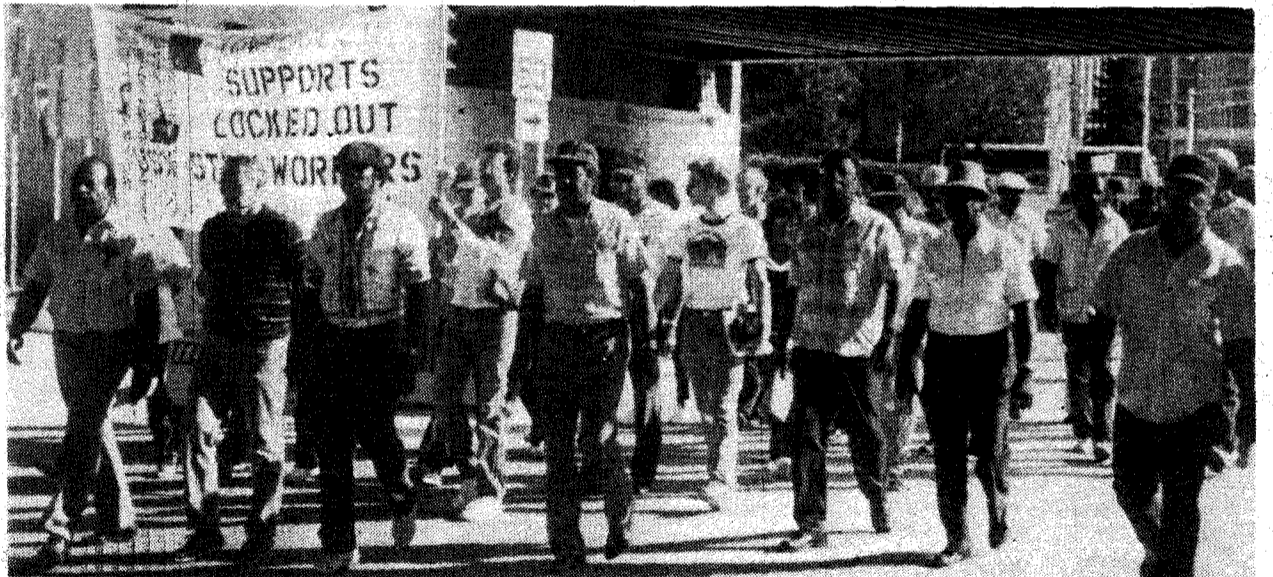
The changed world that Reagan retrogression brought to a new barbarism with his foray into the Gulf of Sidra, followed by the bombing of Tripoli and the living quarters of Kadafi, had even his NATO allies questioning him when his outreach declared SALT II "null and void", as he continued with his empty rhetoric about the "evil empire" whenever it came to any talks with Russia about disarmament.

If the Chernobyl nuclear power disaster led him to think he could sweep every imperialist act under the rug—all the allies sang in chorus against Russia over the horror—the illusion did not last long.

What is deeply inherent in Reagan's retrogressionism is his effort to turn world capitalism away from what was attempted by it when the Depression threatened its very rule—i.e. the New Deal. Not only is that characteristic of Reagan's two terms in office,

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USX workers and supporters march in Gary. See labor, pp. 3 and 4.



News & Letters photo

An in-person Marxist-Humanist dialogue

India's new voices of revolution

New Delhi, India—It was an exciting experience indeed to visit India in August 1986, at a time when the crisis in Indian society has seen the development of new revolutionary movements. Women's Liberationists, peasants, oppressed nationalities and students each contribute in their own way to this struggle in which both centuries old traditions and the ramifications of global capitalist development—automation—are being fought at one and the same time.

Our Indian friends had organized a number of forums for us to speak on Marxist-Humanism to which large audiences came. It was the totality of these new movements which are indeed undertaking a ruthless critique of so many aspects of Indian society—from alienated Man/Woman relations, to a critique of religion and caste, from a rejection of vulgar Communism and "vanguard parties to lead" to their critique of "scientism" and the question of paths to revolution in Third World countries—that resulted in the most serious type of dialogue.

While we were in India, women telephone workers in Delhi went on wildcat strike on Aug. 22 after a member of Parliament, M. Sethi, showed up at midnight at the central telephone headquarters with his armed guards,

and began to physically harass an operator because a call had been disconnected. The following day hundreds of the mainly women workers held a sit-in, "gheraoed" (sequestered) management, and cut off most long distance service to the nation's capital, all the while demanding both action against Sethi and exemption for women from night work.

DIALOGUE WITH WOMEN

Many from the Indian women's movement were very interested in a dialogue with us as part of their own working out of revolutionary perspectives for India. The Centre for Women's Development, which we visited, sponsors research by activists who work with peasant women, miners and women construction workers, and who, at the same time, want to document these struggles as a way of contributing to the history of the Indian women's movement.

At the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library nearly 60 feminist intellectuals and activists showed up to hear our presentation on "Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution." The audience included people from the three major women's centers, the Centre for

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Review: Emma Goldman's clouded legacy

by Deborah Morris

Emma Goldman, anarchist, feminist, orator and writer, has long been a heroine of the Women's Liberation Movement for daring to bring women's issues into the realm of radical politics. This reverence, coupled with the recent discovery of Goldman's correspondence with her lover, Ben Reitman, has resulted in two books which look at the tension between the personal and political in Goldman's life: *An Intimate Life* by Alice Wexler, and Candice Falk's *Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman*.¹

In her autobiography, *Living My Life*, Emma Goldman looked at her 30 years in the U.S. "on the firing line" and questioned whether they had "served only to fill my inner void...or was it really the ideal that dictated my conscious course?"² The focus of Falk's biography is on the "inner void" and love as the motivating force in Goldman's life.

TREATS REVOLUTION AS SECONDARY

While there is a lot of information about Goldman's life as an anarchist, it is the sexually and emotionally explicit Goldman/Reitman letters that form the core of the book. Falk regards revolution as such a secondary element in Goldman's life that she makes such statements as, "she threw herself into supporting the Mexican Revolution as a means of diffusing the pain of her separation from Ben."

Such an appalling notion that makes personal pain the main determinant of revolutionary acts belittles the fact that Goldman was an uncompromising revolutionary who was imprisoned numerous times for her support of strikes, free speech, revolutions, birth control and homosexuality, as well as her opposition to World War I.

At first glance, Wexler's biography appears to be more politically serious in that it not only explores the alienation of Goldman's early years as a motivating force in her political development, but also sees the important influence of the revolutionary movement from Chernyshevsky's *What Is To Be Done?* to the Haymarket martyrs.

Wexler also has a sharp political critique of Goldman in seeing that she reduced revolution to a question of personal "will," the notion that an individual had only to renounce this society and live according to a revolutionary ideal. Such a concept of revolution meant that Goldman often accused women and workers of being responsible for their own oppression. Another result was that when she was deported to Russia during the Palmer Raids period, she left no theoretic ground or organization for the movement to build on.

But Wexler's analysis doesn't go far enough. *An Intimate Life* ends with Goldman's deportation in 1919 and never takes up the implications of Goldman's support for and then renunciation of the Russian Revolution that clouds her political life in exile.

CHANGED CONCEPT OF REVOLUTION

Instead, Wexler lamely concludes that perhaps if Goldman had joined the IWW or hadn't isolated herself from the women's movement she might have left something more concrete for this generation. What Wexler and Falk both miss is that Goldman never understood that the Russian Revolution changed the whole concept of revolution—that the activity of the Russian masses thoroughly disproved her notion of revolution as the he-

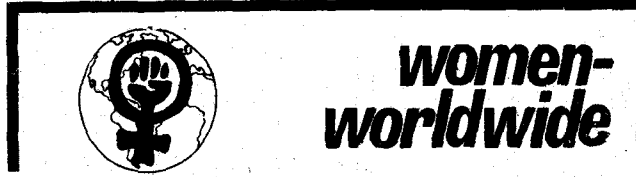
roic individual. It was Goldman's inability to work out new philosophic and theoretic points of departure in relation to this mass movement that most clearly illuminates why her legacy leaves us no clear direction.

In the same way, neither Wexler nor Falk is able to offer us any new points of departure through their analyses of Goldman's life. The world has changed since Goldman's era, bringing the new moment that our own Women's Liberation Movement represents with its challenge to all the old concepts of revolution. Not only have we said that the personal is political, but we have asked what happens after the revolution and how can we prevent the transformation of revolutions into their opposite? What is the relationship between organization and spontaneity?

Because both authors are stuck in their old notions that Marxism is equivalent to the Second International or the vanguard party, they, like Goldman, fail to recognize the challenge to the very concept of revolution posed by a movement of their age which could point a new direction for new generations of revolutionaries.



A clerical worker on strike at Wayne State University in Detroit serenades fellow strikers on the picket line. Their strike ended when workers accepted the university's compromise by a narrow (3 vote) margin. In another strike, Detroit Association of Educational Office Employees, most of whom are school secretaries, have vowed to stay out until a 10% pay increase is offered. Teachers and administrators from Detroit Federation of Teachers as well as some members of the Board of Education, are supporting the strike.



The family of union activist Karen Silkwood, who was killed in 1974 while driving to meet a *New York Times* reporter to document safety violations at the Kerr-McGee Cimarron plutonium plant, has agreed to accept \$1.38 million in settlement of their lawsuit charging the company with responsibility for the harassment and actual nuclear contamination of Silkwood. The company denied any responsibility, but wanted to avoid a new trial scheduled after a circuit court reversed the \$10 million in punitive damages awarded the Silkwood children by a federal court jury in 1979. Kerr-McGee currently faces multi-million dollar lawsuits resulting from an accident at its Gore, Okla. plant, which sent toxic fumes into the air, killing one worker and injuring other workers and area residents.

In the third week in July a demonstration and rally were held in Seoul, South Korea to protest the sexual torture and imprisonment of a Korean woman factory worker and activist, In Sook Kwon. The "National Rally to Expose Torture, Sexual Torture and Red-Bait Fabrication" was violently interrupted by police with 12 opposition leaders put under house arrest. In New York City on July 28 another rally was held where over 40 people protested Kwon's detention and torture.

Information from the New York Nichibei

In late September, a group of Pakistani women demonstrated in front of the Parliament in Lahore to protest the new "family laws" being considered, while across from them Islamic fundamentalists shouted: "Do not accept the demands of the shameless unveiled women." Hina Jilani, a Pakistani feminist active in the Women's Action Forum, stated that, "Women have always been the greatest sufferers in the enforcement of their rights in this country."

We mourn the death of labor activist Florence Reece, who wrote the song, "Which Side Are You On?" during a bitter Harlan County miners strike in 1932. She wrote the song following a raid on her home by thugs looking for her husband, Sam Reece, a leader of the National Miners Union, who was blacklisted for his activity. The song also became an anthem of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, with new lyrics written by James Farmer.

50 years after Flint sitdown full 'herstory' still missing

Flint, Mich.—Over 600 UAW members and retirees heard Women's Emergency Brigade founder Genora Johnson Dollinger challenge "official" history Aug. 2 at the 50th Reunion of the 1937 Flint Sitdown Strike participants. Her talk aimed to correct historian and sit-downer Henry Kraus' 1947 book *The Many and the Few*. She showed that women's participation in the strike was not only a historical "first" but was genuine mass creativity and self-development, as against the "updating based on new archival material, including the women's role" announced by Kraus in his talk.

Here Dollinger told the events of 1937 from the vantage point of today: "The Women's Emergency Brigade was formed the night of the battle of Fisher #2, when the Women's Auxiliary held an emergency meeting (and it was ten times more difficult for women to participate at all, what with kids and housework). Fifty women signed up. We agreed to the following qualifications: to be ready 24 hours a day; to accept all assignments; not to be hysterical; to stand in front of the men if shooting broke out.

"The Flint Women's Auxiliary, 1000 women with no office or telephone, had been holding classes in labor history, running a child care center from 9 AM to midnight, and a first aid station with nurses. We made sandwiches, held dances, sold raffle tickets, and picketed...Years later, the women's movement discovered our 'firsts,' which we had not ourselves appreciated until then. We had not been expected to declare war in our own way, and to discover ourselves as new women. As one said, 'Just being a woman isn't enough. I want to be human and think for myself.'"

Press reports of the reunion ignored all this and concentrated on the third speaker, Victor Reuther, who, though "militant" against the new Saturn agreement, pictured the UAW, then and now, as welcoming criticism and dissent from rank-and-file members!

What none discussed was the battling political tendencies within the movement, 50 years ago and today. No one mentioned that Kraus' "update" gives all organizational credit to the Communist Party. For the Left, world-wide, 1937 was tremendously significant. To recognize the women of Flint, 1937 as participants, but then to leave them out of that era's battle of ideas, is once more to limit them to something less than full, thinking participants.

—Susan Van Gelder

Cook County Hospital

Chicago, Ill.—I work in a hospital, in housekeeping. I've been at this hospital almost 10 years. There's too much work. I have to clean 54 examining rooms and 10 physicians' rooms on my shift.

When I said that was too much work for one person, my supervisor said that was what the assignment was and that they had done a study that said you should be able to clean a room in 2½ minutes. That means you dust, mop the floors, clean the examining table, wipe down the mirrors and clean the sink in 2½ minutes.

We have a union but it's just there to take your money. A couple of people have filed grievances with the union and things changed for awhile but it's back to business as usual. People are tired and overworked; they can't leave because jobs are so hard to find so they feel they have to stay even when they don't want to.

Here housekeeping is under an outside contractor. One contractor would only give you soap to clean with—no disinfectant—only bleach and that was only sometimes, even for rooms that had patients with communicable diseases like tuberculosis.

At another hospital I worked at they gave us separate cleaning supplies for patients with tuberculosis or AIDS, and when these patients left, their rooms were completely disinfected—even the curtains and mattresses were removed and treated. They don't do that here, you don't even have time to wipe the bedrails really good where patients have bled or vomited or whatever.

The service that has the contract now has a lot of chemicals that seem to affect your breathing. The company gave Health Service a list of chemicals they use and what they can cause, like a rash, etc. If what you come down with isn't on the list then they claim it isn't from work. When I'm at work I develop a cough but when I'm off for a couple of days it goes away.

Some of my co-workers were talking about writing George Dunne, head of the department in charge of county hospitals about conditions here. I didn't see any reason to since he'll probably say he has no knowledge of any problems, just like he did in a TV interview I saw.

—Sister

Oakland Hospital strike won

Oakland, Cal.—When five years ago Paracelus Corp. took over the management of Oakland Hospital they promised there would be no great changes. Since then, however, they have fired (or caused to leave) LVNs and nurses aides, the porters and other staff. Those who remain are so overworked that when we go home at night we don't have the strength for anything.

One housekeeper used to cover one floor of the hospital. Now each housekeeper does two floors and also the porters' jobs: taking out trash, washing floors...Nurses would never leave their stations before, now they have to run to pharmacy, run elevators, deliver newspapers, etc. That means nurses are not available when patients need them.

So when contract time came and they asked us to go yet another year with no raise (we have had no raises in three years!) 150 housekeepers, clerks and technicians in Local 250 of the Hospital and Institutional Workers Union, went on strike Aug. 11. They say they can't pay a 3% raise but look how they treat the scabs: pay for their cab (or plane fare and hotel) to come to work, provide them free food, bend work rules for them. The company says we don't care about patients, but we do. The patients suffer when we are so overworked.

—Striking workers

Ed. note. The strike was settled and on Sept. 18 the housekeepers went back to work. They won the promise to hire more staff and a 5% raise.

Find out more about Marxist-Humanism, see the literature ad page 7

Rally in Gary for USX strikers

Gary, Ind.—About 500 people gathered here on Sept. 27 to rally in support of the steelworkers locked out since Aug. 1 by U.S. Steel (USX). The company is demanding increased contracting-out of work and is seeking wage and benefit concessions of \$3.50 per hour. The rally and march to the company gates was called by "Unions United Against Concessions." Signs in the crowd asked "Will your union be next?" Yet the Gary organizers tried to narrow the support rally by asking Gary police to remove all persons selling leftist literature. There were steelworkers from Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Ohio, and Pennsylvania, as well as AFSCME members from Duluth; Chicago Tribune pressmen on strike for 14 months; Hormel workers from Local P-9 who vowed to continue their struggle against the horrible work rule changes in their contract.

Many speakers told of their local struggles against corporate greed. A Black woman worker from the Hammond Valve Co. spoke of how all the workers in her small plant have been replaced by scabs since they struck in June. They are limited to five pickets, have been beaten by the police and jailed. She said, "If a law says scabs can go in and take my job after I strike because of a 58% wage reduction, then that law is wrong."

Workers from a Detroit manufacturing plant brought gas masks for the Gary steelworkers: they said they'd rather give support in the midst of the battles on the picket line than in food relief later on.

As against still arguing that "Buy American" would solve the steel industry's problems, one former steel-

worker told me, "It's an easy answer to blame someone different. But we have to recognize we're living in a global world. We used to bring the slaves here. Now we send the work out to our slaves all over the world."

Synovia Wingate Freeman of the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, which represents the TWA strikers, explained that the support her union had received from others in the labor movement had given her a glimpse of the power which working people have if they would stick together. "Management thinks unions are too divided. But if they keep pushing, they will awaken a sleeping giant until we—as one—say 'Enough!' because that is the history of labor." —Marie Dignan

One contingent at the rally had come from Youngstown, Ohio. After their mill shut down five years ago, they formed a new organization which they call the Youngstown Solidarity Club.

One former steelworker said, "We've stopped some sheriff's sales of workers' homes. We helped organize the Visiting Nurses Association into Solidarity Local #1. We've done some strike support work."

"Because we don't have elected officials, the authorities get real freaked out. They are naturally paranoid anyway. But they get real intimidated when they can't figure out just how strong we are and who's in charge."

"It may be that the AFL-CIO is just outmoded—outlived its usefulness, and we need something new. This is what we've been doing in Youngstown." —Dave Park

Don't buy Hebrew National

New York, N.Y.—We have been on strike against Hebrew National Foods since June 13. There are 220 of us out here picketing everyday. Hebrew National gave us ten days notice, then shut down and moved to Indiana. They were supposed to give us six months notice according to the contract.

When we went into negotiations in May, the company demanded a three dollar an hour wage cut. We were making \$10.76 an hour. They wanted to take back two weeks vacation, three sick days and cut our COLA. We offered them a two-year wage freeze. Then they told us that even with the concessions, they only had work for 69 workers! The company had no intention of keeping this plant open no matter what we agreed to.

Hebrew National was not losing any money. They make \$120 million a year. They even told the press they are doing fine. They are just plain greedy.

We are 100 percent united on this picketline. Most of us have between 20 and 25 years with the company. Some have over 30. We all have the same feeling: if the company doesn't want to pay us, they can get the hell out of here. There is no sadness here. We want to work, yes. But be their slaves? Never.

Local 174, Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) has tried hard to support us. Now they are in federal court. But the plant the company ran away to in Indiana has a contract with the UFCW, for only \$5.10 an hour. The International should defend all workers, not take away jobs from one to give to another!

And the government is against us too. They are paying Hebrew National 40% of that \$5.10 wage under some government work program.

We will not give up our fight to stop Hebrew National from walking away from New York. Help us in that fight!
—Hebrew National strikers

SF mechanics vs. piece rate

San Francisco, Cal.—Automotive Machinists (Local 1305) are fighting the snowballing demand for concessions and cutbacks. Three dealerships, including British Motors, the one I work at, pulled out of the San Francisco Car Dealers Association with the objective of returning to a flat rate (piecework) system.

Our shop walked out on July 9 and went back under the old contract on Aug. 8, hoping our differences could be mediated. We struck a bargain because people were so demoralized when they found out nothing was being negotiated. The union was intimidated by management. British Motors is no longer demanding to go to flat rate but the strike continues at the mega-dealer here, the Autocenter, where the company is trying to hire scabs under flat rate.

The real thing that hurt us in the strike is the bureaucracy of the union. When we pushed to get a rank-and-filer from our own shop in on negotiations, the company said OK but the union said no, that it was illegal. In the negotiations they just kept taking "no" for an answer instead of standing up to them the way a rank-and-filer could. The company keeps raising the productivity issue to hold "flat rate" over our heads. We fought too long and hard for the 40-hour week to have that reversed.

We have to have more discussion between stewards and rank-and-filers in every shop so that we don't have an ambivalent voice. I don't care how long the present leaders have been in the union, or how good they are, there has to be grass roots movement in the core of each local.
—Auto mechanic, San Francisco

'Lady Beth': workers' play



Chicago, Ill.—Six former steelworkers who lost their jobs when Bethlehem Steel's Vernon Mill closed down in California in 1982, began a national tour here in mid-September with a unique kind of theater called "Lady Beth: The Steelworkers' Play."

The six tell their stories: Richard Carter worked for 24 years as a crane operator; Cruz Montemayer was a pit boss in the electric furnace for 37 years; Hermes Paiz was a bolt-maker operator for 33 years; Tony Garcia was a threader and die setter for 35 years. These four are living on scant pension. Lloyd Andres worked as a burner and missed pension benefits by eight months. The youngest of the six workers, Frank Curtis, worked on a hot bed for two years.

At the end of their stories, the audience is told that Act II is their turn. The floor is opened for questions and free discussion—with the performers and with each other. The evening I saw the play, dozens of hands shot up. One woman rose to ask if the workers, knowing what they do now, would have done anything differently, like accept more concessions? Those on stage roared an instantaneous, "No!"

A man rose to say he, too, had worked for steel in Chicago for years. He described the broken-down streets of South Chicago and defied anyone to say there is no need for steel. "That is like looking at the hungry people in this land and telling the farmers there is no need for the food they are raising but cannot sell!"

Another talked of how he had waited to grow up to be a worker, and how he had "lost his innocence." "The mills," he said he had learned, "are not run by people who want to make steel, but by people who want to make money. They will go wherever they can make that—including into drugs." He got a big hand.

So did the woman who said it was time for "people like us to start running things ourselves." And the young Black man who said we need "radical solutions to save ourselves."

But when one woman got up to say we could help find a solution by boycotting anything not made in the U.S., an older man reminded the audience that "40 years ago we dropped a bomb on Japan, and it is time we learned that we live in the world and not in one country," while another pointed to the need to stop condemning workers in other countries who are getting starvation wages and put the blame where it belongs.
—Olga Domanski

For more information on Lady Beth, contact Theatre Workers Project, 465 Gloriosa Drive, Los Angeles, CA 90065.

Homework: legal sweatshop

by John Marcotte

For the first time in 50 years, the boss can now give you work to do for him at home, under the Reagan administration. If you work in knitwear, garment, buckle or word processing, homework is now legal. The trial balloon was in 1983, when knit goods made at home were exempt from that part of the wage and hour law.

The prohibition of homework was hard fought for by the American labor movement, specifically to prevent child labor and the worker, isolated at home, from being defenseless against the boss. Now the door is open, soon all homework will be legal.

Some might say this legal change doesn't change anything, it just accepts what's been going on anyway. I know women who, for the past 12 years, have been sewing for the boss in their apartments, on their own machine, paying their own electricity—and making less than minimum wage on piece-work. This one woman works for her son, he's the sub-contractor. She feels this way she can watch her grandchildren, cook, tend to the house, while she works. The other side of this is, her work never stops.

OUTLAW SWEATSHOPS

One thing for sure, the last decade has seen a veritable explosion of basement and storefront sweatshops which certainly don't recognize any wage and hour laws, pay Social Security or disability or anything. In fact, the Reagan Labor Department has used this as their specious argument for knocking this hole through the laws: since the situation has gotten out of hand (isn't it because they haven't enforced the existing laws?) they say they legalized homework so they can have records and start to enforce wage and hour laws!

Let me share my experience with homework. Where I worked a few years ago, the boss for years had been subcontracting buckle and button assembly to a few workers and foremen (all union members) who also subcontracted some of this work to other workers in the factory. These key men had a number of machines in their basements, where they sweated undocumented workers for a miserable wage.

I remember one Filipina woman who worked hard at her machine all day in the factory for wages so low, she would gain the favor of the assistant foreman so he would give her extra work to take home—the company lent her a foot press. There was a lot of this. These key men would get family and friends hired too, and then give them take-home work at night.

EXPLOITED BY CO-WORKERS

A worker by day, the worst kind of exploiter by night, these union members went to meetings to spy on us—they didn't give a damn about the contract, but about the boss' favor, as they drove around in the latest cars, bought big new houses, all kinds of gold around their necks—all from the sweat of their fellow workers. In fact, these key men, and the family and friends they favored, had an interest opposed to ours to protect.

This illegal—now legal—subcontracting was our constant grievance to the union. How could we be working next to a guy who, at the end of the day, would fill his car with our work? The assembly departments lost their over-time, and had lay-offs, because "there was no work!" This take-home work was the biggest obstacle to unity and solidarity in the shop. That and the union's complicity, is why our starting wages stayed at \$3.65 an hour through three contracts.

Now this is what the Reagan administration has just legalized. Like with the two-tier wage, there is more at stake here than meets the eye. The legalization of home sweatshops, like the two-tier wage, is another tactic to try to divide labor. Reagan's legalizing the sweatshop will not do away with it.

Why no Rouge Steel strike?

Detroit, Mich.—When our Ford Rouge steel contract expired at the end of July, it was extended for two months. In July, our UAW Local 600 officers were talking about striking the entire Ford Rouge plant if that's what it would take to get a fair contract.

Now, two months later, you don't even hear the word strike, and we don't have any idea what is going on in the negotiations. We've read in the newspaper that Ford is demanding a \$3-an-hour wage cut, and there are rumors that at least 400 steel workers will get the ax.

Some workers are saying that the Local 600 officers are trying to extend the contract until next year, when the whole Ford-UAW contract expires. The thinking is that if the union leaders agree to a concession contract for the steel workers, that they would lose the union elections coming up.

We know that if a contract is negotiated, it will be a concessionary contract. We just don't know how much will be given away. We also know that if left to us, we would turn it down.
—Rouge Steel Worker

As we go to press, Ford Rouge UAW local 600 and Ford management are meeting on the Rouge Steel contract following an agreement on Sept. 30 to extend the contract on a daily basis. The rank-and-file steelworkers still do not know a single demand or concession that the UAW is putting on the table that will affect their lives, employment or working conditions.

Mine Mill: Canadian labor radicalism

Mine Mill: The History of the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers in Canada—Since 1895. By Mike Solski and John Smaller. Ottawa: Steel Rail Publishing, 1985. \$21.95 cloth; \$16.95 paper.

Mine Mill is a partisan, but quite thoughtful, book written from a rank-and-file perspective. Focusing primarily on the Canadian section of the International, but incorporating substantial material relating to the parent body in the U.S., Mike Solski (a long time Ontario smelterman and Mine Mill official, and a historian) and John Smaller (a Manitoba-born journalist who did much work for the union) indicate they've written this book to "succeed in alerting working people, who are always the true victims of repression, to the strength of the forces that may be brought to bear against them and the necessity of maintaining their own principles and their own organizations." (p. 161)

A substantive flow of vigorous and dramatic history is presented in an orderly, full, and lucid fashion: the development of the democratic and militant Western Federation of Miners in the blood-dimmed U.S. Rocky Mountain hard-rock mining districts in the latter 19th century; its spread into Western Canada and eastward; homegrown radicalism in both countries—Populism,

California winery strike

St. Helena, Cal.—Over 2,000 winery workers throughout California's central valley (Local 186 Winery, Distillery and Allied Workers Union and Local 45 Winery Workers Union) are on strike against the Winery Employers Association. The strike began at Christian Brothers on Aug. 18. We are asking people to boycott them along with Franzia, Bronco, Charles Krug, Almaden, Gibson and now Gallo. Strikers went out at Gallo on Sept. 16.

They want to cut our wages fifty cents an hour and reduce their contribution to our medical from 90% to 80%. They want our contract to expire at the end of March when we wouldn't have any bargaining power. Now it expires Aug. 1, the date we set because of the critical harvesting period. We want to keep what we've won in the past, because once you get those benefits taken away, you never get them back.

Management has "scorned and abandoned" us like it says in your headline quoting Haitian youth. They are crying for relief but won't open the books. What's involved is a national pastime of takeaways—whether the company needs them or not. They want to make our pension a token one. A woman who has worked here since 1947 can't retire because now they are trying to cut medical altogether once you leave.

Solidarity was the concept of the union in the U.S. since the '30s and the head bashing days when the unions stuck together. What happened to the concept of solidarity? I've been in lots of union meetings and haven't even heard the word in years. I get a great feeling when people come and support our picket line. I hope people will help us by boycotting these wineries.

—Wine maker on strike

What casino strike reveals

Philadelphia, Pa.—What happened in Atlantic City Sept. 16-17 when 11,000 members of Local 54 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International struck 11 hotel-casinos? During the 35-hour strike, Local 54 members ignored two court orders, one which the union had agreed to limiting the number of pickets at each casino entrance and a second ordering them back to work.

Local youth, unemployed and other workers joined strikers and attacked casino property. Union officials quickly agreed to a new contract far below their original demands, reportedly providing for 10- to 20-cent hourly increases, a two-tier wage system and a reduction in employer contributions to severance pay.

The bourgeois press unanimously pointed to the defeat that this new pact represents, but for me, even through their muddled reporting, something more than a labor dispute emerged. The strike was a catalyst for a broader rebellion against the casinos as symbols of wealth and oppression in Atlantic City.

Gambling was approved in Atlantic City ten years ago and 37,000 work in 11 multi-million-dollar casinos. Yet in Atlantic City, hotels and luxury condominiums rise along the boardwalk, but working and poor people face a critical housing shortage, a serious crime problem and streets littered with garbage. Parking lots, rather than affordable housing, are constructed on vacant land. Even those who condemned the rebellion acknowledged the frustration, anger and resentment among the city's residents.

A striking bartender quoted in *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (9/17/86) said, "Look around you. The only places that look nice are the casinos. The people are not happy. All you have to do is look around and you see why. This is the people venting their anger for the first time in eight years. This is Atlantic City, man." Did the union leadership settle so fast for so little because what they had intended as a strike over wages had become something more and gotten out of their control?

—B.A. Lastelle

frontier syndicalism, socialism; relationships with its progeny, the Industrial Workers of the World and the akin One Big Union; consistent employer recalcitrance through the eras joined with frequent attacks by government; a waning away and near death in the 1920s; the revival of IUMMSW in both the U.S. and Canada in the mid-1930s; its role in the Congress of Industrial Organizations and the Canadian Congress of Labour; the World War II "boom" and post-war recession; the rise of Cold War fear and hysteria, with the Taft-Hartley Act in the U.S. and comparable attitudes in Canadian governmental quarters and, in this chilling atmosphere, the expulsion of the always radical IUMMSW from the CIO and CCL on charges of "Communist domination"; mounting raids from other unions—especially the Steelworkers; legal attacks and waves of cruel repression from the U.S. government in the 1950s and early 1960s, with Canadian ramifications; and the eventual 1967 merger of an IUMMSW reduced in size, but retaining most of its Western locals in both countries and all of its spirit, with the Steel union which by this time had a more enlightened leadership. (A minority component of the old Sudbury Local 598—the 2,000 workers at Falconbridge Nickel—stubbornly refused to merge and continues to function quite effectively as Mine Mill.)

The authors do not neglect the historic Mine Mill film, *Salt of the Earth*, filmed in 1953 in New Mexico, still widely shown today, and now available on video cassette (Voyager Press, Los Angeles, 1986). *Mine Mill* also contains over 170 photographs encompassing the better part of a turbulent century.

Those really familiar with Mine Mill were aware that it was dominated by its militant and frequently visionary rank-and-file, grouped in local unions which had a strong sense of grassroots identity and autonomy—locals which were community organizations deeply involved in many issues of social concern and with union halls which were almost always broad community centers. (And the first international to grant autonomy to its Canadian membership was IUMMSW.) *Mine Mill* makes it convincingly clear that the real issue, as far as the corporations and the governments and the raiders were concerned, was not really "Communism."

"Today," the authors ponder, "there are still some who think that, since history records successive ebbs and tides in the life of the Western Federation of Miners and Mine Mill, the union will rise again out of its ashes, in youthful freshness and vigour, and once more be the legendary union of hard rock miners everywhere." (p. 160) Whether or not that appealing possibility comes to fruition, it is clear that the hard-won accomplishments of the WFM-IUMMSW will live on and that its traditions, like Joe Hill, will never die.

—John R. Salter, Jr.

VNA takes on United Way

Chicago, Ill.—The Visiting Nurses Association (VNA) nurses are in the tenth week of our strike (see Aug.-Sept. N&L). We have made two offers to settle the strike and gotten no response from management. Now we are asking union members and other working people to hold up their United Way (UW) contributions as UW funds the VNA.

We picketed the UW fall campaign kick-off luncheon at the Hilton. UW says the dispute is between the nurses and the VNA but our position is that as long as they are funding VNA they are not neutral. We asked UW to audit VNA because if the VNA is no longer caring for patients who can't afford to pay, where is the UW funding going? In doing this we have found that a lot of people are mad at UW. There have been other instances where workers were organizing or on strike and the UW has taken a similar position.

Now we are doing voter registration on the picket line and continuing to give free blood pressure testing. I think working people all over this city should unite and support each other, be that the Tribune strike or Oscar Mayer. Our new slogan is: "Go elsewhere for home health care!"

—Striking VNA nurses

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

to hide. But even then the bourgeois newspapers only report what the labor bureaucrats say and do—which amounts to nothing. It is only in N&L that rank-and-file workers speak for themselves and develop their own thoughts.

When N&L was founded in 1955, there were strikes against Automation in every industry—auto, steel, rubber, and on and on. Today we face in every industry a two-tier wage system, wage cuts, plant closings, plants moving overseas.

The crisis in labor today has its roots in the battle against Automation that began in the 1950s—a battle that the workers did not win. The first strike against Automation was the 1949-50 miners' general strike in West Virginia. When the miners lost and the continuous miner was brought into the mines, unemployment soared and Appalachia was created.

APPALACHIA AN HISTORIC STAGE

Appalachia is not regional. It is an historic stage. The crisis comes from the historic stage of capitalism. Today the crisis that created Appalachia is transforming the whole country into Appalachia. To meet the challenge of this crisis we are offering a biweekly paper.

When I look at labor over the past year, what I see is that there have been many militant strikes, including the strike at Hormel that is still going on. But bravery and militance is not enough to win a strike when we have reached the stage today where the whole capitalist system, worldwide, is in such crisis. Workers are not up against one individual capitalist. We're fighting the whole capitalist system.

Workers too often accept the existence of capitalism. How can we see ourselves as free people when this system of capitalism is controlling our lives? People get thrown out of work and no one cares. Young people cannot find a job. We need to see ourselves as part of a social labor force. We are individuals who are together part of social labor.

And I'm not saying that what I am for is what they call "socialism" or "Communism" in Russia, China, or Cuba. As Marxist-Humanists, we call those societies "state-capitalism." There is not workers' control of production. In a recent speech Castro sounded like any capitalist when he said: "The first duty of the citizen is to work hard and produce, with responsibility and discipline."

News & Letters was founded in 1955, and it was born out of both the 1949-50 miners strike, and the 1953 East German revolt against totalitarian Communism. Today both Reagan and Gorbachev threaten the very existence of this world in which we live.

A Marxist-Humanist biweekly will help the forces of revolution get together with each other and with a philosophy of revolution. Without that Marxist-Humanist philosophy that listens to the workers and shows that what we are for is ending the division between mental and manual labor, our movement in the '80s will end up like the 1960s—one more aborted revolution. The biweekly News & Letters aims instead to see that we end with a new human society.

Australian labor ferment

Bayview, Australia—The immense struggle that has risen in Australian labor resembles the anti-labor situations that have emerged in Britain and the U.S. in recent years. Last year in Queensland, electrical workers on strike were sacked and the Premier, John Bjelke-Petersen, made plans for a civil conscription of electrical workers. Several months ago, the Builders Labourers Federation, one of the most militant big unions, was banned. Subsequently, BLF members on a sit-in at a building site in Melbourne were tear-gassed by police.

Workers at an abattoir (slaughterhouse) in Mdginberri in the Northern Territory, who fought a long, arduous, courageous strike lasting many months in one of the most unpleasant places I can think of, were taken to court by the Northern Territory Government and National Farmers Federation under secondary boycott legislation. Needless to say, the government won, the workers lost and the union, the Meat Industry Workers Union, was fined two and a half million hot tamales, the first sequestration of union funds, for many years.

Australian mining industry workers have been organizing various forms of opposition to worsening conditions and lay-offs in the face of BHP and Peko-Wallsend, the two worst mining companies regarding workers' rights and conditions, announcing record profits. There has been a general strike in the mining town of Broken Hill. And at Pilbana, in West Australia, 1,250 union ore miners were sacked by Peko-Wallsend, igniting a desperate effort by miners and families to organize.

Last week, workers on a natural gas rig off the coast of Western Australia organized a marvelous wildcat sit-in against the sacking of workers and refused to let anyone—union, company, media—on the rig. This is a very interesting expression of the eagerness of workers to now go beyond the constriction and apathy of the monolithic union bureaucracies.

—Andrew Murdoch

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Ongoing world revolts, economic crises, challenge Superpower grip

(continued from page 1)

but he is determined to incorporate it in unbreakable laws so that it will not matter who wins office in 1988; this is the ground on which they (Democrats or Republicans) will have to operate.

Now that Reagan has got Congress to approve aid to the Contras, his rhetoric has given forth his true aim—the U.S. is to repeat the Vietnam War by invading Nicaragua, beginning, as with Vietnam, by sending U.S. military advisers to train the Contras.

This is the same Ronald Reagan who thinks he can make himself sound like the great democrat by welcoming Corazon Aquino to the White House, at the same time he provided safe haven for Ferdinand Marcos who is working 24 hours a day to destabilize the new government in the Philippines. It is clear that the only reason Reagan makes such a show of his welcome to President Aquino is because he is concerned with keeping his bases in her land and thinks he can win her into his camp.

THE CHANGED WORLD ECONOMY

As Ronald Reagan's changed world is preparing for the unleashing of the holocaust while talking of the alleged prosperity of the U.S. and the stability of the Western world, the truth is quite different. The world economy is in deep crisis, and this remains the key to the present world situation.

What the present economists consider the changed world economy—high technology, unimaged, robotized production—is what bourgeois economists have called "the post-industrial world" ever since the end of WWII. It doesn't really matter whether those economists were referring to monopoly, oligopoly, multinationals, or what they now refer to as the computerized world; all are characteristic of the periods of both the post-WWI and post-WWII worlds. They are characteristic of what Marx originally had singled out as the most fundamental law of capitalist production of his day as it pursued Accumulation, Accumulation, Accumulation.

What all the bourgeois economists choose to disregard about this high stage of robotized production is that unpaid, surplus labor—i.e. profit—comes, and can only come, from the living, sweated laborer. The economy's dependence on alienated, sweated, exploited labor does not stop short even of death and mutilation, as can be seen in "A Tragedy in South Georgia"—which took place some 15 years ago but is only now reaching final court settlement—in which 20 died and more than 50 were injured in a disastrous industrial accident tied to munitions production of flares for the Vietnam War.

Nothing, however, more proves the daily horrors of capitalism globally than what is being called South Africa's worst recorded gold-mining accident—the fire which sent toxic gas billowing into the mine shafts of the Kinross mine, killing 177 miners, with five more still unaccounted for at this writing. So blatant is the lack of mine safety and so barbaric the disregard for Black lives that already no less than 8,209 had been killed and 230,000 injured in mining accidents in South Africa between 1973 and 1983. That there is no separation between the open class struggles or the issues of workers' safety and the mass freedom struggles that have been ongoing in South Africa can be seen in the crucial role of the half-million strong COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions) of which the National Union of Mineworkers is the backbone. (See Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*, News & Letters, 1986).

*See the article by Albert Scadino in the New York Times, July 20, 1986.

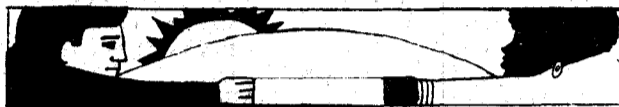
As our Marxist-Humanist Perspectives 1986-87 expressed it:

The masses of South Africa are moving on their own despite the undeclared civil war by the savage, barbaric, apartheid, white rulers and their daily slaughter of Blacks. (See article page 8.) It is high time to turn to the creative, revolutionary, courageous, genuine, freedom fighters in their ongoing revolutions in South Africa, in Haiti, in the Philippines and in Latin America, without forgetting the endless "little" strikes in the U.S., the intense anti-nuke demonstrations after Chernobyl, especially in West Europe, that were directed not only against Russia but against the U.S. as well.

THE ONGOING WORLD REVOLTS

All of the great ongoing revolts in South Africa, in the Philippines, in Haiti, in South Korea, demand more than just being hailed. 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 the counter-revolution at all times...

When, at the beginning of the 1980s, we entitled the



Marxist-Humanist Perspectives Thesis "Tomorrow is Now," we were pointing to the new structural economic crisis, the U.S.'s counter-revolutionary war in Vietnam, the urgency of Marxist-Humanism to delve into the whole body of ideas of Marx's Marxism as a totality. That was the trail to our age, and it became imperative, at one and the same time, to ask the question "what happens after" and also to trace the development of new forms of revolution and its relation to philosophy or the lack of philosophy, of relations of worker and intellectual, of spontaneity and organization: in a word, to single out new forces of revolt in a specific period.

We want, for example, to turn to what we seem to take too much for granted—the Youth in the ongoing present revolutions. Turn to Haiti and see what was new as distinct from trying to overthrow the Duvalier dictatorship from its strongest center, Port-au-Prince. The Haitian youth tell us now that in actuality, in the Gonaives region, students had organized for some time into small groups before the downfall of Duvalier to work against the regime. The youth do not stop either with critique or with being outside of the center; they are now in Port-au-Prince and throughout the country, and are reaching out internationally and to us.

Indeed, the youth are of the essence and are a very conscious form not only in Haiti. Take what is happening in South Korea. Even the bourgeois journalists (see NYT June 17, 1986) have featured the fact are a new kind of radical, who simultaneously delves into serious study of Marx and outright revolutionary activity not only against that regime, but against U.S. imperialism itself. That is exactly what reveals even more the whip of counter-revolution—which began way back in the 1950's South Korean movement, when tens of thousands of U.S. troops were stationed along the 38th parallel.

The youth in South Africa—indeed, many are young children—are not only the most heroic, but are involved in every facet of the revolt and well aware of tenden-

cies. So much so, that one group expressed it in a very specific way when they told us that they understood why we call ourselves not just Marxist, but Marxist-Humanist.

The greatest upsurge, of course, was in the Philippines. That "people's revolution" was especially dramatic when the nuns put flowers in the army's guns aimed against the people's uprising. The youth there reached to us as we reached to them...

The labor upsurges all through Central America have touched every nation there in the last year, from El Salvador to Guatemala, and including Honduras, where Reagan is now sending GIs to train the Contras. And yet, the unfinished nature of all these struggles under the whip of U.S. imperialism has never been more evident—especially in Nicaragua, where the ongoing war with the Contras is putting a severe strain on that revolution's development.

The revolts are significant even when they do not border on revolution as in the demonstrations against Duarte in El Salvador, and tremendous new actions in Chile and even in Guatemala and Paraguay. East Europe, too, has not at all been quiet, as witness the fact that, despite the "destruction" of Solidarnosc, it seems alive and kicking.

What seems of less significance are the actions right here inside the U.S.—whether that be the Hormel strike or "just" the May Day Haymarket celebrations in Chicago. The truth is, however, that what we've been correctly saying ever since the 1980 Perspectives Thesis is that "Tomorrow is Now."

PHILOSOPHIC AND ORGANIZATIONAL TASKS

That this permeates the whole decade of the 1980s is shown not only in the fact that we reached out to revolutionaries overseas, but that they reached out to us, from major revolutions-in-the-making like Haiti, the Philippines, and South Africa. At the same time, we established new relations with striking workers here in the U.S., especially those at Hormel in Austin, Minn. and Ottumwa, Iowa. It wasn't only our participation in their actions that brought us these new relations, but the fact of their participation in events other than their own immediate strike struggles. They solidarized with other strikers internationally.

Indeed, that international solidarity is true not only of labor, but reaches out to all forces of revolution, as was seen this year in the continuing exchange of views between Japanese anti-nuclear activists and American youth. The Marxist-Humanist contribution to that two-way road of dialogue within the anti-nuclear movement spans more than two decades, going all the way back to our relations with the Left wing of Zengakuren, who helped to translate *Marxism and Freedom* in the early 1960s and arranged a national tour for us, which included a speech at Hiroshima on Dec. 7 (8), 1965. Those new relations, national and international, are what Reagan's counter-revolution seeks to suppress, whether it be in Nicaragua or apartheid South Africa.

...The need to organizationally concretize philosophy anew each year naturally is given new urgency now that Ronald Reagan's "Changed World" has made counter-revolution so tower over the seething discontent of the masses in the world that the very thought of revolution seems impossible. All the more reason to begin now, at one and the same time, preparations for a biweekly N&L and concentrated work on a new work to be called *Dialectics of Organization and Philosophy: "The Party" and Forms of Organization Born out of Spontaneity*.

All of our activities in mass movements, be they in labor struggles or in the Black or Women's Liberation Movement, or Youth, or anti-nuke, or in our international relations, be they in Latin America, or Haiti, in South Africa or the Philippines, in East or West Europe, become inseparable from our major theoretical works. Indeed, that was characteristic of us from the first, as both the Hungarian Revolution and the Black Revolution became inseparable from Marxism and Freedom.

The same was true in the further development of philosophy and the new passions and new forces of the 1960s that became *Philosophy and Revolution*. In the 1980s we decided that a balance sheet was needed of all the great revolutionaries like Lenin, Luxemburg, Trotsky—which not only became *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* but saw a new category created of "post-Marx Marxism, beginning with Engels."

It is both our body of ideas and our concrete perspective for a biweekly this year which is called upon by the objective situation to meet the challenge of this changed world that Reagan is retrogressively driving for, with his latest repeated threats to Libya and the ever-growing poverty in the U.S., where one-third of the nation is what Roosevelt said it was in 1933—"ill-clad, ill-fed, and ill-housed"—and now homeless.

Tomorrow is today.*

*For the full 1986-87 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives see ad page 8.

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YOUTH FIND OWN WAYS TO OPPOSE REAGANISM

The last issue of N&L contained a Youth column called "What is American Revolutionary History?" by Raya Dunayevskaya, written in 1934, and a statement by Haitian youth, "Scorned and Abandoned," written in 1986. The years between those two statements did not separate them. Both relate to the question of what youth are against and what they are for. The youth in Haiti are now fighting what they see as "Duvalierism." They are also fighting old conceptions like the older generation calling them "inexperienced."

These old conceptions being fought today are similar to the old concepts and old organizational forms that Raya was fighting when the Trotskyists wanted to include an acceptance of "bourgeois revolutionary traditions" in their youth statement. She not only fought that conception; she also posed what she was for—the American roots of Marxism. Haitian youth today want to discuss the conditions of Haiti as well as the Marxism of Marx.

Black feminist
Illinois

It scares me. The government's always talking about Peace and how great Peace is, but what do they ever do? My whole life I've seen nothing but wars. My "favorite" saying of our government has to be "Peace through Strength." It's not a call for peace; all it amounts to is getting bigger and better weapons and weakening us here so we'll be ready to fight.

High school student
Los Angeles

I wonder how the government arrives at the statistic that they have 90% compliance with the draft registration laws. When I ask some 18 and 19-year-old youth in my neighborhood if they have registered, they shrug their shoulders and say, "Why should I?" These are Italian, German, Irish and Hispanic youth. A very few of them getting out of high school have gotten lousy minimum wage jobs. They spend most of their time hanging out and talking to each other.

Does this mean that something from the anti-Vietnam war movement, has left its mark, even though these youth are full of contradictions? I would not be surprised if they cheer Rambo (the movie), but in their own way they are showing their humanity, by not wanting

to die or kill in Reagan's wars.

Worried mother
New York

I've been listening to Reagan saying he wants to have everyone in the federal government tested for drugs. Drug testing is the thing that's scaring me right now. I lost a job because of a lie detector. I didn't lie, but I can't prove it. All the machine checks is how nervous you are, and I was so nervous I could have said my name and it would have said I was lying. I think drug testing is coming on a lot of jobs. The scary thing isn't that it will be done "randomly." It's that it won't be random. Say a union organizer smokes a little pot. They can give him a test and have a legitimate way to get rid of a "trouble-maker."

Young worker
New Jersey

The workers have it very bad in this country. I thought this was the land of opportunity. It's the land of the rich. There's a ruling class, a middle class, and a working class. I say this, because I see how hard my family works since we came here, now they have crazy hospital bills to pay, and rents are crazy.

I'm hearing a lot of comments, especially from young people who have come to this country, and American teenagers from families on welfare, that they are so sick and tired, that maybe the way this country is going, there's going to be a revolution.

Youth
Manhattan, NY

I don't understand why American students aren't more politicized. In Jamaica everybody talked politics and it was even dangerous. You could get hurt if you were from the "wrong" neighborhood with a differing view, like in the 1980 elections. I came to the U.S. because of the availability of education. I think a person needs to be active in developing themselves. My father has been here a while and when we criticize Reagan he says, "Why don't you go back to Jamaica if you don't like it here!" But I think I have a right to think and criticize no matter where I am. You really have to when you see what Reagan is doing.

Jamaican student
New York

REVOLUTIONARY FINANCES: THE NEED FOR A BI-WEEKLY

I have read N&L very enthusiastically. Pages 1 and 6 are especially interesting to me. I think that I will order the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—her archives—and search some problems out. The Social Democrats here have an interest in her vision, but not in Marxist-Humanism. That's a great problem here. Can I get another copy of *Algebra der Revolution* (the German edition of *Philosophy and Revolution*—ed.)? I will give it to the chair of the women's history program.

Our trade union group is preparing for Sept. 1—"Anti-war Day." Our general theme is against neo-Nazism. Many of the youth are going to the extreme right. Best wishes for your work. I enclose \$10...

Feminist
Bonn, West Germany

I can relate to your struggle! Here's a check for \$35 to help N&L become a bi-weekly.

Black doctor
New England

The paper seems very good to me, above all your theoretical discussions, in which you seek above all to go beyond the dogmatism which for so long has kept Marxism and radical social critique in stagnation, and has put the most brilliant thinkers in crisis. I hope the

articles will continue and even improve. The labor you do is of special importance inasmuch as today we find ourselves in an epoch of profound domination on the part of global capitalism and general depoliticalization of the proletariat. The study of the international problematic is therefore of great importance...

Intellectual
Mexico City, Mexico

When the paper becomes a biweekly, I will send \$5 a month. I would send more, but we don't have it. We are suffering as victims of this society. We don't fully understand everything in the paper, but getting it is helpful. As we see it, real fascism is coming in this country...

New subscribers
Southern Indiana

Since I've been reading N&L, I generally read the "Black World" column first. The bourgeois press gives little attention to Black problems. What coverage they do have is usually racist and condescending. In N&L, the Black dimension is not separated or isolated; it forms part of a philosophy of revolution.

Reader
Los Angeles

Readers' Views

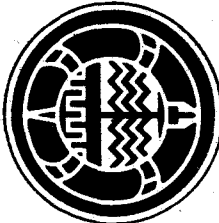
REAGAN'S TERRORISM

The terrorist act of murdering 22 Jewish worshipers in the Neve Shalom synagogue in Istanbul, Turkey, on Sept. 6 may seem like a crazed act in a world gone mad, but in reality it is yet one more proof that fascism did not die with Hitler. Is it really far fetched to say that Reagan's bloodied hands must take some responsibility for this contemptible act? What signals did he give off when he insisted on visiting Bitburg against the world outcry not to?

A. T.
Queens, NY

As a national women's coalition of organizations, we share your interest in supporting and participating in freedom struggles worldwide. Last April we strongly protested the U.S. air raids on Libya as a callous display of military might and a clear act of aggression by a superpower over a small country that cannot be justified. The Filipino women will never forget the 20 years of continued U.S. support to the hated Marcos dictatorship which looted this country's wealth, murdered and maimed hundreds of Filipinos and silenced legitimate protests. We ask who is the real terrorist? We are now in the thick of a nationwide campaign to press for a pro-women and pro-people constitution.

Gabriela
Rm 221, PCI Bldg.
San Juan, Metro Manila,
Philippines



SEEING LIFE ON RESERVATIONS FOR MYSELF

I recently attended a conference of Native American physicians in New Mexico, and got a chance to see some of the Native American reservations in Santo Domingo and San Felipe. The poverty, conditions of life, and the long distance which people have to travel to get any medical care, reminded me exactly of the life I had seen in Montèrey, Mexico, where I'm from. At the conference we heard a lot about problems on the reservations such as alcoholism and teenage suicides, but I was surprised that they had not invited any Native American people from the reservations to speak to us. Before my trip I read some of Shainape Shcapwe's columns on the struggle at Big Mountain and on the tenth anniversary of Wounded Knee, in preparation for my trip. But there was no mention of any of these struggles at the conference. I am now more determined to go back to work on a reservation next year, stay with a Native American family and experience talking with people there myself.

Pre-med student
Chicago

OUR VIEW OF LABOR

The Aug.-Sept. issue of N&L is such a strong "labor issue," beginning with Andy Phillips' lead that showed labor's battle against both capitalists and labor leaders so comprehensively that you could not help but agree with his ending—the need for workers to "unhook" ourselves from those "leaders." To me the issue caught a global movement of workers organizing without the old leadership from the U.S., as at Hormel or Oscar Mayer, to South Africa, where class struggles are not separated from national liberation.

Construction worker
Los Angeles

We have a group. Some in the company and among the union leaders call

us the communists...we are trying to get everyone to vote no to the contract accepted by the union in August. The union got everyone back to work, and here we are voting a month later, when they think everything is settled down...I like the labor stories in your paper. I am for socialism the way it's supposed to be. We noticed right away the saying from Marx on the first page.

Telephone worker
West Street, New York City

The Aug.-Sept. Editorial on South Africa is a bit "off" I think. If we're to analyze the labor developments there at that length, we can't pretend the political organizations don't exist, even though they haven't lived up to what is developing with labor and township resistance. There is a necessary political role that trade unions can't fill and that we can't skip over.

Student
New York

FREE SOUTH AFRICA!

I'm active in the anti-apartheid movement. We held demonstrations at the ports, demanding a boycott, as something like 80% of imports to, and exports from, South Africa come through New Orleans. We tried to get assistance, or attention, from national anti-apartheid organizations, but I guess they think that Atlanta and Houston are the important places for media coverage. I'll write to you more after I've had a chance to read *News & Letters*. What I know about Humanism I've never heard connected to Marxism.

Black activist
New Orleans, Louisiana

'THINKING BLACK'

The "Black World" column on Chicago leaders and racism Aug. - Sept. N&L amazes me. This is the way it was 50 years ago, when I was there. Here, in Oakland, things are not much different. Successful Black politicians stay away from Black issues. Look at Willie Brown or the gubernatorial candidate Bradley. From his campaign you would not know he is Black.

Long-time Black activist
Oakland, Calif.

When Ronald Reagan came to Detroit on Sept. 24 for a promotion of William Lucas, the Black Republican gubernatorial candidate and former sheriff of Wayne County, he was greeted by a lunch-hour mass picket line and rally of several thousand. Left, labor, and solidarity groups were there, but the real strength came from high school students and office workers, and many Black and white Detroiters, who brought themselves to the rally because they wanted to be there and oppose Reaganism. A young Black woman was talking about how Lucas was trying to do Reagan's job in Michigan. An older Black man agreed, saying "Being Black doesn't mean thinking Black."

Participants
Detroit

At a Biko Memorial meeting held at UCLA, I heard some speakers from the New Afrikan People's Organization, but I disagreed with their solution to American racism. They said Blacks should separate off in the American South and create their own Black state. To me this makes no sense. It is not only Blacks who are oppressed in America; I care about all human beings oppressed in this hate-filled, inhuman society. And how could a separate Black state be a solution anyway? Look at how South Africa dominates the economies of all its neighboring countries. Or maybe, if we were a separate state, the U.S. would then bomb us, just like it bombed Libya.

Haitian-American woman
California

U.S. LABOR TODAY: WE ARE NOT FREE

I am now one of the better-paid (white) workers in the U.S., but that's resolved nothing for me or my co-workers. I have thought about the various plans for improving conditions, including worker ownership, but none change the basic relationship of capital and labor. Plans imposed from above perpetuate the division of mental and manual labor; and labor is still forced labor, "mere means of life," rather than the prime necessity of life." No matter what the wages and benefits offered, labor under capitalism is not human activity. We are not free.

**Woman worker
Philadelphia**

The poor and homeless are treated by the state as less than human. Homeless people are like walking time bombs, ready to explode.

**Homeless activist
Los Angeles**

Charlton Heston still thinks he's playing Moses! In my union, the Screen Actors Guild, there have recently been maneuvers by former union president Charlton Heston to return to the '50s. His attacks on Ed Asner and Patty Duke (former and current presidents) speaking out on social issues. I lived through the whole Red scare of the '50s. Heston's current attempt to build a union within the union" with Red-baiting seems very similar.

**Subscriber
Burbank, California**

In a sharply critical review of a book by neo-conservative sociologist Peter Berger, the non-Marxist MIT economist Peter Thurow makes the argument that: "The slowdown in growth of American productivity over the past decade has led to exactly the conditions predicted by Marx and denied by Mr. Berger—falling real wages, and with men, falling real median family incomes for the mass of capitalistic workers. If this continues for many more decades, Mr. Berger's propositions about the rightness of capitalism will be found to be wrong for the United States."

For a major economist like Thurow, whose **Zero-Sum Solution** influenced the Carter administration, to refer publicly to Marx's concepts of stagnation and pauperization, and for the **New York Times Book Review** (9/7/86) to print it, is a sign of serious doubt among leading intellectuals about the American system. It would seem that while some formerly liberal intellectuals like Berger are driven by the crisis toward Reaganomics, others are being drawn toward Marx's Marxism.

**Sociologist
Chicago**

WOMEN AS REVOLUTIONARY

I just finished reading Raya Dunayevskaya's **Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution**. I still think the problem with the women's movement in the U.S. is that it is not revolutionary. This is why I especially appreciated Dunayevskaya's discussion of "revolution in permanence," that the first act of revolution isn't the end, that it is a continuous process, and what happens after is what's really important.

When Dunayevskaya writes about Black women challenging even Black organizations, I felt some of what I myself have experienced. And I know my sisters in Zimbabwe are fighting being put back in the kitchen too. If the American feminist movement wants to become really revolutionary, it has to reach out to these women.

**Black woman
Chicago**

The press really went to town on the feminist movement after the Meese Commission report on pornography. There are many women's groups who agree with the report that pornography promotes violence against women, but who utterly disagree with the censorship and reactionary assault the government was attempting. The press didn't mention the extremely critical parts of the statements issued by Women Against Pornography and the National Organization of Women.

**Anti-pornography feminist
Philadelphia**

I am an R.N. and I'd like to shake the V.N.A. nurses' hands. (See story, Aug.-Sept. N&L). If I worked there, I'd be the first one on the picket line.

I was born in the city of Chicago, but I haven't had a chance to see it from the point of view of a home care nurse until now. We are able to see all of the patients' homes. We travel to see one patient, who may be starving—I mean literally having nothing to eat. And on the very same day, we travel to another patient's home, who has an overabundance of everything—including these enormously expensive antiques that just lay around the house. A home care facility could be a wonderful place to work; it's a great idea, but all the administration thinks of is how to make money.

**Nurse
Chicago**

The letter from SURGE from the Philippines (Aug.-Sept. N&L) attacks the attitude of the Left, dominated by Engels' view of women as a beaten gender. Most feminists reject Marx on the basis of Engels. But to Marx, women were revolutionary. Many movements say revolution will automatically emancipate women. But SURGE is right—women must strike the blow themselves.

**Activist
New Jersey**

THE EUROPEAN SCENE

Last week I was in Madrid for a meeting on Liberation Theology, with more than 2,000 participants. Many of them were controversial persons in the Church, like Hans Kung, Ernesto Cardenal from Nicaragua, Julio Santa Ana from Brazil. In Spain it is an important force that can mobilize people who will not get politically involved otherwise.

In between the sessions, we participated in several demonstrations. One was in solidarity with Chile and another one in support of the agricultural laborers from southern Spain, where there are big landowners. People started seizing land there, and 600 were arrested. The demonstration demanded land for

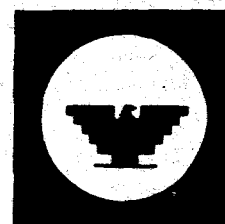
the landless and release for those arrested.

**Correspondent
Spain**

The Anglo-Irish Agreement means to simply punish Sinn Fein on this side of the border. That has been echoed in the attitude of the Catholic Church, which blames the IRA for "sectarian violence." Certainly they have played a contributing role, but it has to be seen in the context of the Unionist supremacy, the presence of British Forces and the general suppression of civil liberties, with the ongoing discrimination against Catholics.

The major problems in the Republic are the decline in the standard of living, the loss of workers' rights, and the mass emigration of the youth... Ireland is losing the flower of its youth. They attempt to escape to America, Canada, England and Australia. In Ballybay, over 100 youngsters left in the last few years out of a population of 1,500. This is repeated throughout Ireland. The country is left with an aging population unable to care for itself. The politicians wax on about the problem, but do nothing...

**Subscriber
Co. Monaghan, Ireland**



**BOYCOTT
CALIFORNIA
GRAPES!**

We just completed our 8th Constitutional Convention, with more than 400 farm worker delegates and alternates present from ranches where we have contracts or where we are organizing. We are asking for a boycott of all California table grapes because growers have refused to take seriously the threat of pesticide poisoning to both their own workers and to consumers. Please help us spread the word and the boycott, and ask your readers to send whatever they can to help us in our fight.

**Cesar Chavez
United Farm Workers
La Paz, Keene, CA 93570**

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- 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
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- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
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BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future 294 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95 (\$38.50 hardcover)
- 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
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Black/Red View

by John Alan

The confirmation of William Rehnquist as the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court by the Senate, has given President Reagan a major victory in his effort to shape the federal judiciary into an ideological clone of his reactionary policies. Because of the bitter opposition that the Rehnquist nomination received in the Senate from liberals, it got wide-spread media coverage. But the Rehnquist affair is only the tip of the iceberg of Reagan's and Attorney General Edwin Meese's campaign to fill vacancies in the federal court with judges who will continue Reaganism through the courts after Reagan has left office.

THE REHNQUIST RECORD

There is no question about Rehnquist's qualifications as an arch-reactionary racist. He has both the ability to engage in racism of the Governor Wallace-type, by standing in the door of a polling place to intimidate Black voters, as well as the judicial skills to find "legal reasons" to support the Army's spying on anti-war activists.

SUPREME COURT



During his 14 years as a Supreme Court Justice, Rehnquist proved to be the most conservative of all Justices in cases dealing with civil rights. He voted to limit civil rights and has ruled that women, immigrants and gays have no constitutional rights at all as groups. He believes that the 14th Amendment did not guarantee women the right of equal protection from sex discrimination practiced by public officials. And, on the issue of racially segregated schools, Rehnquist voted to give federal funds to private schools that discriminate against Blacks.

The public unearthing of Rehnquist's judicial history has outraged liberals, Blacks and women that a man with such a record on civil rights is now the head of the Supreme Court. When we consider, however, the political history of the country, there is nothing unique in what Reagan and the Senate did.

Rehnquist's elevation to the highest position in the federal court system should sweep away the ideological illusion that the U.S. Supreme Court is a sacred, impartial branch of state power standing above society. The Court is as deeply emeshed in politics as any other branch of the state, and not only as an object of party power struggles, but in the class, race and sex conflicts

Housing crisis in Phila.

Philadelphia, Pa.—Angry residents of the Logan neighborhood blocked rush hour traffic on Roosevelt Boulevard on Sept. 11 to protest the 24-hour eviction notices that the city had served the day before at 11 homes found to be "imminently dangerous" due to structural damage. The demonstrators then moved to City Hall to demand a meeting with Mayor Goode.

More than 900 homes in Logan were built in the 1920s over a creek bed filled with ash and cinder, which is now eroding. A June 1984 architect's study commissioned by the city found that 225 of the homes had suffered "serious" or "visible" damage from sinkage. Yet, the city took no action, until August 1986, either to warn the owners or to save the neighborhood.

Although the city has backed down on the evictions, Logan residents now face the "choice" between remaining in collapsing buildings and being homeless. "The city is offering emergency shelter for three months, but after that you're on your own," said one woman. "Say I get a place for \$400 a month—a single woman like me—I can't afford it. So there, I'm a bag woman."

What is happening to people in Logan is only part of the housing crisis in Philadelphia. There is virtually no affordable housing for families with children and the homeless sleep on sidewalk vents in Center City.

—B. A. Lastelle

Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87

by Raya Dunayevskaya

- I. Introduction: The Changed World
- II. Alienated Labor and the Present State of Chaos in World Production
- III. The Ongoing World Revolts
- IV. Philosophic and Organizational Tasks
 - A. The Single Dialectic in Philosophy
 - B. The Single Dialectic in Organization

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Rehnquist takes Supreme Court to historic low

of American society as well.

If we look at the Supreme Court's attitude toward Black civil rights over the last hundred years, aside from so-called "landmark" decisions like *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*,* the Court has not proven to be the champion of black rights. Instead, it has often been the enemy of those rights, as well as part of the battleground upon which Blacks had to fight for freedom.

BLACK RIGHTS BEFORE THE COURT

It was the Supreme Court that gave for over three-quarters of a century, such a narrow interpretation of the 14th and 15th Amendments, that it allowed Southern states to disenfranchise Blacks up until the 1950s. In 1883, the Court declared the Civil Rights Act of 1875 "unconstitutional," and in the 1895 *Plessy vs. Ferguson* decision, the Supreme Court established the "separate but equal" doctrine, the legal fiction that still motivates the thinking of the Justice Department.

Three decades ago, when the Civil Rights revolution began as a spontaneous mass movement to regain those rights that Blacks were deprived of after Reconstruction, the movement directly confronted the social and political barriers of racism without "going to court." In the course of that struggle, we gained the rights to travel in non-segregated public transportation, to vote in the South, and to hold public office in states that had excluded Blacks from office for 75 years. In short, the Civil Rights revolution "liberalized" the Presidency, the Congress and the Supreme Court. Yet, today, Blacks know that they

**Never officially closed, following the Supreme Court's ruling, the 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education case is due to be re-opened on October 6. Brown vs. Board of Education II was revived in 1979 when Black lawyers in Topeka filed law suits charging that the Topeka Board of Education never carried out the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, which decided that so-called "separate but equal" school systems for Black and white students were unconstitutional. Among the 17 schoolchildren in "Brown II" are two children of Linda Brown Smith, the plaintiff in the original case.*

Direct from South Africa Freedom Journal

Soweto Massacre

Soweto, South Africa—Aug. 26, 1986 will go down in the history of Soweto as the Soweto massacre, because of the death of 31 residents killed by the Soweto City Council Police on that night. Police invaded White City Jabavu with the intention of evicting rent defaulters, but that culminated in a battle between residents and the police. It was said that many residents died and about four policemen were reported dead, although this was not published by any media.

Sept 4, 1986 was the day of the funeral of those who died. It was decided by the Soweto people to make this a mass funeral, and the undertakers were helpful by rendering free services. Two days before the funeral, the Soweto Divisional Commander of the police announced a ban on the mass funeral. Because people are sick and tired of hearing from those who claim to be keeping law and order, while using violence as a prerequisite, the people decided to carry on with the arrangements.

Police were scattered everywhere in Soweto, conducting road blocks in an attempt to discourage outsiders from attending the mass funeral, and everywhere inside the township there were helicopters, hippos, police vans and cars trying to destabilize the masses and intimidate people. There were people everywhere in cars, some marching to the gravesite after police harassed the service and stopped cars from going to the gravesite.

At the gravesite, after only 20 or 30 minutes, police started releasing teargas canisters and a certain new purple gas* to disperse people from the gravesite. It was helter-skelter as people tried to evade the teargas and avoid the charging police. Everywhere at the gravesite people ran for safety. Cars sped toward the exit with people hanging out doors and windows. One student died during the incident by a bullet from the police. Cars were escorted by police vans from the gravesite to their destinations. Unfortunately, some of the coffins were returned to the mortuary and only twelve of the dead were buried.

Almost the whole day Soweto was clouded with teargas and smoke. It was evident enough that 98% of Soweto residents honoured the day by staying away from work and there was no transport, as taxis were ferrying people to the gravesite, and there were no Putco buses entering Soweto.

To all the residents it was evident that the South African Government was not prepared to heed its Black masses. This creates more and more hatred from the masses for the police, and furthers the struggle for total power by the majority of South Africa. —Correspondent

**The purple dye is an iridescent identification dye used by the police to identify protestors after a demonstration.*

are not emancipated from racism, nor that they have the same "secure rights" that whites have.

Thus, the 200 year battle to gain and to retain human rights has taught us that there is nothing absolute about constitutional rights, that they are relative to the social forces contending for freedom within society. With the approaching 200th anniversary of the U.S. Constitution, this experience raises the philosophical/practical question: can the abstraction of constitutional freedom be transformed into the reality of freedom without a permanent revolution in America.

Biko memorial

Los Angeles, Cal.—A small audience of about 30 people, Black and white, gathered at UCLA on Sept. 11 for a Steve Biko Memorial meeting, sponsored by the Black Student Alliance and the South African Student Committee. This was the ninth anniversary of Biko's brutal murder at the hands of the apartheid state. A glaring contradiction in the panel of 11 speakers was that the African National Congress (ANC) had no speaker in memory of Biko, whom they don't identify as a powerful thinker within the minds and actions of the South African Black masses.

The speaker from AZAPO (Azanian People's Organization), Brother Mxolisi, challenged the anti-apartheid movement to be more self-critical and not limit itself only to a critique of racism in South Africa but fight also the racism right here in the U.S. "Otherwise," he said, "we would be guilty of opportunism." In other words, we demand a revolutionary solution and not a democratic one.

The panel did include American Blacks speaking against racist oppression here, but these speakers presented a very narrow view of the needed American revolution. One Black woman intellectual shocked me when she stated that American Blacks have no history, and that is why she calls herself African.

I think that if Black Americans want freedom for self and for Africa we must not separate the two. Black consciousness of self is a power wherever it presents itself, and the history of the American Black masses fighting for freedom is that historical continuity we seek to realize today. This is the meaning of the quote Brother Mxolisi took from Marx, "The root of mankind is man."

The conscious need for that development shows the necessity for full audience participation in a meeting such as the Biko Memorial, but unfortunately the meeting organizers left no time for discussion taking away from the dialectic many spoke of. In order to catch the new from within the freedom struggle of both the U.S. and Africa, it is essential to develop revolutionary theory.

Br. Mxolisi pointed to the importance of theory when he quoted Marx that "theory becomes a material force once it has gripped the masses." Many of the speakers touched on this in the form of Biko's quote that "the most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."

This quote must be thought out beyond a slogan because it represents philosophy. Now is the time to begin to practice that philosophy for our day as that new Humanism that can uproot the Reagan-Botha regime worldwide.

—Gene For

LANCER is a cancer!

Los Angeles, Cal.—"LANCER is a cancer" shouted 75 marchers protesting the planned construction of a huge trash incinerator plant in the middle of Black and Latino residential area in Los Angeles.

The initials L.A.N.C.E.R. stand for Los Angeles City Energy Recovery, and the concept is to convert trash into a cheap source of energy. In typical capitalist fashion, the "economical" project has been railroaded through City Hall and into the community, with a deliberate concealment of the serious health problems it entails. A by-product of such high-temperature incineration is dioxin, the active agent in the notoriously carcinogenic Agent Orange.

City Hall didn't anticipate the opposition from groups like the Concerned Citizens of South Central Los Angeles, who did their homework not only on the potential sickness, death and birth defects resulting from projects like LANCER, but also on the private company, Arthur-Martin, hired by the city to build LANCER. Arthur-Martin is the leading supplier of fuel to South Africa Airlines and the owner of its food catering services. The company falsified its report in order to escape the city's divestment ordinance.

The Concerned Citizens coalition of rank-and-file community people, longtime Black activists, and representatives from the ecology group, the Greens, will continue these protests until the plan for the poisonous LANCER project is scrapped. The group moves forward with the consciousness that the hand of government directed by the capitalistic motives of companies like Arthur-Martin, who in exchange for creating all of these jobs will receive millions of dollars in fees, and have a monopoly on all central city garbage collection business.

—Wayne Cart

A Marxist-Humanist dialogue with India's new voices of revolution

(continued from page 1)

Women's Development, Saheli and Jaguri. They stayed for a full discussion on the Indian feminists' critique of the movement in the West, their appreciation for Rosa Luxemburg as a revolutionary and finally a discussion of Marx's writings on "the greater freedom of women in primitive and pre-colonial societies," and the differences between Marx's multilinear view of human development and Engels' *Origin of the Family*. (We were invited back the next week to talk on "Marx and Hegel.") Some Indian feminists want to explore the possibility of publishing the first all-English edition of the *Ethnological Notebooks* of Marx, which we had taken to India at their request.

THE PEASANT DIMENSION

In Patna, capital of Bihar, a state notorious for its caste and tribal oppression and for its extreme poverty, a massive peasant "gherao" was attempted in August. This gherao or blockading was aimed at the Bihar state legislature on its opening day in order to protest the police massacre of 23 peasant activists in the town of Arwal in April. Then, 2,000 peasants had gathered under the auspices of the Sanghatan, a peasant-based political coalition which has recently led some victorious struggles of poor peasants and landless laborers. On Aug. 23, as thousands converged on Patna, police intervened brutally. As one demonstrator told us:

"They not only arrested obvious demonstrators carrying signs on roads or at train stations; they simply arrested every poor person on the streets who was from out of town, based on whether they were carrying sattua, a pouch of dried food which poor peasants carry with them when they travel."

All over India, oppressed tribal peoples and ethnic minorities are on the move. In August, after a 20-year-long guerrilla struggle, the Mizo National Liberation Front finally won self-determination for Mizoram, a region on the Burmese border populated by 500,000. We interviewed a young feminist active in the Northern Himalayan Chipko environmentalist movement, which involves many tribals. We also interviewed a labor activist from the iron mines of Bihar. Both of these stories will appear in coming issues of N&L, as well as a story on the urban village of Ber Serai.

OPPRESSED ON THE MOVE

A Gorkha intellectual told us about the struggle for self-determination in the Darjeeling area in the Himalayas: "Our mountain area is politically voiceless. We are 500,000 people out of 65 million in the state of West Bengal. In Darjeeling all top level jobs are taken by Bengalis, while at our University of North Bengal, only 45 out of 1,000 students are Gorkha. Darjeeling is left completely underdeveloped."

"The Gorkha National Liberation Front (GNLF) is demanding a separate state. Angered by the government's repression, more and more people are joining. On July 27, police killed 39 at a GNLF demonstration.

Native Americans face health care cuts

by Shainape Shcapwe

During the past two months, I have heard special reports about the coming cuts in health care from the Department of Interior, Indian Health Services (IHS), and some of the problems Reservation Indians can expect by the first of next year. I want to write about some things they didn't talk about.

IHS includes hospital and clinic services for Indians on the Reservations. Doctors who had been drafted into the military and, more recently, medical students who had that as a way to pay back student loans from the government, provided these services. In both cases, they felt as though they were doing time rather than performing a service. As of the first of next year, this will no longer be an option for medical students or draftees.

HOSPITAL CLOSURE

Just recently, staff members of several IHS facilities have been told to help Indians on Reservations fill out applications for alternative health services such as Medicare, Medicaid and the VA. What no one is saying is that very soon this will lead to the closure of most of the IHS hospitals. Many of the doctors served their time and have left the Reservation clinics and hospitals, making them no better than first aid stations. Hospitals off the Reservations are often many miles away, and in the winter with the lack of good transportation, it will be impossible for Indians to get any kind of medical help.

In the 1950s, under the government's policy of "relocation and termination" of the Reservations, IHS had to extend their services to urban and non-Reservation Indians. Those of us who couldn't get help through the usual Medicaid/Medicare route got help for chronic medical problems from the Urban Indian Centers through IHS money. Now this will be gone, so you can see the IHS cuts affect both the Reservation and non-Reservation Indians.

One terrible experience concerned a family that was burned out of their log house on the Turtle

Mountain Reservation. Three of the children were taken to the burn center in Fargo through IHS sponsorship to get skin grafts and hydrotherapy. But then the children were told to move back to the hospital on the Reservation, and from there to apply for Medicaid in order to go back to Fargo because IHS won't cover their treatment. This happened before the cuts were to begin.



New Delhi telephone operators working after strike

Marxist parties of India, who call our movement a separatist movement."

DIALOGUE WITH STUDENT ACTIVISTS

At Delhi University, where we spoke and had a serious discussion on Marx's last writings, hundreds of students from Bihar who were provided with no housing had occupied hostels in a confrontation with the administration. At Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) students shut down classes in August in a week-long strike, protesting poor living conditions, lack of housing and the school's nuclear research center, which ample evidence shows is leaking radiation. While the Stalinist SFI controlled the strike leadership, non-vanguardist revolutionaries have created a new organization, Samvad (Dialogue).

Samvad had decided to initiate its campus activity by sponsoring two talks for us. A standing room audience of 200 showed up for our first talk on "Marx's Last Writings and the Third World Revolutions," whose content so disturbed the SFI that we had sharp exchanges over their refusal to consider any separation between Marx and Engels, our view of Russia as state-capitalist, and their rejection of Women's Liberation as "bourgeois." During our second talk on "Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution" the SFI decided to organize another meeting at the same time. Nevertheless an enthusiastic audience of over 70 showed up who wanted to ask everything from our differences with other socialist feminists, to our critique of the relationship between the Left and the Women's Libera-

tion Movement, to how a Marxist-Humanist analysis of Indian society could be worked out.

Throughout our trip, it was the specificity of Marxist-Humanism's view of Marx's last writings as a pathway to the 1980s, as developed especially by Raya Dunayevskaya's *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which predominated in our discussions. Indian revolutionaries, especially the feminists, felt an affinity with us in part because the theoretical bankruptcy and narrowness of the Indian Left demands a critique of post-Marx Marxism. At the same time, the crisis of Indian society has moved some of them, not away from Marx but toward Marxist-Humanism as the philosophy of revolution which can give action a direction. We are looking forward to this continuing dialogue where we in the West have much to learn from revolutionaries in India.

—Neda and Kevin

Marcuse's contradiction

Douglas Kellner's recent book* is the most thorough and intelligent review of Marcuse's work to date. Kellner has largely represented Marcuse's thought in a faithful manner and his interpretations are fairly based on judgments which have been rigorously contested and survived in the literature on Marcuse. However, Kellner's book is largely uncritical of Marcuse's philosophical and political deficiencies and it makes claims about Marcuse's theoretical contributions which are highly dubious. Foremost among these is Kellner's conclusion that Marcuse's project was a radical questioning of Marxism from within Marxism and which enabled Marcuse to go beyond the social critique of Marx himself.

Herbert Marcuse was indeed a revolutionary, he never wavered in his commitment to radical social transformation and his encouragement of revolutionary forces, yet, his philosophic work lacks a ground for revolution and he never really believed it would happen.

Consider as an example Marcuse's attitude toward the proletariat as a revolutionary subject. In an interview in *The New York Times* magazine on October 27, 1968 Marcuse argued that he could not imagine a revolution without the working class. Yet, in his analysis in *One-Dimensional Man* he argued that the proletariat is immunized against revolutionary political action, is thoroughly indoctrinated with the dominant ideology and is integrated into the consumer society with the same needs, satisfactions and consciousness as the bourgeoisie. Thus, while he presents a savage critique of the capitalist exploitation of labor, Marcuse does not believe that workers are capable of developing their own concepts of freedom and organizing against the bourgeoisie.

The fact that he—Herbert Marcuse—is capable of social critique suggests that he is somehow outside the control of those processes of one-dimensional society which presumably push other people into a mindless conformism. Further, it suggests a type of elitism in the revolutionary process: Marcuse is for the emancipation of the proletariat but he does not think that proletarians themselves are capable of achieving their own emancipation from the domination of capital. In short, it is the intellectual, not the proletariat, which is the force of social transformation in Marcuse's critical theory.

At the base of Marcuse's political pessimism are his views of dialectics and Marx's humanism. It is true that in the 1941 edition of his important book on Hegel, *Reason and Revolution*, Marcuse presented the first analysis in English of Marx's 1844 humanist essays. The Herbert Marcuse of 1941 was an optimistic revolutionary who saw Marxism as a humanism inseparable from the dialectics of revolutionary categories of development.

However, in 1960 Marcuse published a new edition of *Reason and Revolution* which contained a new added preface entitled, "A Note on Dialectic," in which he declared that those social groups, such as the proletariat, which dialectic theory identified as the force of negation, have been either defeated or reconciled with the established system. By 1960, then, Marcuse's dialectics differed greatly from those of both Hegel and Marx. By 1964, in his *One-Dimensional Man*, Marcuse finally declared advanced industrial society to be without opposition.

Certainly one of the serious shortcomings of Kellner's book is that he does not even acknowledge the difference between the 1941 and 1960 editions of *Reason and Revolution* on dialectics. Indeed, this 500 page book contains only a brief chapter on Marcuse's relation to Hegel. What is more important to Kellner, and what is an equally serious shortcoming, is his agreement with the analysis in *One-Dimensional Man* which departs so greatly from the dialectics and humanism of Marx. In even accepting Marcuse's concept, "crisis of Marxism," Kellner sees Marxism as a reality and does not see that those state-capitalist societies masquerading as Marxist are a total perversion of Marxism.

—John Welsh

*Herbert Marcuse and the Crisis of Marxism by Douglas Kellner, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1984. 505 pages. \$14.95 (Paperback).

Coming next issue

Homelessness and poverty in U.S.

El Paso women textile workers

Editor's Note: The following report was compiled by Neda Azad and Erica Rae from material sent to N&L by the Independent Association of Textile Workers.

Every morning hundreds of workers pay 25¢ to cross the Rio Grande between Juarez, Mexico and El Paso, Texas on the back of "human taxis." They work in the factories and small sweatshops in El Paso, the city of the "poorest poor in America."

At the same time those who live in El Paso, like Oratio Viranates, a full-time factory worker and mother of five children, struggle to survive. She makes \$120 a week, with her rent alone being \$225 a month. A full quarter of El Paso's population lives below the poverty level, with an official unemployment rate of 12.3%. The conditions in El Paso are becoming worse as industries such as the largest private employer, Farah, move production abroad, including across the Rio Grande to Juarez.

Yet in the midst of this naked and brutal capitalism a new trade union, the Independent Association of Textile Workers (IATW), has blossomed, mainly through the efforts of Mexican-American women workers. The IATW has become a voice for the overworked, the underpaid and the unemployed workers, and is challenging a system which it sees as "slavery" while it fights for "human dignity."

Caritina Jacquez, a sewing machine operator and a founding member of the Association, writes, "Companies are leaving El Paso even though we were doing the work of two or three persons for the price of the one...Before the owners used to exploit the workers, now they do it even more because a lot of workers are out of jobs and the ones that have a job don't care if they are exploited or not treated with respect...they need) a job so they can support their family. That is why it is so important for us to organize and demand decent jobs. Which is why (we) formed the IATW."

The origins of IATW were in a dispute over pay for Labor Day with the C.M.T. company. (see "The Walkout at C.M.T."). The workers organized a committee which challenged the company on many fronts, from elections and union recognition to intimidation and physical harassment of workers. The committee refused to reach an agreement with the company behind closed doors, without full consultation with workers. It issued a bulletin in Spanish as a medium for exchange of ideas among workers. The IATW has held a number of demonstrations in El Paso against runaway shops, and has been fighting for improved working conditions, higher wages and workers' centers.

The women of El Paso have a history of resistance. In the 1970's there were strikes of 2,000 women against the Farah company. That fight lasted 21 months and inspired a nationwide boycott. Today we express our solidarity as they fight against the drive to reduce wages and working conditions to those of the whole Third World.

IATW can be reached at IATW, P.O. Box 3975, El Paso, Texas 79923.

The walkout at C.M.T.

Editors Note: The following story comes from a longer report by Caritina Jacquez, a sewing machine operator.

Before Labor Day, management posted bulletins inside the factory which stated that employees would be paid for Labor Day if they worked the day before and the day after. In the afternoon of Sept. 10, management posted bulletins which stated that because the employer's profit margin was less than in the past we would not be paid for Labor Day or Thanksgiving.

That day as we left work most of the employees were angry about not being paid for Labor Day, so there was a lot of discussion about not going to work the next day.

Before work the employees went to the cafeteria. In the cafeteria various people brought up that we should go to our machines that morning, then refuse to work and go to the cafeteria. It was decided informally that we would refuse to work and go to the cafeteria at the 9:30 break. We did not know how many employees

would refuse to work. At the 9:30 break about 80% of the employees stopped working and went to the cafeteria.

A couple of minutes after we stopped working, the President, Vice-President and Supervisor went to the cafeteria and asked what was wrong. We stated that if we didn't get paid for Labor Day we were not going back to work. They said if we didn't get back to work in five minutes we were not going to have a job. At that time most of the employees called out that we were not going back to work. A short time later the lights were turned off and we all left.

Black World

(continued from page 1)

of the Black middle-class from the cities and in the southern rural roots of inner-city Blacks.

An amen corner of Black preachers, politicians and leaders lines up behind this new ideological assault on Black America and Jesse Jackson unashamedly declares: "If there is an artificial ceiling limiting the growth of the so-called talented 10 percent—I use the term advisedly—then it compounds the problem of the disinherited 90 percent." (See the July 13 Chicago Sun-Times special, "What do we owe the poor?")

NEW STUDY ON BLACK YOUTH

To comprehend what's going on a 1986 study published by the University of Chicago, entitled *The Black Youth Employment Crisis*, and co-edited by Richard B. Freeman of the National Bureau of Labor Research and Harvard University and Harry J. Holzer of Michigan State University, will be instrumental, not as a critique of the present retrogression, but as the most sophisticated attempt to date by bourgeois political economists to come up with a new rationalization for the phenomenon of the Black youth unemployment crisis.

When Richard Freeman reported in the "Business Section" of the *New York Times* (7-20-86) that the new findings of this study showed that the crisis cannot be traced back to a single cause or set of causes, one assumed that that meant a new frame-work or point of departure had been worked out. That assumption was further re-inforced when on the first page of their work Freeman and Holzer admitted that: "In many respects, the urban unemployment characteristic of Third World countries appears to have taken root among black youths in the United States." (p.3)

And yet, that stark and simple statement is in sharp contrast to the abstract reductionist language employed throughout the rest of the study to argue that the category of "reservation wages"—i.e., the minimum wage that youth are willing to work for is the determinant of joblessness among Black youth.

The validity of "reservation wages" as a factor in Black youth unemployment was disputed back in 1979 when the National Longitudinal Survey (NLS), which provided much of the data for the present study, was produced: "The supply-side explanations sometimes used to gainsay the seriousness of youth labor market problems—that youth have high 'reservation wages' and will not take available jobs, that they are not really interested in work and that they cause their own problems by hopping from job to job—are deflated by the NLS findings."

After years of Reaganism, so responsive to its logic and need to explain the crisis in Black America in terms that "uncouple" the deep capitalist crisis from its de-humanizing impact are Freeman and Holzer, that the following undisguised bias shows through their "Summary Findings": "Since there were some differences in their (Black vs. white youth) possibilities of getting jobs, and there were some differences in the wages paid by the jobs they did get, about 30% of the longer period that blacks are out of employment can be explained by the fact that they maintain relatively high reservation wages. Black youth should not necessarily lower their expectations, nor should they accept lower wages than those offered white youth, which would be illegal discrimination by the employer. But the fact that they do not adjust their wage expectations based on their experience contributes to their joblessness." (!)

BLACK YOUTH RESISTANCE

That Black youth don't "adjust" their wage expectations downward is the unresolved variable throughout the research monographs in *The Black Youth Employment Crisis*. What cannot be abstracted out of existence with contrived econometric models and abstract language is the variable which resists quantification—the resistance of Black youth.

Black youth do resist the logic of this capitalist system which commands them to lower their expectations and aspirations by keeping them unemployed. But even when Black youth accept menial jobs with no future, they still maintain high reservation wage expectations as a demand for compensation for dead-end jobs. What the editors and researchers of this study cannot rationalize is that even in the dismal realm of their statistical abstracts and econometric reductions, such aspirations show to what extent Black youth actually reject the subservient caste structure imposed on them. That rude awakening awaits Black leaders, too.



Chile protest meeting

New York, N.Y.—On Sept. 11 about 250 people met in Local 1199's auditorium to mark the 13th year since Pres. Allende's death in a CIA-backed coup in Chile. The program included a video of events during the national strike of July 2 and 3, poetry, and speeches by union officials. The most moving and main speaker, however, was Veronica Denegri, mother of Rodrigo Rojas who, along with Carmen Quintana, was brutally beaten and burned by Pinochet's army in those demonstrations. Rojas later died.

Denegri emphasized that this was not a time to be sad but to renew determination to fight repression. To her, the death of her son meant also "the tragedy of the Chilean people...forced to leave their roots, leaving the country." Both Rojas and Quintana were a "demonstration the youth are struggling for what they never knew... 'democracy.'" Carmen Quintana has tenaciously clung to life and has become a symbol of the persistence of Chile's struggle for freedom.

Denegri asked all present to be active in stopping U.S. loans to the fascist Pinochet. She ended saying, "We the Chileans are the only ones who will decide what we want." —Ted Rosmer

Bolivia's "nationalists"

La Paz, Bolivia—It is well known that the legitimacy of a government is founded more in the consensus of the people than in the letter of the law. Even more so, when the law is so violated as today in Bolivia, when the government has allowed the presence of foreign troops, in this case the U.S. troops who are now in the eastern region of Bolivia to combat cocaine dealers. Yet, abiding by the law in Bolivia is so infrequent and governments so often change by violent means, that the pretense of rule by "legality" is an expression of a very precarious social equilibrium, that will take an as-yet unknown form of social resolution.

Dependency and subordination have gone overboard in Bolivia. The government still cannot pay its external debt, but it is inflexibly enforcing the directives of the International Monetary Fund internally. In order to obtain revenue, the government decided to strengthen the public treasury by levying new taxes, including on those sectors who are unable to pay them. Thus, the same MNR (Revolutionary Nationalist Movement), which (in 1952) once pushed for land reform, with Victor Paz Estenssoro at the head, is now undermining its former major social ally, weakening its ties to the force which for years was considered the bastion of the nationalist movement—the peasantry.

The same Victor Paz (who first came to power in 1952) is today discovering as president that it is becoming more difficult to persuade the people to sacrifice more and more so that the country can meet the demands of the international financial organizations. Compare this to the vigorous attitude being taken by Alan Garcia in Peru, whose country suffers from serious social problems, and yet, nonetheless, has refused to give in to foreign pressure.

It seems that the present government is distinguished from the ones which preceded it in military uniform only in the way in which political power was obtained, since they both lack the elements that can give dynamism to political life. The only thing left for these types of "nationalists" is the title. What we have here is a government that calls itself nationalist but doesn't succeed even in that. —Bolivian correspondent

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Youth

Hungarian revolution as a beacon for the future

by Sheila I. Fuller

This month marks the 30th anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution, a revolution that had youth active in it as fighters, as thinkers, and as reason, and that was truly the absolute opposite of today's nuclear drive to war.

This anniversary comes at the same time as we are witness to the arms control negotiations between Shultz and Shevardnadze which have once again proved that Reaganism is bound for nuclear annihilation; and witness to Gorbachev's call for arms control which cannot hide the gory truth that the Chernobyl nuclear disaster was the result of an actual test of the plant's nuclear capability in which all safety controls were deliberately shut off. Against this drive to nuclear war, youth activity in the Hungarian Revolution speaks to us today.

FERMENT OF IDEAS

The Hungarian Revolution was sparked on Oct. 23, 1956, when a meeting of students from various schools in Budapest called for a mass demonstration of sympathy for the ongoing revolt in Poland. For some months previously students and workers had been participating in the mass meetings of the Petofi Society, a group of dissident intellectuals. In these meetings, they were discussing the ferment of freedom ideas that was in the air since the 1953 East German uprising following the death of Stalin.

The Hungarians were now greatly moved by the revolt in Poland which called for "Bread and Freedom," an end to "phony Communism" and had declared that "the communist ideal demands the liberation of humanity from alienation in all domains...the idea of communism, of humanism put into life is universal."

The youth marching on Oct. 23 distributed a leaflet containing their demands for a new type of education and voicing their refusal to serve in the military. They were soon joined by thousands of workers, women, and children. They marched to the statue of the Polish revolutionary, Josef Bem. Then 100,000 strong they headed for the parliament. Their demands now included not only those of the students, but those of the workers, wanting to control the factories themselves.

Children as young as 12 were part of this revolution, throwing Molotov cocktails at Russian tanks, battling the vicious secret police, and participating in mass meetings. When one 13-year-old was asked how she had learned to make Molotov cocktails, she responded, "all of us kids were trained in the party."

Overnight, the Communist Party of 800,000 had evaporated. The Hungarian Revolution was marked by the creation of numerous youth, worker, peasant, soldier and intellectual councils, 40 different parties, and numerous newspapers. Even the young revolutionaries'

support of Imre Nagy, the new secretary of the government, was not uncritical. They refused to accept his call for calm on Oct. 25.

NEW ORGANIZATIONAL FORMS

Youth had a direct relationship with the workers' councils that sprang up on the first day of the revolution. In Miskolc, the workers' council and the student parliament took over the running of the city. In Gyos, a council of soldiers, youth, intellectuals and peasants ran the city. Within the Central Workers' Council of Greater Budapest, almost half the members were young.

One of the members of the Central Workers' Council articulated the spirit of the workers throughout Hungary when he said: "The workers wanted something that had never existed before. They did not want to imitate Yugoslav conditions or the American or any other...they wanted something entirely new..."

High school youth looks forward to freedom

Chicago, Ill.—I'm finishing my last year of public high school. It has been pretty obvious that these schools are not here to teach anything of value, but to keep us off the streets. They try to destroy our imagination, the freedoms we do have and indoctrinate us with certain ideas that will make us "productive citi-



"You know these ain't I.D. pictures, these are mugshots!"

zens" willing to work in this country of ours.

Since the 1983-84 school year we have had to wear I.D.s on chains, which are required just to get into school every morning. We are supposed to wear these things all the time on the penalty of getting barred if we don't. It's a real pain.

A few of the better teachers won't bother you, but a lot of the ones with anti-social personality disorders use this bit of power every chance they get with obvious pleasure. They use this rule to threaten, scream and generally act rude and ignorant. What's this top security for? Why is it that the school's major concern is efficient processing?

Our administrators say that it's not for the good kids, but for those who just come to school to start trouble. So all this garbage is for our own protection. This is a joke. Who are we being protected from? It's ourselves. What is this "trouble," who is making it and why?

I'm taking honors classes this year and it's plain disgusting. We recite some dates and events, throw in some pious noise and that's about it. None of this

Drug testing protest

DeKalb, Ill.—On Sept. 15, at Northern Illinois University, Student Association Welfare Advisor Jim Fabris and former SA president Ed Gallagher were arrested for writing on the sidewalks of the campus. Their statements were in protest of NIU's proposed mandatory drug testing program for student athletes.

Both these students are members of the John Lennon Society, a group working to ensure the rights of students. Their fellow activists clearly viewed the arrests as an encroachment on their right of free speech and as a reaction to their political views.

As more students came out in protest of the arrests the next day, an arrest of a different student was again attempted. But students surrounded the police car and would not leave. The student was let go, but the question of a violation of basic rights remains a hot issue.

Concerned students on the campus accurately see this proposed drug testing as the beginning of an eventual restriction of their basic Bill of Rights. In fact, one student held a sign during the protest saying, "We will not urinate on the Bill of Rights."

Many students and university people question where the drug testing will end. Exactly how will these "random" drug tests—leaving aside their poor accuracy—be used? To aid or counsel resulting in better job performance or to get rid of those who rock the boat?

—Student activist

Indeed, when the Hungarian Revolution was bloodily crushed by the invasion of Russian tanks on Nov. 4, it was the workers' councils that called for a General Strike on Dec. 8. For the first time in history, a general strike followed the collapse of the revolution.

Today the Hungarian Revolution remains a beacon for the future because it shows the depth of the idea of freedom that arose from under state-capitalist totalitarianism.

Just as in 1956 the Hungarian Revolution broke the myth that Stalinism had brainwashed the people under its rule, so today Reaganism cannot break the quest for freedom of American youth. In 1956 the Hungarian youth raised in life the banner of Marx's Humanism against Russian state-capitalism's false claims to be Marxist. Today, can we as youth raise as revolutionary a banner in the battle against Reaganism?

knowledge is alive, involved or of much meaning. Everything is carefully separated into tiny categories of information unconnected with each other and the world.

Except for a few times, you get a math or science teacher who constantly harps about the greatness of Ronald Reagan and all he does for us. History at school is economic progress to its so-called completion in our present society and a bunch of wars. Science courses begin and end praising technology and capitalism as perfect twins that it would be inconceivable to criticize or even question.

How do we know we live in a good society? Some astronauts walked on the moon and that settles it. What of the quality of human life, in any of its aspects—material, individual, social, spiritual? No answer. What of human freedom? These questions are not to be asked.

Actually every problem that is admitted is blamed on us! Yet why would it be this way? Are we just mean and nasty? They answer no—you're not malicious, just damn inferior genetically and otherwise. They don't just say this about Blacks, Hispanics, and Indians, but working-class whites included. After all, they haven't succeeded with the American ideal of wealth.

This is a perfect justification in their eyes. It justifies just plain bad manners, more control, more police, more laws, rules and regulations. This is domination on the everyday level.

If you were in these conditions, what would you do? Wouldn't you fight back, wouldn't you resist and, as they say, cause trouble? The more they tighten up, the more resistance they'll get.

We are always told how freedom is just a concept, an abstraction to look up to, worship and bow to, but, god forbid!, never to touch—like a chair in a museum... isn't freedom. For those without freedom, it would look like only an abstraction. But for those who are making it come alive in our lives, as a reality which is experienced and lived, it is more than that, more than just a word. This is what I look forward to.

—Steinmetz H.S. student

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

The South African government has set up 13 "reorientation centers." Young Black detainees are often given a choice between staying in jail or going to one of the camps. There they are given psychological tests and taught "community involvement" and "identity restructuring," meaning they are pressured to spy on other activists. Of the 15,000 people detained under the country's state of emergency, about 5,000 have been teenagers.

At several campuses in Seoul, South Korea, students held a series of protests in September, charging that Pres. Chun was spending billions of dollars on the Asian Games this year and the 1988 Olympics to lend his dictatorship international legitimacy, while social programs needed the money. The government suspended classes at six colleges and detained over 1,000 people to prevent protests during the Asian Games.

In San Diego, Cal., the Committee Opposed to Militarism and the Draft is preparing anti-draft ads for public high school papers in the area. The group recently won a court order forcing school papers that publish military ads to allow opposing ads.

About 500 students and supporters demanded Yale's divestment from South Africa at the inauguration of Yale's new president, Benno Schmidt, on Sept. 20. Schmidt spoke on the importance of freedom of speech. Two days later, "free speech" was the university's excuse to arrest 23 anti-apartheid demonstrators for sit-ins in and outside the Yale investment office. A National Protest Day for South African Divestment and Sanctions is planned for Oct. 10.

Retail jobs: a pit stop?

Belleville, N.J.—I work on the floor of a retail store that is part of a chain. Sometimes the bosses push us to work massive hours. When they need you they expect you to put in all your living hours. Some people worked 70 hours each of the last few weeks. Then this week they cut hours down to under 40 because they used up all their budgeted hours. They balance the budget out on our backs.

The bosses see us as just picking up a second income. We start at minimum wage, and after almost two years still make only \$4.05 an hour. Two women I work with have children to support. It's their primary income, and they can't make it on that money. They're in the process of leaving.

Three months ago the bosses set a new policy that grievance meetings would be held every month. We didn't even elect people—the bosses picked out people to represent us. Even these conservative-minded people gave it to them with both barrels over every issue they could think of. So after one meeting the policy was killed. Even what was brought up at that meeting wasn't addressed. It was just venting us out.

Basically the job is youth. Some are students paying their bills. There are also people like me in their late teens or twenties who have to live with someone or with our families to make it on that income.

We work as slowly as we can. If we feel sick we take a day off since the pay can't get much worse. They won't let us bring up wages at the weekly meetings that the supervisors hold to tell us their latest policy changes. They say it's a personal matter, so it doesn't get raised publicly.

But the workers talk together about how we will get out of here. We say even if we get a raise we won't stay. It's what I call a pit stop job, but better jobs are getting few and far between. What's left for people in this country are these service jobs where you're treated like dirt from all sides.

The only positive part in all this alienation is that out of the discussions with fellow workers comes a look at the future, knowing that this can't last and there is better.

—Retail worker

Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Prime Minister Nakasone's racist characterization of Black and Latino Americans as "lowering the level" of the U.S., which met sharp protests, including from Japanese Americans, was no isolated incident. In early September Nakasone was forced to dismiss his Education Minister, Fujio Masayuki, because of published remarks in which Masayuki claimed that Korea was itself responsible for its annexation by Japan in 1910. Masayuki was one of the powers behind the drive to rewrite Japanese history textbooks and purge them of references to the atrocities of Japanese imperialism. In a "Big Lie" reminiscent of the neo-Nazi claim that the holocaust of Jews was a "hoax," Masayuki, along with other right-wing politicians and academics, has nearly dismissed as "myth" the slaughter of tens of thousands of Chinese civilians by Japanese soldiers in the occupation of Nanking in 1937.

Protest rewriting of Japan's war history

Nakasone dismissed Masayuki but he has not repudiated Masayuki's views. It was Nakasone's Bitburg-like visit to the Yasukuni Shrine—long a symbol of militarism—during last year's 40th anniversary of the end of World War II, that sparked a counter-movement this year to remember all the victims of the war.

An alternative gathering was held in Osaka to "remember the war victims of the Asia-Pacific region" in Japan's "15-year war," from the 1931 invasion of Manchuria to 1945. The main speaker, Seiji Yoshida, decried his "war crimes" of that period which included the mobilization of Koreans for forced labor, and providing "comfort battalions" of Korean women for Japanese soldiers. Another ceremony was held in Thailand, near the "Bridge over the River Kwai," to honor the 30,000 Asian forced-laborers and 10,000 Allied POWs who died building the railway to Burma for the Japanese military occupation. The two alternative ceremonies adopted an anti-war pledge.

A recent new thrust in the anti-war movement

has come from small, decentralized, non-party groups whose members include teachers, housewives and city workers. They have fueled a movement to declare "nuclear free zones" in areas housing U.S. military installations. In Yokosuka the movement aims to totally remove the U.S. nuclear submarine base there. Earlier this spring housewives in Zushi organized a campaign to halt local and national government plans to build a large housing complex for the U.S. Navy.

The U.S., which is calling for a remilitarized Japan against the desires of the Japanese people, has obtained Nakasone's agreement to join in Reagan's Star War program. Various Asian state rulers have attacked Japan's remilitarization because they have their own nationalistic interests. Genuine opposition in Asia comes from revolutionary forces like the Korean youth. They have protested the history textbook revisions inseparable from Japan's current support of the Chun military regime.

Class struggle in Canada

- International Woodworkers Association (IWA) began a round of selective strikes in July. By September, upwards of 19,000 workers were out on strike. While the IWA has agreed to no wage increases, the lumbermen are bitterly opposed to the timber companies' practice of contracting-out union jobs.

- Some 5,500 clerical, administrative, highway maintenance and transportation workers in the Newfoundland Association of Public Employees resumed a militant province-wide strike in September which they had broken off after five weeks last spring. They are demanding pay parity with other public employees.

- Potash miners in Saskatoon struck at the Lanigan mine, demanding improved safety measures and increased wages. Sixty strikers were arrested in August for violating a court-injunction limiting pickets to five people.

- In Thunder Bay, Ontario, 500 grain handlers walked out in September and the grain companies locked out another 700 workers. The companies at first demanded a 20% wage cut. They now have agreed to a small wage increase, but want to take back benefits and retain the right to hire part-time workers.

- Cutters, pressers and machine operators, mainly women workers, went on strike in September at three ILGWU locals in Toronto. It is the first garment strike by this sector in 49 years.

- The British Columbia Government Employees Union has served notice on the provincial government that its members will not handle South African products. B.C. is the only province that continues to import South African wines and liquor for sale in the government stores.

- Striking Gainers meatpackers of Local 280-P UFCW, in Edmonton, Alberta, have organized a national campaign of demonstrations and pickets at stores and restaurants handling Gainers products, most of which are now being sold in the U.S. Contingents of strikers have been traveling to raise strike funds and to spread the Gainers boycott. The plant has been run with scabs since the strike began in June.

Pakistan challenge

1986 has seen the biggest challenge from below to General Zia's rule since he took power in 1977. On Aug. 14, when the reactionary Islamic general was on pilgrimage to Mecca, he had his surrogate, Premier Junejo, forcibly prevent opposition rallies. The opposition, led by 33-year-old Benazir Bhutto, had expected to turn out hundreds of thousands during that nationwide independence day celebration to demand elections in September.

Instead, the opposition was driven off the streets by police gunfire and clubs when they tried to demonstrate, despite a last-minute government ban. Fully 20,000 did manage to rally in Karachi, and Bhutto escaped surveillance to address the rally before police closed in and arrested her later in the day.

In the next ten days, over 60 people were killed by police and army bullets,

mainly in the Karachi area, but also in the Punjab. As barricades went up in the streets, the brunt of the fighting was borne by the proletarian slum-dwellers of Karachi. One slum activist from a neighborhood called Lyari complained that the middle-class groups had disappeared from the streets: "Only Lyari is fighting the battle for democracy. The rest are issuing statements." Proletarian youth burned many railroad stations, forcing the army to be called out, and attacked several police stations. Women blocked traffic on highways outside Karachi.

By the time Bhutto and other leaders were released from jail in September, an uneasy calm had returned.

Carnage in France

The brutal and inhuman acts of terrorism in Paris, including the bombing of a department store frequented by workers and immigrants, have belied the terrorists' claim to be fighting on behalf of Palestinian liberation. Eight people were killed and 150 wounded. The "security" measures introduced by the Chirac government have received applause from Reagan, as police have gone on a rampage through immigrant neighborhoods, stopping anyone who "looks Arab" on the streets. Some have been arrested, beaten and deported from France without cause. Others are threatened with violence by police and rightist groups.

While there have been some small protests against police abuse of Arabs, such as by the large civil rights group "SOS-Racism," the general move in France is to the Right, with groups like the anti-immigrant, neo-fascist National Front in the forefront. As one reader wrote us from Paris before the latest events, "France is today perhaps the most conservative country in Europe."

However, few are posing the question of French imperialism's responsibility for the carnage in Lebanon, now spilling over onto French territory.

Haitian protest

Port-au-Prince, Haiti—On Aug. 15, 1986 U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz made a five-hour visit to Haiti. During his visit, several grassroots anti-



Haitians protesting Shultz's visit

imperialist demonstrations were organized here in the capital and in some other cities.

In Port-au-Prince, more than 30,000 demonstrators massed in front of the U.S. Embassy. They were protesting against American interference in the affairs of the country and also against U.S. military aid to Haiti. Slogans and placards stating "Down with America," "Ronald Reagan-Macout" and "George Shultz, Machan tam (Bad Man)" were evident everywhere in the demonstration.

It would appear that this demonstration, organized through the efforts of the democratic forces, shows that the Haitian people no longer want to submit to imperialist exploitation. They are opting for a new, much more humanist system.

—R.H., Correspondent

Poland amnesty

In a surprise move in September, the military government in Poland enacted a broad amnesty which freed virtually all of Solidarnosc's leaders and activists from prison. The amnesty, announced by General Kiszczak, Interior Minister,

was preceded only hours before by nationwide sweep by his police. Some 3,000 people were visited by the authorities at their homes or jobs, or brought to police stations, and warned to stop their opposition activities.

After the two prior amnesties under martial law, many released political prisoners were re-arrested. But for now the recently-freed leaders and theorists of Solidarnosc are renewing the discussion of "where to now?" The leader of the underground Solidarnosc, Zbigniew Brzezinski seemed to see the amnesty as a sign of the movement's strength: "There is a certain chance of organizing open, anyway half-open, activity." But he then added that the government "will be demanding the complete liquidation of Solidarnosc organizations. They will not tolerate any open proposals from Solidarnosc."

Jamaican elections

The July elections were a resounding defeat for Prime Minister Edward Seaga's pro-Reagan foreign and domestic policies. A proponent of both Reagan invasion of Grenada and Reagan-style austerity economic policies at home Seaga's party polled only 43%, versus 57% for Michael Manley's social democratic Peoples' National Party (PNP) in local elections.

As early as January 1985, the food riots had shown the mass discontent with Seaga's economic policies, as did the massive general strike in June 1985. In March of this year, 60,000 people came out to a rally against Seaga's economic policies. The PNP's resounding July 1986 election victory came despite Seaga's massive use of street gangs and thugs to intimidate voters.

This was followed in September by report by the human rights group Americas Watch exposing Jamaica's police as having engaged in summary executions of criminal suspects. They have killed 200 people per year over the past seven years.

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 Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution* and *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism. At a time when 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 Dunayevskaya 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.