

## Immigration law attacks labor



by John Marcotte

On May 5, 1987, the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 will officially go into effect. It is a great irony that that day will mark the 169th birthday of Karl Marx, who called for workers of the world to unite and was a founder of the International Workingmen's Association, through which British workers kept England from entering the U.S. Civil War on the Slave South's side.

This law is called by the politicians and the press "amnesty for illegal aliens." It is no such thing. It is an anti-labor law, part of Reaganism's drive against American labor. Here are some facts about this law:

### FACTS BELIE "AMNESTY"

- Of the relatively few undocumented workers who are eligible for "legalization" (not amnesty), i.e., those who were in the U.S. before Jan. 1, 1982, fully 80 percent will have trouble documenting this, say immigration lawyers.

- Fewer still will then be temporarily legal for one year, at which point they must be fluent in English to be permanently approved.

- Even then for five years they will not be able to get any Federal benefits—though working and paying taxes—and won't be able to bring their families to the U.S.

- Farmworkers who worked at least 90 days in the field between May 1, 1985 and May 1, 1986 can get temporary residence for two years, and must then work five more years in the fields to become permanent! The infamous H-2 "guest worker" program is kept as an option for 1990-93 in case the bosses can't get enough "cheap labor" through the first method.

- A worker not able to "legalize" will find it virtually impossible to change jobs. This includes live-in domestic workers, who will have to stay with their present bosses "for life."

- The law includes a racist clause on preferential hiring of a citizen over even a legal resident.

- A "secret" law (HR 3737) was passed in Congress, with no disclosure, on "fraudulent marriages to obtain residency." U.S. consulates are already routinely rejecting petitions from U.S. citizens and residents for residency for their spouses. In October 1986 alone, the consulate in Ciudad Juarez, Mexico arbitrarily rejected 200 applications and accepted only five!

- Finally, the border patrol budget was increased 50 percent for 1987-89, and the fiscal year 1988 has a \$400

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## Our Life and Times

### Contadora collapse

No sooner did another attempt at finding a way to end the war against Nicaragua emerge in mid-January, than the Reagan administration once again pulled out the carpet from beneath it. On Jan. 19-20, Foreign Ministers from the Contadora Group of nations as well as the Secretary-Generals of the UN and OAS (Organization of American States) toured five Central American nations with a proposal calling for (among other things) an end to U.S. aid for the contras. The delegation was hardly off the airplane before Reagan quickly undercut the initiative by taking a blast at so moderate a figure as Joas Clemente Baena of the OAS for participating in the tour. Reagan followed this up by promising even more military aid for the contras in the next year.

The Jan. 19-20 tour grew out of the so-called "Rio Declaration" of Dec. 18, which criticized U.S. support for the contras in stronger language than has been characteristic of Contadora, by language such as "illegal." But neither that statement nor the latest tour means that the heads of state who make up the Contadora Group have become severe critics of Reagan; they have always shown more willingness to hit out against their own rebellious masses at home than take a militant posture against Reagan. But the fact that Reagan would have his mouthpiece, Eliot Abrams, warn of the "dangers from Contadora" shows how single-minded he is to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution and deny independence to any Latin American country.

### MEXICO'S CRISIS

The one government that was not heard from in all of this was Mexico's. Though Mexico is a major force in the Contadora Group and was an early critic of U.S. policy in Central America, it issued no criticism of Reagan for undermining the latest peace effort. Its silence flows from the fact that so deep has Mexico's economic crisis become under the impact of a rising \$100

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## Reagan's America: rampant racism, pauperization, militarized science

by Kevin A. Barry

Beneath the glitter of his Hollywood-type references to America as a "rising sun," the anecdotes about Benjamin Franklin and the Constitution, and the rhetoric on America as "an endless experiment in freedom"—with no reference anywhere to civil rights or the recent outpouring of racist unfreedom in the land—Reagan's State of the Union speech set a hard, militaristic and reactionary agenda for 1987.

Number one on that agenda is continued aid to his fascist contras in Nicaragua, no matter what the cost. Number two is his insane Star Wars scheme, dubbed by Reagan "the path to a safer future." Number three is continued war on the American working people at home, with bigger doses of poverty, unemployment and racism in store for 1987, all of this now called "economic competitiveness."

While the media and Congress are involved in a search for who knew what when, about Iran/Contra, the Reaganites are free to continue their public, known and open counter-revolutionary and retrogressionist agenda. Thus, racist Attorney General Edwin Meese says nothing on Forsyth County, but comes out squarely for a rollback of the 1966 Miranda decision guaranteeing lawyers for criminal suspects. Thus, Senate Republicans elect arch-reactionary Jesse Helms as their top foreign policy spokesman. Thus, Reagan moves ahead to hold another nuclear test on Feb. 3, ignoring

lukewarm Democratic Senate efforts to deter such a move.

Let us look at the real state of the union as revealed especially sharply in three aspects of Reagan's America: rampant racism, pauperization and unemployment, increased militarization of science.

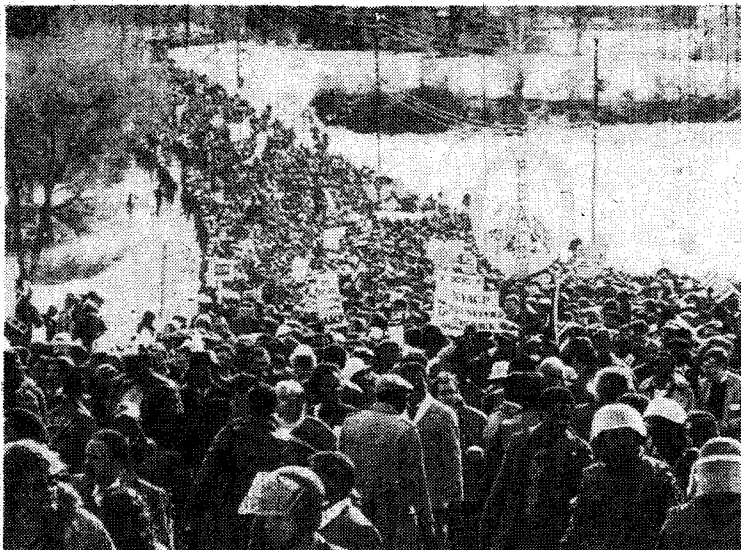
### FORSYTH COUNTY, GEORGIA

Four days before Reagan's speech, in the town of Cummings, Forsyth County, Georgia, the real state of the union was shown when up to 30,000 civil rights demonstrators braved death threats and a racist mob of 1,000 to create one of the largest civil rights demonstrations since the 1960s. Only the presence of 2,300 National Guardsmen and police prevented violence. Just 30 miles from Atlanta, the county has had no Black residents since lynch mobs drove all Blacks out in 1912. One 1987 marcher was an Atlanta fireman shot on the road in Forsyth County in 1980. "Just because I was Black, they were trying to kill me," he told TV reporters. Despite his fear, he returned to march on Jan. 24 to show the world: "The point is that I can come back, without any restrictions." The size of the demonstration shocked the Atlanta civil rights leaders who had organized it.

Since the week before, when another march of 400 had to retreat in the face of a racist mob, the Reagan White House remained totally silent on Forsyth County. Reagan did, however, find time to address an anti-abortion rally at the White House on Jan. 22, giving those reactionaries his total support.

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## Racism and the ongoing Black revolt



Marchers in Forsyth County, Ga. confronted racist opposition.



### In-person reports

#### Forsyth County, Georgia

**Forsyth County, Ga.**—Over 20,000 people jammed the streets outside the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center in Atlanta. Some buses had to return to get more people. There were also all these taxis that donated their services.

There were many poor as well as middle-class Blacks. There were young people and also elderly. People had come from as far as Rhode Island and San Francisco, plus there was a group of Nigerians. Along the march route were hundreds of hostile whites—some in Klan robes.

The town of Cummings was not all opposed to us. When we passed homes, people would often be waving or giving the peace sign.

William Bradford Reynolds of the Justice Department was there to "observe." I found that amusing, since that man would do anything to end the Civil Rights Division.

—Teacher, Atlanta

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I am a student at Morehouse College. I am 18 years old and was designated to be one of the marshals at the march—in other words I was the human barrier between the people of the march and the racists with their confederate flags. Each marshal was assigned to a bus. There were people from all over the country. On my bus alone there were people from Florida, Connecticut, New York, Maryland, Washington, Virginia, Tennessee and Alabama.

The pre-march rally had a powerful effect on me. This was my first march. I got a chance to hear all of

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### Editorial statement

#### American Civilization on Trial

Black History Month, 1987, comes at the moment when the climate of racism in these United States, brought to a new virulence by 6 years of Reaganism, and as manifested in such seemingly different locations as Forsyth County, Georgia and Howard Beach, New York City, is not only a fresh indictment of American society, but makes it imperative to look, however briefly, at the history of how American civilization continues to be put on trial by its ongoing, revolutionary, Black dimension.

Coming as it does right after an intense series of mass rallies and demonstrations in New York City, and the appearance of the largest civil rights march to take place in the South in nearly two decades,

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### On the Inside

*Dupre reviews Dunayevskaya*—Hegelian scholar Louis Dupre writes on *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, p. 5.

*International Reports*—In-person reports from the Philippines, Chile, p. 6; Haiti, p. 8.

*Women and the Supreme Court*—Suzanne Casey writes on the most recent Supreme Court decisions, p. 2.

# Woman's right to choose: job or baby?

by Suzanne Casey

Two recent Supreme Court rulings concerning pregnancy leave stirred up a great deal of controversy in the media and the women's movement. In the first decision, the Supreme Court upheld a California law which requires employers to provide unpaid maternity leave and guarantee a woman's job when she returns to work. The second decision, however, upheld a Missouri law which denies unemployment compensation to women whose jobs are no longer available when they return after pregnancy leave. (Compensation during leave was not even at issue in either case.)

What was both startling and infuriating in the California case was to see civil rights groups such as the National Organization for Women (NOW) and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) align with the Reagan administration's Justice Dept. and Commerce Dept. against job rights for pregnant women. Not only did they not support Lillian Garland, the Black bank receptionist fighting to get her job back, but both organizations actually filed briefs in support of her employer, Cal Fed, using platitudes to contend that special laws for pregnant women discriminate against other workers and citing the need for "equal rights for all workers."

Those who opposed special job protection evidently want pregnancy treated like a disability, such as a broken leg or a hernia, supposedly to avoid discrimination against men and non-pregnant women workers. Another argument was that if employers have to provide special job protection for pregnancy, they will only hire men.

## WORKING WOMEN'S REALITY

What world do these people live in? Women in the U.S. today make up 44% of the workforce and earn less than 60% of what men make. Sixty percent of women are working in "traditional women's jobs," which have no disability benefits at all. So covering pregnancy like any other disability gets them nothing. And I doubt that we have to fear an influx of men being hired as re-

## LA vigil for Black women

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—The Take Back the Night Coalition, commemorating the one-year anniversary of the Black Coalition Fighting Back Serial Murders, held a candlelight vigil at 64th and Main Streets in the heart of dark and gloomy South-Central L.A., the area in which 18 women have been murdered by a serial killer. At this street corner, about 30 people, mostly women, Black and white, participated in a very exciting candlelight vigil.

Margaret Prescod, organizer, gave a very fiery speech, criticizing the lack of interest by police in solving crimes against the Black community and telling of an incident in which an unarmed youth, whose mother was present at the vigil, had been killed by the police during an alleged robbery. So how do we expect the police to solve these crimes of murder committed against mostly Black women, many of whom are prostitutes and looked upon as being criminals? We need a stronger response from the Black community to get these crimes against all women's lives solved for good.

When she asked people to say what they thought, I had a chance to speak out against the senseless racist murder at Howard Beach and the attack upon Blacks in segregated Forsyth County, Georgia, where being Black is cause enough for racists to attack. In the same sense, women should not be open to attack by sexists because they are women and are out on the streets at any time.

This is an attack upon the whole Black community. I really got a feeling for what "Take Back the Night" meant at this vigil.

Being a Black man at this vigil, I felt more men needed to be there to show our support for Black women, who are human beings and should be treated as such.

—Gene Ford

ceptionists and part-time J.C. Penney cashiers, the jobs held by the women in these two cases.

In the California case, we have to ask: what workers do groups like NOW and the ACLU actually represent? For whom are they speaking here—the majority of working-class women who will be affected by these decisions, or mainly the upper echelons? If you actually ask workers their opinions, I truly doubt that many women feel discriminated against when a co-worker gets her job back after a maternity leave. How many men consider it discrimination when a woman worker takes an unpaid maternity leave? Whose babies are we having and caring for, after all?

It's not protective laws which are "paternalistic." It is the attitudes of those who presume to speak for women workers. As Deborah Meyer of Nine to Five, a national working women's group which supported Lillian Garland, said, "You don't roll back rights because you can't extend them to everybody."

What these cases also show is that what the courts give us one day, they can take away the next. Neither of these decisions was based on women's rights, but on states' rights. This administration is using the Rehnquist-led Supreme Court as its mount to ride roughshod over all workers' rights and civil rights.

What is clear is that we can't count on the courts or even the established women's organizations to protect our rights. We can't afford to let the issues get lost behind narrow abstract legalisms which hide class divisions. Working women are the only ones who can speak for themselves and guarantee their rights.

## Cheryl Araujo

Two days after I heard about the attack on Debbie McCann at UC Berkeley because of her anti-rape activities, I read that Cheryl Araujo had been killed in a car accident outside Miami, Florida. Araujo was the young woman who had charged six men with gang-raping her in a New Bedford, Mass. bar in 1983, while the rest of the patrons watched. (See N&L, April, 1983.)

The trial and conviction of four of the men involved created an uproar in New Bedford, with demonstrations both for and against the decision. Repeated threats on Araujo's life during this period forced her to flee to Florida.

Even though Araujo moved to Florida she never escaped New Bedford mentally. Not only did she carry the memory of the attack and trial, she was still afraid of reprisals. Sadly, she became involved with drugs and alcohol, and was intoxicated when her car went off the road. She was 25 years old and had three children. It seems to me that New Bedford managed to reach through time and space and murder her anyway.

At Berkeley some people have argued that the men harassing Debbie McCann are only a few disturbed individuals. But when I think about it in relation to something like Cheryl Araujo and New Bedford it seems clear that a couple of disturbed men are in fact a reflection of a very disturbed society. We will have to dig very deeply in practice and philosophy to transform it.

—Deborah Morris

## Japanese women workers

*In The Shadow Of Affluence—Stories of Japanese Women Workers*, by Michiko Kuroki, Committee for Asian Women, 57 Peking Road, 5th floor, Kowloon, Hong Kong, 1986, 54pp., price \$3.

This collection does much to dispel both the notion of "good labor-management relations" and the myth of complacency of Japanese women workers, who since the late 1950s have been battling intensive automation and inhuman working conditions.

Today Japanese-owned multi-national companies are exploiting Southeast Asian workers in much the same way, making them work for long hours and extremely low wages. Yet, inside Japan, the passage of the so-called "Equal Employment Opportunity Bill" in 1985, has also meant the removal of protective laws for many working women, including maternity protection, prohibition against night work, and regulation of overtime.

Japanese women continue to receive half the wages of male workers, and those who are married are often paid as "part-timers," even though they work almost the same number of hours.

In 1982, "part-time" workers at Nagaya Electrics for the first time challenged the company and the two unions, and formed their own "Third Union." Not only did they have to deal with husbands and relatives who opposed them and others who labelled them "communists," but gangsters hired by the company threatened the women's and their families' lives if they did not withdraw their case. Their struggle has continued.

Kazuko, an electrical worker, who herself has been the victim of extensive occupational diseases due to the inhuman speed of automation, "where you are being worked literally to the bone," organized a Workers Health Group, only to find that the group was immediately blacklisted by the company. Company employees were ordered not to fraternize with members, meet them after work, or receive any of their bulletins.

Her group also fought the company's "Quality Control" campaign, where workers are forced to "spontaneously and autonomously suggest" ways of improving production.

Japanese women workers in this collection reach out to other Asian women who are exploited by Japanese multi-nationals. As American women we join them in solidarity against all multi-nationals.

—Neda Azad

## Women- Worldwide



Demonstrators marched in Buenos Aires Dec. 26 to protest a law setting Feb. 22 as the final deadline for indicting those responsible for atrocities and crimes against "the disappeared" committed under the military junta.

Singing "We Shall Overcome," mothers of Atlanta's Black children murdered in 1980-81 sat in police department offices last month to argue that the cases be reopened. Wayne Williams was convicted and jailed for the 22 murders in 1982, but relatives and supporters obtained by federal order a police file pointing towards several other suspects. They feel the cases were closed after Williams' arrest due to pressure from the Chamber of Commerce to improve Atlanta's business climate.

UAW Local 600 members joined AFSCME Local 960 workers, Jan. 16, to protest the layoff of 110 of 603 hospital attendants at Northville Regional Psychiatric Hospital, Michigan's largest mental institution. In a letter to the Governor and legislators, the hospital's 57 psychiatrists and medical doctors charged the layoffs "will seriously undermine patient care and place the safety of patients and staff in jeopardy." Less than two years ago a patient was murdered in an inadequately staffed ward.

## 'Illegal' fights back

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—I'm from a big family in Mexico, and I have two children of my own. I came here, a year ago, alone, to see if I could improve our money situation. It was hard at first. I got a job working in a Mexican bar. The wages were minimum and nobody gave tips. I was the only woman there and had to smile at the male customers no matter what they did or how I felt. But I was proud of my work.

Then my boss started harassing me. He asked me to come into his office and told me he wanted sex. I guess because he was born here and speaks English he feels powerful over us illegals. I started crying. He left the bar. Since I had the keys, I told everyone to leave, and locked up. I never went back. The bar lost a lot of money that night, because it was only 8 o'clock on a Friday.

The boss thinks we're so scared of being sent back to Mexico that we'll do anything to keep our little jobs.

Even religion is business here. I started going to a church near the hotel where I live. The sermon made me feel good. Then the people started talking about raising money. They said it's disgusting for the minister to drive a used car. So what! I don't even have a car! I never went back to that church.

I'm really sick of the way people live here. Everyone I see looks desperate.

—23-year-old Mexican woman

## Marxist-Humanist Books

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## Playing favorites at Mullins Foods

**Chicago, Ill.**—The place where I work, Mullins Foods, is a non-union. There are 20 foremen for only 180 workers. And these foremen like to play favorites. Take overtime. The company makes it mandatory. If you don't do it, they hold back your raise. They make you punch in and out when they say. If you want to do just a little overtime the foremen won't let you. Some are forced to work 60-70 hours a week. The foremen have to approve this overtime. Their friends can come in on a Saturday, work an hour and drink beer for three. But for others it's different.

A lot of the foremen try to hit on the women. If a woman won't talk nice to the foreman or go with him, she gets bad jobs. If she tries to bid on a better job they will shoot her down.

## Strike at RCR/Katz

*Editor's note: On Friday, Jan. 16, 150 workers, most of them Haitian, Latina and Guyanese women, members of ACTWU Local 110, went on strike at RCR/Katz hat and bonnet factory. Following is the story they gave N&L.*

**Long Island City, N.Y.**—Last contract, we gave the boss an 18-month freeze to save the company and help it move from Manhattan to Queens. Now he tells us he wants another nine-month freeze! We want a contract, and no freeze!

We want a 3% a year raise for three years. New workers start at \$3.35 an hour. There are people here making \$125 a week. A worker with 13 years takes home \$155. Bob Katz is so cheap there's not even toilet paper in the bathroom, you have to bring your own! On piece-work the women get \$1.25 a dozen hats, and if the brims have to be straightened the same worker has to pay from five to 60 cents a dozen out of her pay to another worker. The piece-workers are so busy they don't even have lunch.

If you are one minute late, the secretary sends you home. But now that we're on strike, the boss suddenly wants us to come in. He went to the subway entrance to grab women by the arm and try to force them to come in. But when we hold the woman's other hand to stop the boss pulling her, we get in trouble with the police. One woman was arrested yesterday, Jan. 19.

This is the first strike we've had. Before the people never took action because the boss blackmails them. Now, there's more solidarity between us. As the Haitian workers say, "We must dechouke (uproot) this boss—he is a Tonton Makout!"

—Strikers

## P-9 and proud

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—Although Local P-9's strike against Hormel in Austin, Minn. was "settled"—after the United Food and Commercial Workers Union International put the P-9 local into trusteeship—850 strikers still haven't been called back to work.

Rick Fuller, a member of P-9 working as a support organizer, spoke at a News and Letters local meeting, and revealed some little-known facts about P-9's strike organized by a woman student who was suspended for wearing a "P-9 Proud" button.

Most interesting to me was Rick's account of his personal transformation. "If, before this strike, the U.S. had bombed Russia, I would have applauded," he said. "And when our strike started I was mad when the Left started coming around; I thought 'them dirty bastards.' After a while I realized what we were doing went way beyond the little town of Austin, Minn. A movement educates a person."

The P-9 workers still need support. You can send a contribution to Adopt-A-Family or Hardshipfund, P.O.B. 396, Austin, MN 55912. And BOYCOTT HORMEL!

—Dale Parsons

## Machine danger: only in your mind?

**Philadelphia, Penn.**—The tip of my left index finger was amputated in an accident at work. The plant manager's analysis afterwards was that I need to "calm down" about operating the machine. In other words, the cause of the accident was my emotional state, a personal problem, not the conditions of labor in this capitalist factory.

Machine operators must submit a daily production report which details run time, down time, production, waste and time spent on set-ups. The clock and the counter are never far from our minds; the pressure is always there. Now the company claims that our department is behind schedule, and management is pushing for more production and more overtime.

The machine I run is the "money maker" in the department, but since "improvements" were made in December, production has fallen. The machine was rebuilt without regard to safety or to the difficulty of making adjustments and repairs, and engineering has left the responsibility for solving new problems to the operators. It was while I was trying to correct a recurring problem that the accident occurred.

The other machine operators, who know this reality, say that such an accident could have happened to anyone. My co-workers are opposed firmly to my being forced back to work before the finger is healed. Their support is what I depend on against the plant manager's "psychoanalysis," which puts production first and the blame on me.

—Woman worker

Right now we are having some trouble about our raises. Usually they give everyone a cost-of-living raise at the end of the year. This year they are holding it back. It seems that McDonald's, who we make sauces for, found a little piece of wax or something in a sauce packet. So they put our whole company on probation for six months and threatened to drop us. The company called everyone together. They held up our raises. And now even though the work has picked back up we still don't have those raises.

At the meetings because McDonald's they told everyone to take a lie detector test. They not only asked if we put anything into the sauce, they went into a lot of other things they had no business knowing—whether we ever took drugs, do we know anyone in the plant selling drugs, have we ever done time in prison. One guy said they put the lie detector strap on so tight, his hand went to sleep. Some people got so scared they broke down and cried.

We really need an organization to solve these problems. We have no union. The only time we get together is when the company calls a meeting after something bad happens. We tried to organize the plant a couple of times. When we did the company started being real nice. But the foremen told some that if they even mention the union they'll get fired. I would like all of us who work at Mullins to begin discussing what we should do about all of this. Maybe we can try to get a union in here and stop some of these things from going on.

—Mullins Food worker



The longest work stoppage in the history of U.S. steelmaking was ended when workers voted by a 3 to 1 margin to approve a concessionary contract with USX Corp. In previous years, contracts were negotiated jointly with all major manufacturers so that the 1959 strike virtually halted all steel production in the U.S. This time, the USX workers were the only ones affected. Most of them have at least 20 years seniority in the plant because of the 67% loss of steel jobs in the last decade. USX has just announced three more plant closings, with 3,700 workers losing their jobs.

## Coronet Parts sweatshop

**Brooklyn, N.Y.**—There are 25 of us, mostly women, on strike at Coronet Parts since our contract expired Jan. 13. Minimum wage here is \$3.45 an hour, and the boss won't give what he gave in the past: 35 cents the first year, 30 the second and 30 the third over three years. He offered ten cents per year. People here with 27 years are making five to six dollars an hour. After two years you are making \$4.15 an hour. And the boss won't put a nickel more on the pension, and wants to freeze our medical.

We work in there. Coronet is nothing but a sweatshop, a unionized sweatshop. You freeze to death in the winter and it's so hot in the summer you get a suntan in there. We had a walkout one time before the strike because of the cold. They treat you like animals. You get no kind of respect. Once a month they might say good morning back to you.

Back in the early '70s they wouldn't hire Blacks in the office. Only later they started, after someone came and talked to them. But they treat them like dogs in the office too. They hire all minorities now, and pay them way below what they should get.

As far as the union, Local 463 of the Electrical Workers, we'll see where everybody stands by the time the strike is up. So far our rep is doing better than we thought he would.

—Strikers

## After the Kaiser strike...

**San Francisco, Cal.**—On January 21 SEIU Local 250 at Kaiser hospitals held a forum to address rank-and-file dissatisfaction with the leadership of the union in the wake of the strike (see 1-30-87 N&L). People active in the Committee for a Democratic Union spoke and got a good reception.

CDU is very adamant about stopping the International from taking over the local, which would mean postponing elections for another 18 months. A lot of union members at Kaiser ask what is the justification in taking over Local 250 when it was the justification that was responsible for selling out the strike. They feel that both the International and the local leadership were taking the rank-and-file for granted.

John Ring, Local 250 president, was holding this conference to show how open he is to criticism. But when a worker from Local 29 passed out leaflets urging an unequivocal rejection of two-tier wage systems, Ring was ready to physically throw him out.

But two-tier is a major issue in our Local 29 contract which is coming up in March. For example, I'm what the personnel office calls a casual employee: an "on-call." You get zero benefits, you're not guaranteed any hours, and you're on-call 24 hours a day. A supervisor can call an hour before a shift and expect you to be there. You can refuse, but they keep statistics so you feel pressured to accept most of the time. I thought I would be an on-call for 6 months or a year when I was first hired. I've found that you can be an on-call for 5 years or more.

It is important for us in Local 29 not to get caught up in pessimism caused by not fully realizing what we stand for and where we want to go. I think in trying to organize ourselves, the central problem for us will be trying to clarify what our goals are. Our first Local meeting after the strike didn't even take up what we had just been through in the six week solidarity strike with Local 250. The only discussion was raising proposals in a perfunctory manner for our upcoming contract. We shouldn't just push proposals for proposals sake without some kind of philosophy or principles backing it up. Clarifying our principles is the kind of criticism we need.

—Kaiser worker

As we go to press, SEIU International placed Local 250 into trusteeship on Jan. 30.

## Still no contract at Ford Rouge Steel

**Detroit, Mich.**—At Ford Rouge Steel we still don't have a contract, and don't have any idea when we'll get one. Our contract expired on July 31, 1986, was extended for a month, and then on Oct. 6, the company and union agreed to extend the contract on a daily basis.

When the daily extension agreement was reported, we thought that at least there weren't any concessions. But we were wrong. As it turned out, the agreement froze our cost-of-living provision. So when the rest of the UAW workers at Ford got a cost-of-living increase in December, Rouge steel workers didn't get a cent.

Right now, we're working day-by-day. The rumor mill is going full blast, but there is nothing official or factual from either the union or company about the negotiations—or even if they're going on.

—Rouge steel worker

## Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

million budget for INS to impose this new law.

What is life like now, even before this law takes effect, for undocumented workers? I know a house painter and his brother who do scaffold work on buildings. They are both unemployed for the winter. They are living in their car, because they cannot collect unemployment as they have no "papers," and they couldn't pay their rent.

### FIGHTERS AGAINST ABUSES

I remember a co-worker who was fired only for being sick, a few years back. She fought for her job for nine months, and won it back—but she got no back pay because the boss had never denied her unemployment—she never collected because she had no "papers." And to her credit, she never let that stop her from being one of the truest and strongest fighters, not only for herself but for all of us.

I have seen this many times, where many undocumented co-workers, far from letting their situation keep them afraid, have been among the most determined in the shop to stop the abuses. I've been told by white, skilled maintenance mechanics and tool-and-die makers that the problem in the shop was the "illegals" being scared, but then when the time came to do something, it was the "illegals" who acted and the skilled workers who held their tongues.

I do not expect any laws passed by the Administration or Congress to change that. Which is not to say these laws don't hope to put a damper on labor struggle in this country. Any anti-immigrant law has to be an anti-labor law, because it is one more way to get cheap, docile labor, the cornerstone of Reaganomics. That they won't succeed does not make the laws worthy of endorsement, by even so corrupt a body as the AFL-CIO leadership, purporting the law to be pro-labor. No, this law is repressive, and not just against the foreign-born. It is an attack on American labor.

## News & Letters

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,  
National Editorial Board

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



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## Editorial

## American Civilization on Trial

(continued from page 1)

Black History Month will be observed throughout the United States in a very new way this year. That newness has nothing whatsoever to do with the merely inane outcry of liberals against Reagan. For as Marx reminds us—"The liberal outcry that follows an age of reaction is all the louder the greater the cowardice displayed by liberals in putting up with the reaction for years on end without protest." In other words, the liberal outcry cannot be made into an excuse to forget their own history of retrogression. After all, the Civil War was the bloodiest and most equivocal conflict ever witnessed up to that time, because Lincoln was reluctant, according to Marx, to "adopt revolutionary methods."

By "revolutionary methods" Marx meant that "A single Black regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves." That birthmark of American history remains so deeply rooted that it becomes the target not just of Reagan's retrogression, as is evident by the impact his budget cuts have had on civil rights enforcement and what his administration is doing with the bicentennial of the Constitution. It holds true also for Kennedy liberalism and what it attempted to do with the centenary of the Emancipation Proclamation in 1963, while turning a deaf ear to the "state-sponsored terrorism" that the Southern white power structure unleashed on the Civil Rights Movement.

What Black History Month began, with Carter G. Woodson's Negro History Week in 1926, in order to show the Black dimension as touchstone of American society, Marxist-Humanism has articulated in *American Civilization on Trial* as Black masses as vanguard of the American revolution. Its Introduction entitled "Of Patriots, Scoundrels and Slave-Masters," opens:

*Subversive is a favorite expression of the FBI, the Presidency, the Attorney General and Congress. J. Edgar Hoover, John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Robert F. Kennedy, not to mention Congress and the mad dog it considers its watchdog — the House Un-American Activities Committee — are certainly armed with immense, with world-shaking powers, which they, in their search, harassment and persecution of what they conceive to be subversive, use individually and collectively. Yet all these king's horses and all these king's men can't seem to uncover the most openly read and popular hate sheet calling itself 'Rebel Underground,' circulated on the University of Mississippi campus...*

In the same way, Reagan never wearies of branding everyone from anti-war and anti-apartheid youth to Martin Luther King and civil rights activists "communists," while showing saintly tolerance toward racists who attack Blacks. No wonder H. Rap Brown told reporters in Atlanta that in the U.S., "Racism is the state religion, and violence is its liturgy to carry it out."

Though our concentration is on today, and the period from the 1960s, a glance at the '40s and '50s reveals how relentless the continuity of racism is in American history.\* For just as the post-World War I 1920s brought lynching to the North and its absolute opposite, the revolutionary Black dimension fighting it both as Garveyism and Marxism, so history has shown other decades, the '30s, World War II and the '40s, wherein the first developments of Marxist-Humanism on the Black question put current events in the new context of Marx's philosophy of revolution.

Surely, that has become decisive when so neo-conservative a newspaper as the *New York Times* (1/26/87) has to report that as Black poverty has grown to the worst levels in the post-World War II era, "Black militance has increased until, it is said to be at its highest since the urban riots of the 1960s and early 1970s."

In other words, what the '80s show us is that six years of Reaganism has moved the historic clock so far back that the '60s sound revolutionary. That is so, not alone because the revolutionary Black dimension has remained ongoing, but because the continuity of those '60s struggles touched every area of society.

What Reaganism seems never to have learned from American history is that the absolute opposite of that dehumanized racism, the revolutionary opposite that the Black dimension helped establish, has been the touchstone of any progress made in this country.

Still, it was the Black dimension which showed

\* History didn't mean only the Black dimension, but the whole of America's development, including Marxism, and the Marxist interpretation of the Black dimension. In the Marxist-Humanist Archives this is documented from the 1920s with the *Negro Champion* (#8494), through the 1940s with *Negro Intellectuals in Dilemma* (#271), to today. Indeed, the entire Raya Dunayevskaya Collection of the Marxist-Humanist Archives needs to be studied to gain a full appreciation of the revolutionary Black dimension as ongoing. That includes Africa whether as an in-person presence in West Africa in the 1960s during the fight for independence (#3184), or South Africa with Frantz Fanon, Soweto and *American Black Thought* (#10528).

that nationalism can be revolutionary when it is inseparable from internationalism. Whether that be Africa and the Caribbean, or whether that be the Black freedom struggle which inspired the First Workingmen's International, headed by Karl Marx, this has been the truth of American civilization for over 100 years.

For that reason the National Editorial Board of *News & Letters*, in 1963, issued a general statement, *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard*, that has now been re-published and expanded four times. Because this pamphlet is so urgent for today's freedom struggles, we offer it for Black History Month, along with the autobiography of the editor of *N&L*, *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, and a special six month subscription to the biweekly *N&L*.

We invite you to participate with us in the current freedom protests and join us in discussing Marxist-Humanist works on the Black dimension.

—Lou Turner

## Experience the Black Dimension as Ongoing with this special offer

*American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard. The true history of America from the Civil War to the 1980s. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa" by Raya Dunayevskaya*

*Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal. By Charles Denby. The autobiography of a Black autoworker, growing up in the South and moving to the Northern factories to become a Marxist, a civil rights activist and editor of News & Letters.*

## News &amp; Letters

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All three for \$8. (A \$12 value)

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## PROTESTING 'THESE UNCIVILIZED UNITED STATES'

After all the racism we have seen coming out so openly in this country, I feel that it is important to keep alive the view that the U.S. can be changed, and changed totally. I went back to reading Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* again, and my eye fell on what he said about the suddenness and revolutionary character of the Montgomery Bus Boycott: "Few can look out upon a calm sea and tell when a storm will rise and the tides will sweep all filth to shore. No one can set the time, date or place for the self-activities of the Blacks..."

Black activist  
New Jersey

I had never been to a march before, but I went to protest the racist killing in Howard Beach because I feel that at some time in your life you have to take a stance. We can't allow this kind of treatment in our society. This feels like South Africa, not the United States.

66-year old Black man  
New York City

The reports on the lynching in Howard Beach, N.Y. and the demonstrations against it (Jan. 30 *N&L*) were excellent. What was most shocking to me were the racist counter-demonstrators, who, with Reagan in power, have no shame at all. You saw it in Forsyth County, Georgia too. Despite the fact that the eyes of the whole world were on them, over 1,000 shouted racist epithets, and proclaimed their support for the KKK. It reminded me of the headline in *N&L* some 19 years ago, after the murder of Dr. King: "These Uncivilized United States."

Civil rights veteran  
Illinois

I participated in the Jan. 21 demonstration against the racist attacks at Howard Beach. I joined the march as a white woman who was not only sympathetic with the Black cause, but to say that I cannot be free in a racist world. But at the rally I was not impressed with the emcee who persisted in making anti-gay remarks. And I didn't like it when Lisa Williamson spoke about how Black men and women loved each other,

so we had better not risk any disunity by bringing women's liberation into the discussion. At the beginning of the rally, someone said: "We're not just reviving the civil rights movement, we're making a new beginning for human rights!" I hope that is true, but it will have to happen in spite of the leadership I saw at that rally.

Participant  
Queens, NY

More than 200 people marched in frigid weather, Jan. 26, to protest the appearance of Attorney General Edwin Meese at the graduation ceremony of the Detroit College of Law. Both chants and picket signs showed people's disgust with his racist, sexist attitudes and especially his most recent attempt to wipe out the Supreme Court's *Miranda* ruling requiring police to inform suspects of their legal rights. It's obvious that this country's top legal officer—like the Administration he represents—is hell bent on eliminating people's rights, not protecting them.

Protester  
DetroitFREEDOM  
自由

Your article (Jan. 30 *N&L*) on the Chinese students was very good. However the students don't have much power, but perhaps the student protests give a chance to young people in the army. The two areas in China that have power are the Party and the army. Deng's designated successor, Hu Yaobang, had no base in the army and he was removed. You have to see what the army will do. The economy is getting worse. Deng's policies aren't working. He is causing great dissatisfaction among certain people in the Party. But he is so old that he will die soon.

Teacher from China  
California

Chinese students in New York have been supporting the student protests in

China you reported on in the last issue of *N&L*. They are among more than 400 at American universities who signed an open letter condemning repression of dissidents. I attended an open forum held by a Chinese student group at Columbia University. One young student told me he found it strange that U.S. commentators portray Deng as an "open-minded" ruler. He attributed this to the alliance Nixon formed with Mao against Russia in the early 1970s, and to the port call last fall by an American warship, the first to visit the Chinese mainland since World War II.

This student said: "In China one has no hope for advancement without joining the Party. All struggles and debates about China's future are supposed to take place within party ranks. This is not the case with the current protests, and therefore the entire ruling class is frightened."

Calvin Brown  
Manhattan, NY

## UNION STRUGGLES IN U.S.

The story about the organizing of the IBP meatpacking plant in Storm Lake, Iowa (Jan. 30 *N&L*) was very interesting. I had no idea that Southeast Asian workers were being brought into that area, and I didn't know about the way they are now joining the union. This is the kind of thing that makes your paper so unusual. Congratulations on *N&L* coming out every two weeks. With the situation workers are in now, under Reagan, and the union leaders at the International level, we need all the help we can get.

Black worker  
Chicago

We have begun to feel the crunch! It's going to get worse when GM closes these 11 plants. How are they going to relocate all these people they are putting out on the street? The person I live with has almost 8 years to retirement, but by 1995 what will he have left? As Felix Martin wrote, retirement is in the hands of GM every time contract talks begin! How much are we as workers going to give up and give back before we stand up for our rights? And if this is what's happening with large

corporations, what's small business without unions doing to their workers?

Worker

Oklahoma City

During the voting on the Kaiser contract the physical threats from union bureaucrats shocked me. I didn't have the hindsight on union bureaucrats that Andy Phillips shows in your pamphlet on the Miners General Strike of 1949-50. It was a very eye-opening pamphlet because I see a lot of parallels with what we went through on a smaller scale. I agree with the pamphlet that the only way to defeat "two-tier" is to have an active rank-and-file organization and our own philosophy apart from the union leadership.

Kaiser hospital worker  
Oakland, Calif.

## ...AND SOUTH AFRICA

I read the article from South Africa, (Jan. 30 *N&L*) on the unregistered trade unions. There are a lot of unregistered unions in South Africa, but we haven't developed a basic philosophy of unions. If a union is weak in the industrial council, it is crushed and there is the possibility of sellouts. Once you have a philosophy you guard against sellouts by formulating a philosophic pattern of operation.

In my own experience, management tries to delay meeting with the workers. But when workers take initiative in their own hands and sit in—that minute the director will fly in from anywhere.

Black South African  
in the U.S.

## TEACHING CAPITALISM

John R. Silber, the right-wing president of Boston University, was complaining recently about how American school teachers don't teach high school students the difference between capitalism and Marxism. He said, "Too many of our teachers and too many of our young people think capitalism is about exploitation, and it isn't." Oh, really?

Student  
Illinois

Reader



**Theory/Practice**

**Dupre reviews Dunayevskaya**

by Raya Dunayevskaya

National Chairwoman, News and Letters Committees

*I am turning over my Theory/Practice column to a critique of my works, particularly Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution, by the Hegelian scholar Louis Dupre.—R.D.*

Reprinted from the Owl of Minerva (Journal of the Hegel Society of America) Vol. 18, No. 1 (Fall 1986).

\* \* \*

This book is neither a biography of Rosa Luxemburg, nor a detached, objective study of her thought. The reader unfamiliar with Luxemburg's life or writings will vainly look for the missing pieces or the balanced evaluation. As we know from her previous works, Raya Dunayevskaya does not believe in critical detachment. She writes in the kind of polemical style, introduced by Marx and since Lenin carried to ever higher pitch, which features invective as its principal figure. As for the form, her book, in spite of continuously numbered chapters, consists of three different essays of which the first is connected with the other two only by occasional statements of the main subject's position (however marginal) on women's liberation and on the significance of Marx's dialectic.

Despite this problematic presentation Dunayevskaya's work conveys fresh insight into both Luxemburg and Marx. Rosa Luxemburg occupies a rather unique position among twentieth century Marxists in that she not only broke with the leaders of the Second International but also, on a crucial issue, opposed Lenin himself. Radically internationalist, she resisted all nationalist liberation movements as well as the German Socialist Party's 1914 support of the war. An active feminist, she nevertheless refused to grant the emancipation of women a priority in revolutionary theory or practice.

**THEORETICALLY SHE IS** most remembered for her critical study of Marx's theory of the reproduction of capital, *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals* (Berlin: Singer, 1913). Marx deemed a continued accumulation of capital possible even in the closed market economy of a single country, because, so he argued, capital creates its own consumption. For Rosa Luxemburg, on the contrary, the capitalist economy is able to continue its expansion only because of its exploitation of noncapitalist, underdeveloped countries.

On these premises only an imperialist policy can preserve capitalism from collapse through underconsumption. Confronted with the perplexing choice between loyalty to her Marxist subject and loyalty to Marx himself, Dunayevskaya opts for her master. Luxemburg, she argues, is forced to introduce revolution as an external element, resulting from a "revolutionary will" rather than from the very laws of capitalist production. But to attribute the collapse of the capitalist system to any cause other than the "contradictions" inherent in surplus labor, as Luxemburg does, is to abandon the main thesis of Marx's theory. To be sure, no one would deny the revolutionary ardor of a woman who broke with Kautsky's German Socialist Party because of its "evolutionary" doctrine, and who, among the first, predicted the coming of a revolution in Russia that would initiate a world revolution. But Dunayevskaya raises the question: "Does the solution come organically from your theory or is it brought there merely by 'revolutionary will'?" (p. 45). A pertinent question indeed! But is her own thesis, that Marx's model for the collapse of capitalism is a correct one, more than an assumption for which only the truest believers in Marx's doctrine succeed in finding any evidence?

Readers of *The Owl* will probably be most interested in the third part of this book, on the dialectical element in Marx's theory. Here, once again, the writer aligns herself with those "leftist" Marxists who stress the Hegelian philosophical element in their theory. With Lenin, Dunayevskaya asserts that Hegel's dialectic "needs to be studied in and for itself." She is not satisfied with Luxemburg's defense of the dialectic as "the method of thought" in the revolutionary movement, or even with Marx's own note to Engels that Hegel's *Logic* "has been a great service to me as regards the method of dealing with the material [for the writing of *Capital*]" (p. 135). No; for her Marx's historical materialism is nothing less than "the self-determination of the idea" (p. 125). The transition from theory to practice signifies a philosophical move, rather than the abandonment of philosophy. Did the young Marx himself not write that "the practice of philosophy...is itself theoretical. It is criticism which measures the individual existence against essence, particular actuality against the Idea" (p. 123). Contrary to most other interpreters, Dunayevskaya considers this early position one which Marx nev-

er changed. The assumption of such a continuity allows her to justify the reappearance of Hegelian language in the *Grundrisse*, the preparatory notes for what was to become *Capital*. Against those who assume the existence of a break between the early and the mature Marx, the author considers the later period the one in which Hegel's dialectic was more fully assimilated.

**DUNAYEVSKAYA'S INTERPRETATION** may rest on a rather selective reading of Marx's texts. Yet the continued impact of Hegel seems, indeed, undeniable. It is supported by her instructive analysis of the long first chapter of *Capital* in the light of Hegel's *Logic*. I doubt whether any commentator since Jean Hyppolite has succeeded better in such a Hegelian interpretation of *Capital*. Nor does Dunayevskaya consider this chapter a mere "imitation" of Hegel's doctrine of the notion—as Lenin termed it. Quite the contrary! Nowhere does Marx's theory oppose Hegel's intentions more radically than here.

*It is the Great Divide from Hegel, and not just because the subject is economics rather than philosophy...No, it is the Great Divide because, just because, the Subject—not subject matter but Subject—was neither economics nor philosophy but the human being, the masses...This dialectic is therefore totally new, totally internal, deeper than ever was the Hegelian dialectic which had dehumanized the self-development of humanity in the dialectic of Consciousness, Self-consciousness, and Reason.* (p. 143)

Few students of Hegel will agree that his dialectic can be "deepened" or even preserved in Marx's reinterpretation of it. (I have developed some of the major difficulties confronting such a position in chapter 3 of my recent *Marx's Social Critique of Culture*.) Marx presents us something altogether new. Dunayevskaya rightly denies that Marxism simply "applies" Hegel's dialectic, as orthodox communist doctrine would have it, but she herself errs in considering its theory continuous with Hegel's thought.

Dunayevskaya remains the liveliest, probably also the best informed, theoretician of the far left, deeply committed to her Marxist cause, yet remaining fiercely independent—even with respect to her own heroes, Luxemburg, Lenin, Trotsky, and, most exceptionally, Marx.

—Loius Dupre, Yale University

**Views**

**REAGAN'S WARS FROM SKIES; AND ON GROUND**

The point Raya makes in her article on "Star Wars from the Skies," (Jan. 30 N&L) that Gorbachev might be willing to rescue Reagan from his current troubles, is most intriguing. It was certainly worth recalling that "Brezhnev did the very same thing for Nixon" at the moment when Nixon was raining down bombs on Hanoi. Of course, Mao was also willing to exalt Nixon. If we are going to end Reaganism, I guess the moral of the story is that neither the liberals nor the so-called socialist powers will do it for us.

Long-time reader  
Massachusetts

The headline "Platoon: not just the past," (Jan. 30 N&L) was very helpful in thinking about the movie. The portrayal of Vietnam was so powerful and real that it is easy to accept the media discussion of "Platoon" as a re-assessment of America's past. In truth, it is the present and future of Reagan's wars that is called into question by youth now. Fuller's column proves this beautifully just by having conversations with youth as they came out of the theatre. That was a simple and profound idea.

Older anti-war activist  
Michigan

That column you had on "Platoon" was really good. When I was a kid, I used to think that if I go to war, I will become a hero. But now I know it is about killing people and getting killed. Reagan is sending eighteen and nineteen-year-olds to fight in Central America while he is sitting back and planning a bigger war. I will never go.

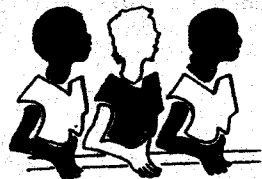
Black junior H.S. student  
Chicago

I am still thinking about the Editorial Statement in the Dec. N&L, especially Dunayevskaya's description of the two superpower summits last year as moments when the superpowers declined to launch a nuclear holocaust. And then she asked: "How long will that moment of acknowledged unreadiness last?" The

latest movements of U.S. war ships in the Mediterranean, make me wonder whether the "unreadiness" might end at any moment. I feel that N&L going to a biweekly publication is quite nervy, but very needed.

Teacher  
Michigan

**DANGER TO WOMEN'S LIVES**



On Jan. 17 I went to my first rally for women's reproductive rights. (Jan. 22 is the anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion). We carried signs with the names of health and abortion clinics that had been bombed by the right-wing. This was very personal to me because my own medical records were destroyed when the Feminist Women's Health Center in Los Angeles had been burned down.

This clinic provided all kinds of medical services to women, including abortion, which is a woman's choice. I thought, what if a woman had a serious problem that needed immediate attention? Without medical records, how many women's lives had been put in danger?

Ginny Adams  
Los Angeles

I read a report by a women's group here on the over 10,000 tribal women missing in the past several years in India. The majority of these women were engaged by contractors as laborers or as household help in cities like Bombay, Delhi and Calcutta. Some were forced into the flesh trade. Once out of their villages, these women were not allowed to return home and were treated as bonded laborers...I like very much the quotation from Marx you use: "To be radical means to grasp something at its root, and the root of mankind is man."

Feminist  
Bihar, India

**PHILIPPINE ELECTION**

The event that took place yesterday (Jan. 22), when peasants were murdered

on the Mendiola Bridge, was really damaging to the Aquino government. They have been working to avert a potential disaster for the country from the factions in the military... Facts show that military coup plotters are really bent on grabbing power. Only last week there was another coup attempt, though the government denied it. The crucial period is from now till Feb 2, the date of the ratification of the 1986 Constitution. The military will be staging separate incidents to break apart the momentary alliance between the Aquino government and the sectors of the progressive Left opting for a critical "yes" vote on the 1986 Constitution. I enclose a position paper from this viewpoint...

Subscriber  
Manila, Philippines

**MOSCOW TRUST GROUP**

The Moscow Trust Group, a non-aligned pro-peace and anti-nuclear power group based in Russia, invited several U.S. peace activists to visit the group

in Moscow and engage in a project with them. It was after Chernobyl, and the Moscow group said that educational leaflets on radiation hazards were needed. And since the visit was arranged for early August, 1986, it meant that it could also commemorate the victims of the U.S. bombing of Hiroshima.

On Aug. 3, both U.S. and Russian activists met at the entrance to Gorky Park and began to hand out leaflets. They wore picket signs that said in Russian and English: "Peace and environmental safety for all. No more Hiroshimas, no more Chernobyls." Nearly all the leaflets were handed out in 5-10 minutes, and then the cops grabbed the leaflets. After brief detention, the U.S. activists left Russia. The Trust Group Abroad, the Western branch of the Moscow Trust Group, is encouraging others to take similar actions. For more information, or to make a donation, contact:

Bob McGlynn  
528 5th St.  
Brooklyn, NY 11215

**SUPPORTING MARXIST-HUMANIST JOURNALISM**

What impresses me most about the Marxist-Humanist position is the focus on the revolutionary subject. N&L is truly unique, especially concerning the crucial peasant dimension. With a Marxist-Humanist philosophy one no longer has to accept the facile anti-imperialist analyses of many Left groups, nor the elitist vanguardism of organized "Marxist" parties, nor even the guerrilla concept of revolutionary as meaning those who can fire a gun and bring the revolution to the masses. I can't see how those attitudes towards the masses are significantly different from the forces they are supposed to be fighting.

Student Activist  
Los Angeles

I just wish that somehow we could get more workers to read N&L and see that you don't have to be an intellectual to understand Marx's philosophy. I have to struggle to understand the words, but once I get past that, I not only understand, but most of the time I feel the meaning.

Woman worker  
Oklahoma

I've read through two issues of N&L and found them to be of high quality. Many Left newspapers, unfortunately, simply spout "orthodox" Marxist rhetoric and party lines. N&L has much more substance than this. I like the guide at the top of each paper: "Human power is its own end." I particularly enjoyed the article on Emma Goldman (Oct. 1986 N&L). In general, from reading N&L and thumbing through Raya's book on Rosa Luxemburg, I can safely say that I'm very sympathetic with the goals and ideals being presented...

Student activist  
SUNY- Binghamton, NY

Here's a contribution to defray the costs of my subscription to the biweekly. I don't know if greater frequency of N&L is the answer. I suggest taking over a TV network.

Subscriber  
Los Angeles

Ed. Note: Thanks to all our subscribers who responded to our call for help in meeting the increased costs of printing and postage for a biweekly N&L.



## BIA spreading lies at tribal council

by Shainape Shcapwe

On Dec. 30 the Fort Totten Reservation held its semi-annual tribal council meeting at the Sioux agency. In the past there have been a couple of BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) police at the meetings, but we usually ignored them. This year about eight officers were brought in from Turtle Mountain, and agents from the BIA office in Aberdeen, South Dakota stood at the door taking pictures of people coming to the meeting. They claimed it was to show how good the attendance was at the council meeting, and that the meeting wasn't being run by the BIA. But the real reason they came was to threaten people, and to claim we're troublemakers.

The meeting was held to re-elect tribal council members, and to discuss immediate problems with services, mainly federal cuts in medical services. (See my column in Oct. 1986 N&L.) But before we could begin discussion, one BIA official warned that if we insisted on making a bigger issue of the cuts, we would "make it harder" on ourselves. He said fewer cuts were being made than first indicated, and that national headlines had made the cuts appear much worse than they actually were. He said we only "hurt ourselves" when we wrote in local and state papers asking for volunteer help in medical services. And he also said leftists were "having a lot of fun with your pathetic plight."

The volunteer medical help is vitally important now. County health nurses from all over North Dakota are using their own time off to go to four reservations. They have been giving training in CPR, taking blood sugar and other tests. Fundraising is also being organized to buy instruments to measure blood sugar.

People at the council meeting weren't fooled or intimidated by the BIA agent spreading disinformation, and he knew that we all knew he was lying. An older man said if we don't help our-

selves, the federal government sure as hell won't. This is a different response from even 10 years ago, when we felt we should be "grateful" for help, like the government-sponsored housing program. That low-grade housing is so bad that people can't stay in it in the wintertime. The feeling at the council was that we'll do whatever we have to do to get what we need. A march and protest in Washington this spring is still being discussed.



Bleak scenes and 70% unemployment on Pine Ridge reservation, South Dakota.

I think there are a couple of reasons for the change in attitude from years past. First, is that we have had to fight so hard for everything we needed and got. And I also think that we as women have been fighting to speak out, to be heard and to take part in decisions; it has encouraged everyone to struggle.

Here in Michigan there is a movement called the Sweetgrass Roots Movement, of Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatamie people. In January they held a protest at the state capitol in Lansing. Their movement to get services restored and improved is different, since they deal with the state instead of the federal government, but it is part of the same struggle of Indian nations. I will write in the future of their movement here.

## In-person reports: Forsyth County, Ga.

(continued from page 1)

the speakers—I was sitting in the second row.

When I arrived the whole thing was like a family reunion. I would see someone recognize a friend they hadn't seen in 20 years. They would hug each other and cry. It was so powerful.

I went to a nearly all-white high school in Alabama and I've had lots of experiences. I didn't trust white people. But when I heard Dean Carter speak with that southern accent—I couldn't believe it because what he was saying made him so human.

There was a lot of discussion concerning why we were marching in Forsyth. We wanted this march to be a teaching march. That's why we remained silent—we just wanted to march through and say we had no animosity. We just wanted to walk through. The leaders of the march said they never saw that level of violence in all of their experience in the Civil Rights Movement. On the first march, the police were trying to intimidate the marchers. They were dropped off at the point of a Klan rally. When the marchers decided to go ahead with the march, the sheriff got scared. He really started shaking.

I never saw this kind of animosity and hate before, as it is in Forsyth county. \* \* \*

—18 year old student

At the Friday night preparatory rally at West Hunter Baptist church, many speakers made a very strong con-

### 'Day of outrage'

New York, N.Y.—Upwards of 5,000 Black protesters marched on the "Day of Mourning and Outrage," Jan. 21, in memory of Michael Griffith, brutally beaten and murdered in Howard Beach by white racists a month earlier. Demonstrators rallied at the Martini Hotel in midtown where many homeless people live. Black students from all five boroughs led the march. Some of the hand-made signs underscored deep passions: "Self-determination is a must!" "Down with American Apartheid!" and "KKK Howard Beach is Amerikkka."

As we marched toward Mayor Koch's home near Washington Square, the crowd of a few thousand swelled as sympathizers joined from the streets.

The hour-and-a-half-long rally at Koch's residence featured many speakers that thousands stayed to hear in twenty degree, windy weather. A former homeless woman declared, "We'll march to the end of the world for freedom. We're not fighting for Civil Rights anymore. We're fighting for human rights." She told everyone to be mindful of the many Blacks not there, who were on the streets of Harlem, whom we need to connect with.

What was new in the talks by the many speakers—Black Muslims, nationalist students, Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox (attorneys for the survivors of the Howard Beach incident) and the others—were the most strident attacks on established Black leadership in New York. Maddox noted that 31 Black spokesmen literally stood with Koch and police chief Benjamin Ward in denouncing the survivors, Sandiford and Grimes, and their lawyers for deciding not to cooperate with the racist and untrustworthy District Attorney Santucci. Those Black spokesmen were not at this march. But Maddox and Mason as well as a South African revolutionary went further than those criticisms. Maddox said the established Black leaders had no confidence in the reason of Black people who did not believe in the justice system. —Participants

nection with what occurred in Howard Beach and the general mood in the country as a whole.

In terms of what is happening in the U.S., I find there are a great deal of similarities between the U.S. and South Africa. The racism here is much more subtle; it is not sanctioned by law as in South Africa. It is so subtle to the extent that many people are not aware of it. At the march, one of the banners the racists held up said "The U.S. will trade with South Africa—their whites for our blacks." I spoke to a friend tonight and apparently the South African government and its media are having a field day with what is happening in Forsyth. They are saying: "See, racism is everywhere." They are using it for their own advantage.

—South African professor in the U.S.

\* \* \*

At the march there were students from schools all over the country: Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, California, Washington D.C. and from the Carolinas. It was really impressive. It is clear that there is a new generation born after the Civil Rights Movement. They are a response to history—a history they have not lived. They felt compelled to make a move. There were buses from Chicago and Ohio as well. The tires on the Ohio buses were slashed on the night before the march.

This was the largest march in the South in a decade-and-a-half and it was against the Klan. It is clearly a renaissance of feelings and passions of thousands of people who came out to march. You could see hundreds of cars and buses carrying people out to march in a caravan line.

The SCLC is now pressing for an investigation on the violence in 1912, that originally forced Black people out of Forsyth County 75 years ago, when Black people lost their jobs, their housing, their way of life. These are the issues that surround what happened in 1912.

Today, it is the Reagan administration that has contributed to the climate in this country. It is a vicious expression of Moynihan's policy of "benign neglect." The racism in the U.S. is Reaganism. It is an agenda on which Black people are expendable. —Lucius Outlaw  
Visiting professor at Spellman College

## Black/Red View

### Constitutional racism

by John Alan

This year Black History Month falls within the year of the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution. The conjunction of these two events gives us an opportunity to look at the relationship that exists, and has existed, between the U.S. Constitution and Black History.

Black History Month (originally Black History Week) is not as old as the U.S. Constitution, but it has the significant distinction of being able to trace its birth as an idea that emerged out of the Black mass freedom movement that began at the time of World War I. At that time Black Americans began their great migration from the terror of an oppressive South to the relative freedom of the North. At the very heart of that historic migration was a new transforming Black self-consciousness that created both the Garvey Movement and the revolt of the Black intellectuals, such as Carter G. Woodson, against the distortions and trivialization of Black history by white historians.

However, the birth of the U.S. Constitution in 1787 did not signal the birth of Black freedom, although the men that wrote that document were steeped in the philosophy of the "inalienable rights of man."

#### SLAVE TRADE ENDORSED

Most contrary to their expressed philosophy, the "founding fathers" at Philadelphia produced a document that provided for the recognition of the foreign slave trade as a source of labor power by stipulating that Congress would not interfere with that trade for 20 years. The Constitution also provided that if a person who is a Black slave, who "owed service or labor" ran away to another state, the latter would have to return him or her to the party to whom the service was owed. Thus slave masters were protected against loss of their human property whenever a slave sought asylum in a free state.

At the same time, the authors of the Constitution conceptualized the absolute dehumanization of Afro-Americans by designating them to be counted as "three-fifths of a man" when determining representation of states in the House of Representatives.

We return to this history today, not just for history's sake or to be able to point to the fact that the "sacred" founding document of the United States was racist in conception as well as in practice from the moment of its birth. Even liberal interpretations of the Constitution, at times of revolution and social unrest, have failed to eradicate anti-blackism as a lethal, potent political/economic force in the U.S.

Today, Reagan's six year war against Black civil rights and economic security is manifesting its true self as raw racism.

#### ONGOING RIGHTS BATTLES

Official Black leaders, as always, are quite prepared to defend in court the legal rights of Afro-Americans. Up to this point they have impeded the persistent attempts of Reagan's Attorney General, Edwin Meese, and William Bradford Reynolds, the chief of the civil rights division in the Justice Department, to get the Supreme Court to narrow the Constitutional interpretation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, the statute outlawing discrimination in the workplace.

A conclusive legal victory will not cause the permanent army of Black unemployed, the so-called "underclass," to disappear into thin air. This problem, like racism, is not simply legal or sociological, but arises from the general crisis of capitalism in this changed political/economic world that propels Reaganism forward.

How do we go beyond the narrow concept that Black liberation stops at formal political rights, and catch that the opposite to this perpetual crisis that denigrates people everywhere is real human emancipation in a totally different kind of society? Although Black masses have yet to bring their full force of opposition to bear against Reagan's retrogressionism, we can still start thinking about what that opposition would mean in terms of a new society.

### Who We Are and What We Stand For

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.

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.

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 new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism.

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.



After the massacre in Manila

Filipino peasants speak out

Manila, The Philippines—After a week of demonstrations, including camping out in front of the Ministry of Agrarian Reform (MAR) for more than one week, 10,000 peasants and supporters marched to the Mendiola Bridge on Jan. 22 in order to directly confront the Aquino administration's failure to act quickly on the urgent need for a genuine land reform program. Below is an in-person account as told to a revolutionary student activist and a friend from the U.S.

Before the Marines shot into the crowd, we heard shots overhead. We ran toward the side of the streets to retreat. After we recovered from that sudden burst of gunfire, we returned back to the middle of the street, and that was when the Marines started shooting at the crowd. Two were killed instantly.

After that first burst of gunfire, we saw the situation was really futile. We realized the soldiers were aiming to kill. People retreated but soldiers followed them in jeeps, firing with rifles and throwing tear gas canisters.

We had been waiting for 1,000 other peasant activists to join us. But we fled to Liwasong, Bonifacio (one kilometer away from Mendiola Bridge) where the Marines

opened fire again, 20 minutes later. The Marines were now forming a phalanx to entrap us. We retreated toward the post office. SWAT teams were lining up. Eight more people were killed as the Marines advanced and opened fire at us. They arrested several of our friends. Some scampered to safety. Women were screaming.

Even now, some survivors are in prison. But they won't say where. The others they released only after the human rights lawyers intervened.

I was suffering from muscle cramps. If not for the highly-organized peasants, I would have been left. But fortunately two old peasants carried me to safety. We found a passenger jeep and finally escaped.

Our major demands include rejecting the policies of the M.A.R. and implementation of genuine land reform. The prices of fertilizers and other farm inputs controlled by big business and foreign capitalists should immediately be lowered, especially in Nueva Ecija (an area north of Manila). We demand an end to the landowners' capitalist agricultural projects.

Look at the proposed constitution. You can't find any provisions for the peasants. If the Aquino government does not have any policies that are pro-peasant, then we will have to do it for ourselves like we did at Hacienda Tinio. Last January we took over 27 hectares of land in that area.

Our struggles are intensifying to attain our legitimate objectives. We assume other struggles abroad will help up in whatever way they can. Other than that we will try to do our objectives on our own.

—Jun and Willie  
Revolutionary peasants  
San Fernando, Pamponga

5,000 protest Star Wars

Orlando, Fla.—On Jan. 16 over 100 people took a train from Boston and New York to Florida to protest the first test flight of the Trident II Missile, a Star Wars weapon. This was the first major anti-nuke demonstration in the South. Five thousand people attended. At Cape Canaveral 138 people were arrested performing civil disobedience.

The majority of demonstrators were women. Many on the train formed all-women affinity groups. They discussed ways of making their protest free of competition and other patriarchal values. A few gave their names as Sojourner Truth when they were arrested.

A Quaker woman told me she felt that the organizers made a mistake scheduling the event around Martin Luther King's birthday. The Black community of Orlando was not at the rally, because they were at a march honoring King. She said that all the brick roads in the town were built long ago by slaves.

One of the few Black demonstrators told me, "I'm a Black woman. I know the history of racism in Florida. So when an activist tells me that I should get arrested and try to disarm the police with a smile, then it's obvious he's suffering from naivete. I have no intention of getting anywhere near the police."

There was a small group of counter-demonstrators. One wore a "Buckwheat" T-shirt. Another wore a picture of a Black African being assassinated.

Many on board the train felt peace could be achieved by putting faith in Gorbachev. When I tried challenging their views and said I didn't like Gorbachev or Reagan, I was called an anarchist.

—Hal Stone

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev



Dozens of students demonstrated for divestment at Pennsylvania State University.

Over one million students in Spain have participated in a campaign of high school strikes and demonstrations, ongoing since December, that have forced the Education Minister to offer increased scholarships, school spending and "student participation." Neither that offer nor the violence of police and right-wing counter-demonstrators has stopped the students' demands for free and open university admissions.

In South Korea, a wave of student outrage and protests met the disclosure Jan. 19 that 21-year-old Park Jong Chul had been tortured to death by Seoul police five days before. To cover up how systematic is the torture of student and labor activists and other dissidents by the "anti-Communist" police squad that murdered Park, Pres. Chun Doo Hwan fired his Interior Minister and his National Police Chief.

Youth confront 'merchants of death'

Costa Mesa, Cal.—1,500 peace activists, including hundreds of youth, confronted the "merchants of death" Jan. 26 at their annual winter arms sale conference, Wincon. Every major weapons system built in the last 20 years, both nuclear and conventional, was first introduced at Wincon.

There was a lively dialogue between the protesters, which included teenagers on skateboards, and local residents. Hundreds of cars "honked for peace" as they went by. Some passersby even joined the picket line.

The youth also actively defied the taunts of aggressive, pro-Star Wars, pro-contra Reaganites who counterdemonstrated and claimed to represent "Young Americans." At the same time, they resented being branded "Communist"; one 19-year old said, "The U.S. and Russia are both in it. All I want is no more war!" A 16-year old said, "This is great. So many people are out here against Reagan's wars!"

—Anti-war activist

Bulletin from Chile

Editor's Note: In Chile today there are many forms of resistance against the Pinochet dictatorship. In one neighborhood of Santiago, CODEM (Committee for the Defense of the Rights of Women) has been putting out a few mimeographed sheets called "Oye Vecina" (Listen Neighbor). The latest issue contains a poem on the Disappeared, an editorial on peace and an interview with Carmen Gloria Quintana, who along with Rodrigo Rojas was attacked and burned by Chilean military police last July. Rodrigo died and Carmen Gloria was sent to a Canadian hospital to recover from severe burns. Below we print excerpts from "Oye Vecina."

The bulletin is new in this area and exists so we may talk of important matters which touch very close to home... Peace for the dictatorship signifies the absence of communism, and for those who support a dialogue with the oppressors peace signifies containing the yearning of the people's struggle for their rights. For us peace signifies justice, work, health, education, life, liberty and we know that we will only achieve this when we are able to exercise and govern these rights...



INTERVIEW WITH CARMEN GLORIA QUINTANA

"(On July 2, 1986) I and my sister, Luis, Florencio and Maria Eugenia came out of my house very early, having decided the day before that we were going to protest in the streets. We went looking for a demonstration to join but we didn't find any. Then, suddenly we met Marcelo and Rodrigo. We began to make a barricade. We were intercepted by a patrol in a van.

"...They all had their faces painted black and they carried submachine guns across their chests. First they got Rodrigo and began to beat him... He was left unconscious... They asked me for documents and I told them I was a university student. They became angry... said they were at war with us...

"Two civil guards arrived in a yellow van. They wanted to take a picture of me with the tires in my hand, as if arming a barricade. I didn't want to. 'Take the photo you mother f---,' they said. They put me up against the wall and sprayed me with benzene from head to foot. I asked them why and they laughed... Then one guy threw a lighting device between Rodrigo and me.

"I began to burn... I tried to put out the fire with my hands but I couldn't. They stuck a gun butt in my mouth while I was burning because I tried to put out the fire. Rodrigo was burning and I became unconscious.

What they did is not a human act. I do not believe a conscious human being would be able to do that..."

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## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

### Abortion in Spain

On Dec. 30 Spain's Supreme Court supported the suit filed by a rightist anti-abortion group called Family Action by striking down a month-old government decree that had eased a woman's access to abortion.

Last November, under pressure from the women's movement, the government had eliminated a review board that decided whether a woman was eligible for a legal abortion in public facilities. "Qualifications" included rape, a deformed fetus, and danger to the mother's life.

The government-sponsored Institute of the Woman estimated that since limited abortion was legalized in 1985, 27,000 women should have been approved as eligible for abortions. But under the bureaucratic, conservative review system, only 200-300 abortions were performed legally, while an estimated 100,000 other women had to seek other means in Spain or abroad.

The November decree came about after feminists had helped set up a network of family planning clinics where women could go for safe but "illegal" abortions. When word surfaced about the proposed easing of restrictions in November, police raided some of the clinics in Madrid, Salamanca and Malaga, arresting those inside and seizing clinic files. Women's groups have organized to prevent prosecution of those arrested.

Women are protesting the Supreme Court ruling, and continue to struggle for a woman's right to decide when she will experience childbirth.

### Haitian Chronicle

Port-au-Prince, Haiti—From Feb. 7, 1986, the date of the overthrow of

Duvalier, to today, not one torturer from the old regime has been brought to court to answer for his crimes. The most notorious ones are: Albert Pierre (now in Brazil), Col. Franck Romain, Col. Jean Valmé, and Col. Williams Regala [today a member of the National Governing Council (CNG) and Minister of the Interior and National Defense].

The first National Congress of Democratic Movements has been called for the three days beginning Jan. 28 in Port-au-Prince. Working for demacoutization [removing Tonton Macoute collaborators], attempting to form a unified organization, elaborating a concept of (a new) society—these are the points which we expect to develop during the Congress. The Congress will unite several democratic organizations such as KID (Committee for Democratic Unity), Mobile Institute for Democratic Education (IMED), National Organization for the Defense of Youth (ORNADJE), February 7 Political Club, etc. The call for the Congress reads in part:

"Since the operation-dechoukaj (uprooting) of Feb. 7 (1986), touched off by the determination of the Haitian people to live free or die rather than accept the continuation of the Duvalier dictatorship, a big gulf has grown between the CNG and the people's aspirations for democracy and reconstruction of the economy. The first National Congress of Democratic Movements hopes to be the expression of the collective will which, so recently—during the great street demonstration (of 200,000) on Nov. 7 and the general strike which followed it—has shown its determination to see its demands satisfied. The Congress organizers are citizens groups, especially: peasant, youth, women's, town and neighborhood associations; groups working for human rights, political freedom or democracy." — Renan Hédovalle

### Chernobyl and Europe

In the Jan. 25 elections in West Germany, Helmut Kohl's ruling coalition got a far lower than expected vote, and the Green Party won some small victories. The vote was one aspect of continuing concern over the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and the more recent massive chemical spills in the Rhine River. In late December a demonstration of 5,000 was held at Wackersdorf, at the construction site of West Germany's first nuclear waste recycling plant. Wackersdorf is also a launch pad for U.S. cruise missiles.

Dr. Velikhov, a Russian physicist, testified to the U.S. Congress in January about the "successes" of the clean-up at Chernobyl. Untold sums have been spent to entomb the blown-up reactor and to decontaminate the surrounding area. Untold lives have been spent too, now and years into the future. Velikhov said that 31 people had died, and another 237 had radiation sickness. But Velikhov said most of the ill were out of the hospital and back to work. He projected no rise in the cancer rate in the area. The Russian plan is to increase nuclear power five-fold into the 21st century.

In Europe, studies continue to show that the Chernobyl radiation fallout is a present danger. In northern Sweden, moose, reindeer and wild animals are being contaminated as they eat berries and fir needles, in which cesium has become concentrated. Radiation is also present in water and livestock fodder, and contaminated reindeer are being taken off the food market. In contradiction to Velikhov's forecast, Swedish scientists predict a rise in cancer rates in 20-30 years in areas such as central Lapland, hardly around the corner from Chernobyl.

### Contadora collapse

(continued from page 1)

billion debt, that it has been forced by the U.S. to distance itself from the Sandinistas in order to continue receiving IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank loans. Indeed, the very week of the failed Contadora initiative, the second payment on a \$1.7 billion IMF loan came due.

The silence on the part of Mexico's rulers, however, is being shattered by the latest protests of the students at the National University (UNAM) who began a general strike Jan. 29 against the government's efforts to raise fees and restrict entrance to the University. Hundreds of thousands of students participated in the strike, whose power was reflected in the banner that students hung from the walls of the Engineering Building: "The first free territory in Mexico."

In the course of four months of continuous protests—which have involved several rallies with more than 100,000 attending—the students have succeeded in getting the administration to agree to a public discussion on the cutbacks. But the students now insist that their struggle against the university will continue until their demands are met—which includes a demand for a doubling of the University's budget, which has been cut by 40% over the past five years.

It is the constant re-emergence of such voices from below that is the most fundamental type of opposition, both to the native rulers and Reagan himself. That becomes ever-more the determinant, in view of the fact that Reagan will not let the furor over his involvement in Irangate distract him from his effort to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution.

## Reagan's America: racism, pauperization, militarized science

(continued from page 1)

The Reagan-inspired racism gripping Forsyth County is seen nationwide. Most shockingly of all, in Howard Beach, New York City, it has resulted in the death of 23-year-old Michael Griffith in the hands of a gang of white racists. On Jan. 21, thousands rallied against racism in New York by marching on Mayor Koch's home and attending teach-ins.

On Jan. 19, 15,000 rallied in Phoenix against newly elected Arizona Governor Evan Mecham's decision to rescind the state holiday honoring Martin Luther King, Jr. Mecham openly courted racist sentiment, stating: "When the majority says, 'We won't take it any more,' I fear for Blacks."

In Chicago, torn once again by open racist appeals against Mayor Harold Washington in the mayoral primary, a report for the Metropolitan Planning Council released on Jan. 25 called the Chicago area the most racially segregated in the nation.

### THE GRAND ILLUSION OF REAGANOMICS

The real state of the union is also joblessness, poverty and lowered wages for the majority of Americans. Overall unemployment stood at 6.7% for all of 1986, with the rate for Blacks double that at 13.7% and the rate for Latinos 10.5%, while that for Black teenagers stood at a catastrophic 36.1%. As bad as these figures are, they do not count the millions of discouraged workers who did not seek a job in 1986, or the millions of involuntary part-time workers. Including these would double or triple the official rate. The non-governmental Council on International and Public Affairs' November 1986 study on "Joblessness and the Pauperization of Work in America" found that over 90% of the new jobs created in 1986 were in the service sector, where workers earn an average of only a little over \$9,000 per year.

In addition to our central cities, and our increasingly Appalachianized Midwest industrial region, whole new areas of economic crises have emerged. Thus, once prosperous Houston now has an official unemployment rate of 10%, higher than that officially recorded for the Detroit area.

In the face of this reality of an increasingly pauperized America, which today has the world's largest national debt, Reagan's speech boasts hollowly: "We've rescued our nation from the worst economic mess since the Depression." That illusion is not Reagan's alone, but that of the capitalist ideologues as a whole. As we put it in our "Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1986-87": "The Grand Illusion, however, that all capitalist ideologues...have created about this nuclear world with its robotized production was achieved by forgetting that Alienated Labor is the irreplaceable foundation, essence and universal form—the creator of all values and surplus-values." The Reaganites can escape into Star Wars and Hi-Tech robotics, but we live here on earth. The new pauperization is as much a result of robotics

displacing workers as of wage cutbacks in many industries.

Since December, 2,500 workers have been locked out by Iowa Beef Processors in Dakota City, Nebraska. Iowa Beef's contract offer would have them making less in 1990 than they had in 1980, somewhere around \$7 per hour, plus accepting a two-tier wage system.

In California, 1,000 workers at Watsonville Canning and Frozen Food Company have been out for 16 months, with the company trying to reduce wages from \$7 to \$4.25 per hour. A martial law atmosphere reigns in Watsonville against the mainly Latina women workers.

In Indianola, Mississippi, 950 workers at the Delta Pride Catfish Processors have won union recognition after a nine-month drive. Mainly Black women, the workers gained the support of the local Black movement against horrendous conditions, including women's rooms without doors and working all day while standing in cold water.

In the biggest recent labor battle, USX steelworkers are facing an extremely retrogressive contract after six months on strike.

### HEIGHTENED MILITARIZATION OF SCIENCE

Reagan is not only sticking to his Star Wars plan at a cost of \$500 billion, but is determined to move toward early "deployment" in the 1990s, at a cost of \$100 billion. While they will never be able to protect the U.S. from missile attack, the new lasers might very well be able to destroy Russian cities from space. Helping to whip up war hysteria for Reagan is ABC-TV's \$32 million, 12-hour mini-series, "Amerika," to be broadcast in February. Reagan now wants to build a vast \$6 billion atom smasher 52 miles in circumference "to restore America's competitiveness" in world markets via what he calls "pure" scientific research, in reality the building

blocks of further militarization.

In addition, \$80 million is being spent on research into the arcane subject of antimatter. But according to the New York Times (1/20/87): "Right now this work is pure research, but scientists say that in the future antimatter could be used in rocket engine power generation, and other applications."

As Marx wrote over 100 years ago: "Even the pure light of science seems unable to shine but on a dark background of ignorance. All our invention seems to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life, and in stultifying human life into a material force." (Address to the Peoples Paper 1856.)

Against this Reagan retrogressionism, forces of opposition have appeared. In addition to the tens of thousands protesting racism in Forsyth County, Georgia, and Howard Beach, New York, the new year has seen other protests:

On Jan. 17, 4,500 demonstrated against the Trident II missile at Cape Canaveral Air Force Station. One hundred thirty-eight people, including 83-year-old Dr. Benjamin Spock, were arrested for climbing the gate. Most of those arrested were forced to spend the night outdoors. (see story, p. 7)

In St. Paul, when 300 demonstrated against use of the Minnesota National Guard in Central America over the objections even of Governor Rudy Perpich, they and reporters were doused with fire hoses on a night when the wind-chill index was 36 degrees below zero.

From Georgia to Minnesota and from California to New York, the American masses continue to suffer under Reaganism, with worse in store for 1987. Far from Congressional investigations saving us from Reaganism, it will take continuing and deepening hard-fought battles of workers, women's liberationists, youth and Blacks even to begin to roll back his six years of retrogression. That fight has reached a new and decisive stage in 1987.

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