

New labor solidarity needed



by John Marcotte

"If you can't produce a 'green card,' don't bother to come back to work on Monday." Thousands of immigrant workers across the land are being told this in the first few weeks after the new immigration law went into effect.

The facts are just beginning to come in. Whether or not the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) truly intends to deport millions of workers, or whether they have the personnel to do so, one thing is already clear: thousands of breadwinners have already lost their jobs, thousands of families are suffering, thousands more face an uncertain future. If INS cannot deport millions, INS can starve tens of thousands of families.

EFFECTS OF NEW IMMIGRATION LAW

Not even sweatshop jobs are safe. At Barrett Foods chicken processing plant in New York (see N&L, May 22, 1987), where the boss was already using threats of calling the INS to divide the strike there, all but 15 of those still working have been laid off. A union organizer there said they think the boss may use the new law as a pretext to fire a lot of undocumented workers and then bring them back in at \$2.50 an hour.

A fellow worker told me of his friend from Peru, who's been working in a lampshade factory for the past year. The same boss who took advantage of his not having papers to exploit him six days a week for \$110, now turned around and fired him—for not having papers! This guy has three children to feed, and has no idea where he'll find a job. In his country, unemployment is something like 60%, minimum wage around \$40 a month. Where are those children to go? It looks like the government is telling them they can starve here, or they can starve at home.

What I question today is: 1-What is the government—and the AFL-CIO—trying to create with this immigration law? Two-tier has not been enough to solve the economic crisis, so aren't they out to create a low-tier, super-exploited, near-slave labor force, who must keep their mouths shut or starve? The AFL-CIO is blind to the historical truth that just as Jim Crow down South brought all labor down, so this slave labor law will do just that, rather than opening up any jobs for "citizens."

(continued on page 3)

Black/Red View

In search of Fanon

by John Alan

Fanon: In Search of the African Revolution, by L. Adele Jinadu. London: KPI Limited, 241 pages.

Fanon: In Search of the African Revolution, reveals that not all of the African intelligentsia have closed their minds to Frantz Fanon; some are actively engaged in revising his famous critique of post-colonial Africa, *The Wretched of the Earth*. The motivation for this revision is directly related to the protracted, creative revolt of Black masses in South Africa and the economic stagnation that exists under the oppressive military and one-party regimes in power in most of independent Africa.

L. Adele Jinadu, the author of this book, teaches political science at the University of Zimbabwe, Harare. He points out in his introduction that Fanon is now being "resuscitated" within Africa by a group of African social scientists, most of whom are members of the African Association of Political Scientists.

RETREAT FROM REVOLUTION

We soon discover that the purpose of this "resuscitation" is to give a "reinterpretation" to the development process in Africa in order to work out a "theoretical framework to study that process...for assessing the chances for a new beginning." Professor Jinadu's theoretical conception of "a new beginning" means that *The Wretched of the Earth* "should be placed in the wider context of underdevelopment theory in general." (p. 159) In this single sentence, Jinadu turns Fanon into a special kind of "sociologist," and at the same time, states the conceptual purpose of his book—a sociological analysis of Fanon's writings, which totally avoids their revolutionary content.

Contextually or otherwise, Fanon was far removed from any theory of dependency. He was a

(continued on page 6)

Hitler's visage in South Africa election: Botha tightens grip, Black revolt deepens



Striking workers meeting inside Cosatu House before it was raided by South African police.

by Kevin A. Barry

Despite the predictions of changing white attitudes in much of the U.S. press, with *Time* magazine's May 4 cover story winning top honors for utter unreality on this point, the May 6 elections in South Africa could not hide the reality of a system so degenerate that since 1986 it has imprisoned and even tortured 10,000 Black school children, some as young as nine years old. The recent May 6 white-only election meant that 82% of the two million white voters chose either Botha's National Party or still more reactionary parties even further to the Right. The vaunted liberal vote disappeared.

The Black majority voted with its feet in a massive anti-election stayaway. Some 2.5 million Black workers and students in all major cities stayed home May 5-6. Soweto was deserted. "Even the barricades set up by the 'comrades' [radical youth activists-ed.] in the early hours of the morning were not needed as Soweto residents heeded the boycott," reported Sefako Nyaka in the *Johannesburg Weekly Mail* (5/8/87). The stayaway was initiated by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the National Education Crisis Committee. Its organizers called it "the biggest mass protest of its kind in South African history."

Saths Cooper, convener of the Black Consciousness-oriented National Forum and past president of the Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO) told N&L: "Very clearly, Blacks voted with withdrawal of their labor and consumer power and on the other hand, whites voted with their typical laager mentality. The myths that the West and proponents of constructive engagement have been putting forward have finally been exploded. Change can only be brought about by actions of oppressed people themselves. Freedom-loving people in the rest of the world can support that struggle by continuing to expose imperialist support for the minority regime and by refusing to allow that support to be carried out in their name."

But May 1987 has also shown a decision by white South Africa to meet Black resistance by deepening apartheid's totalitarian grip—despite Reagan and the U.S. media's reports of "changing" white attitudes.

APARTHEID: HITLER'S VISAGE

Especially in the period since a new state of emergency was decreed in June 1986, government repression has wrought terrible damage to the movement. Some 25,000 people were arrested in 1986. Black so-called "vigilantes"—in fact hired mercenaries of the regime—have been armed to the teeth and set loose in the Black townships and squatter camps.

In the Black township of Langa near Uitenhage at least 20 Black demonstrators were massacred by police on March 21, 1985, drawing world headlines. Almost unnoticed, however, was that by 1987 Langa had been completely bulldozed, its inhabitants dispersed to a tent city six miles away. Today the area resembles "Hiroshima after the bomb," said a British diplomat.

In 1984-86 the Black township of Lingelihle near Cradock was in the forefront of resistance, one of the first areas to organize street committees, rent and consumer boycotts, and other militant actions. In 1985 three of the community's leaders were murdered, yet resistance persisted. But by 1987, under the new state of emergen-

cy, much of the grassroots organization had been smashed. (*Weekly Mail*, 4/24/87).

As our 1986 edition of *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought* states: "Hitler's visage in apartheid South Africa shows the future the rulers hold in store for all of us...It was Hitler's defeat that scared the Afrikaners whose dream today is still expressed by those bigoted, savage whites in these terms: 'There should have been a Hitler in every country, but unfortunately this was no longer possible in a "sophisticated" world that has even abolished the cane in prison.'"

BLACK LABOR AGAINST THE STATE

The modern struggle for freedom in South Africa refuses to be crushed, rearing its head in ever new ways. In the 1986-87 period, there have been many new creative developments from the Black masses. Early in

¹ See "New Introduction/Overview" by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner, and John Alan, to 1986 ed. of *Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought*.

(continued on page 8)

Nevada test site protest

Las Vegas, Nev.—On Mother's Day, May 10, over 3,000 women and men protested at the Nevada nuclear test site, demanding a stop to nuclear testing and Star Wars. People came from all over the Southwest—California, New Mexico, Utah, as well as from cities near the test site in Nevada. After a rally, more than 750 were arrested for "trespassing."

A lot of people came here planning to get arrested by doing civil disobedience, but many were arrested who hadn't planned to be. Everyone was harassed—the army had soldiers standing around filming the crowd.

The reason so many were willing to get arrested is that they felt something had to be done now to stop this nuclear testing. Many people pointed out that not far from where the rally was held there are nuclear waste deposits leaking radiation. Nuclear war is no distant thing—people are dying from it now.

I was very excited to be there, because this was the first time I'd been at a big protest like this. As a high school student, I was one of the youngest people there.

There were different speeches at the rally. A Shoshone woman explained that both the territory we were on and the test site was Shoshone land, according to the 1863 Treaty of Ruby Valley between the U.S. Government and the Western Shoshone Nation. A British and an Australian woman, from Women Working for a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific, spoke about continued French nuclear testing in the Pacific and how the people are organizing there for a nuclear free zone.

(continued on page 7)

On the Inside

- Letter from Prague on Gorbachev p. 5
- South Korea's new revolutionaries p. 7
- Congress' Iran-contra hearings p. 4

Poet recreates Triangle Fire for today

by Terry Moon

Fragments From the Fire: The Triangle Shirtwaist Company Fire of March 25, 1911, poems by Chris Llewellyn (Viking Penguin Inc., New York, NY, 1987)

The eighth casket had neither name nor number. It contained fragments from the Fire, picked up but never claimed.

The Triangle Shirtwaist Fire. Why does it still speak to us today? It spoke so profoundly to Chris Llewellyn that she said, "As I read about it, I felt compelled to write about it. I did not choose the topic. The topic chose me." In 1911 the women were Jewish and Italian; today, those who toil in the sweatshops in New York, California and Chicago are Mexican and Haitian, East Asian and Puerto Rican.

On March 25, 1911 just before quitting time, a fire broke out on the eighth floor of the Asch building where hundreds of workers, most of them Jewish and Italian immigrant women, some as young as 10, were working at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company. Fed by hundreds of pounds of cloth scrap, barrels of oil in the stairways, oil soaked floors and tables, and sewing work piled in straw baskets in the aisles, the fire was an inferno in seconds. Doors were locked to keep union organizers out and workers in, freight elevators were barred, fire hoses in the building had no water pressure, there were no sprinklers, no fire drills and the fire escape was narrow, flimsy and led, not to the ground, but ended two stories above the ground over a skylight.

On a beautiful spring afternoon people watched in horror as the young women and men, many of them in flames, leapt from burning windows to their death. When it was over 146 had died. It is this event that Chris Llewellyn has made into a poetry that has claimed and named the fragments from that fire, recreating it in such a way that we see it as a universal, as something that transcends time.

Look how Llewellyn takes a fact, that two of the young women who jumped to their death, Sophie Salemi and Della Costello, had their arms around each other, and deepens its meaning.

*Sophie and Della stand on sill,
look down crazy quilt of town:
Intertwined comets we will stream*

Discussion article: What is 'the idea' in science?

The crises in today's society are so deep that they even extend to the prestigious American Physical Society, which recently publicly questioned the plausibility of Reagan's Star Wars schemes. I thought this was illustrative of Ron Brokmeyer's point in his essay-discussion article (May 8 N&L) that science is being increasingly harnessed to production for war and destruction. Any move among scientists that promotes questioning of this direction is sorely needed, just as ongoing debate is needed about the nature of science itself.

In this respect, Brokmeyer's article left me puzzled over what he called "the idea in science." What is this? Does science have an idea that is unique unto itself? If he means the search after "truth," didn't science as a branch of knowledge long ago adopt a restricted notion that left human activity, thought and experience out of its subject of inquiry? And he could not have meant "freedom idea" because he says history and its process cannot be confused with science and its process. And if he means science as the practice of observing and experimenting to find objective "facts" in the world outside of human activity, then this is only scientific method at its worst.

Brokmeyer's reference to Sandra Harding's book, *The Science Question in Feminism*, surprised me because he implies that since she brings in the word feminism, she means the feminist dimension would actually transform science into something it is not now. Even though Harding carries on against classism, racism, imperialism, and capitalism, she definitely has a definition of Marxism that equates it with what post-Marx Marxists have done and is extremely hostile to "class-based" analyses and other purported deficiencies of Marxism, such as lack of flexibility, etc., etc.

SANDRA HARDING'S 'EPISTEMOLOGY'

Harding calls for an "emancipatory epistemology," to which she thinks she's making a contribution, and in fact ends her book by saying, "I doubt that in our wildest dreams we ever imagined we would have to reinvent both science and theorizing itself in order to make sense of women's social experience." Therein is the crux of the problem—her vantage point as well as her point of return is epistemology rather than the revolutionary movements of masses as the uprooters of these false academic disciplines, as if each one, science especially, were itself a universal.

The best part of Harding's book is her discussion of the origins of modern science and how they were rooted in the transformation of political, economic, and social relations. She says that modern science was inseparable from broad movements for social change until the defeat of the Puritan Revolution in 1660. Then official scientific societies were formed that, in order to be allowed to exist, compromised, i.e., it was then that they stated their "value-neutral" objective that has been the myth of science since. What she doesn't see is that that precisely is the false consciousness of all bourgeois intellectuals. Their ideology claims objectivity to be "value-free" just because they recognize, correctly I might add, complete identity between their capitalistic view and that of the intellectual.

the nightmares of Triangle Bosses

Joseph Asch Max Blanck Isaac Harris.
It was close to closing time.

*Our Bosses of the Locked
Doors of Sweetheart Contracts
who in puffs and tendrils
of silent telephones,
disconnected hoses, barred
shutters, fire escapes
dangling in perpetual no
help on earth in heaven.*

It was Spring.

On the radio a year before her book was published, I heard her read the poem, "Potter's Field." It was the first time I had heard of a Black man's involvement. He ran the elevator:

"Circuit breakers were blowing out all over the place. The ladies were jumping on my car, even slid down the ropes—why there were twenty on the roof! The ones that got inside grabbed at Gaspar's arms, pulled his hair, jabbed his face. Christ Almighty! They were climbin on the cables!"

One reason that tragedy has such a pull on us over 75 years after it happened is that these young women and men who burned and jumped to their deaths were not alone victims, but activists. The Triangle Shirtwaist workers went on strike in 1909—two years before the fire; their strike sparked the "Uprising of the 20,000."

What has changed since 1911? Those voices that speak so powerfully to us from Llewellyn's poems are speaking to us today. It is not alone the fact that in New York City the state Department of Labor estimates the number of sweatshops to be 3,000—another Triangle Fire just waiting to happen—it is that the revolt against them has been continuous. Listen to the undocumented workers who despite the new immigration law, went out on strike over eight weeks ago against Barrett Foods in New York City:

"We are not going to give in now.... We have opened our eyes. We are not garbage to be treated like this. People must be treated like people."

Llewellyn is a labor poet. In her poem she says the names of those who died are "reminders to spend my life fighting these conditions." *Fragments from the Fire* is her way to fight against them and a partial answer to the question she asks: "Where are the words of fire for my generation?"

An intellectual of an earlier era, C.P. Snow, tried to overcome the cultural divide between the sciences and the humanities, which he blamed for the sorry state of "the West." Raya Dunayevskaya's column, "Automation and the Dialectic: 'The Scientific Revolution'," (March 1960 N&L) discussed how the false consciousness of Snow meant he ignored the fundamental division of society into two classes and was blind to the difference between the workers' attitude and the intellectuals' view. This could especially be seen on the question of Automation, when management, labor bureaucrat, scientist and engineer all hailed it as progress, while the worker experienced its dehumanizing effects. The intellectuals were blind to the positive creativity in workers' opposition.

Snow had written, "The number 2 is a very dangerous number: that is why the dialectic is a dangerous process." Dunayevskaya answered, "The dialectic process is a 'dangerous' one because it concerns the unity of two forces in such violent contradiction that they must burst asunder.... While it is impossible to unite worker and capitalist, the unity of worker and intellectual is not impossible, provided that the future that is within the workers' bones—that is to say, the new society imbedded in the old—bursts forth as a social revolution that unites mental and manual, science and labor within the individual.... The intellectual must therefore gain a new set of ears, not to aim at the generalization, but to hear the concrete."

SCIENCE AND MASS MOVEMENTS

Thus, I kept wishing that Harding "heard the concrete" and had traced the dialectic of the relationship between scientific discovery and mass upheaval, but she didn't, except to state in the abstract that science changes when social conditions change in history. Brokmeyer gives the impression that she related the birth of the modern women's liberation movement to the civil rights and anti-war movements, but she didn't. Mass movements—let alone their Reason or theories that comprehend this—are absent in her book. Similarly, I don't agree with Brokmeyer's statement that Thomas Kuhn "revealed science as a revolutionary process through negation of the negation." No concept is further from Kuhn's mind than the Hegelian-Marxian concept of the negation of the negation. Instead of total social revolution, what Kuhn is rooted in is competition between theories.

When Brokmeyer said it is "labor, united with the dialectic method, that can energize science in a way that is one with life," I kept thinking of how everything seems so compartmentalized. Isn't dialectics of liberation one with life and labor already, and the task of the theorist is to make it explicit? Isn't it the truth uniting both materialism and idealism? That to me is the key. The fact that the very word "science" has left so revolutionary an imprint on the mind of humanity has meant that whenever a totality of concepts/facts is reached, people just give credit to the word "science." Isn't it true that this is exactly the illusion that is being questioned because we are living in a nuclear world?

—Jane Marie Dignan

'Girls' sold in India



Indian women demonstrate on International Women's Day, 1986, protesting conditions such as those below, in which desperately poor families sell their daughters into prostitution.

The Joint Women's Programme in India has released a study on the "distress sale of girls for prostitution by parents and near relatives." Fifty-four percent of the 1100 women interviewed were under 21 years old. 'Girls' procured in one state are auctioned and sold like cattle at transit centers by a well organized network of traffickers and pimps. The price of a 'girl' depends on the state she comes from, her age, and her looks. Many of them have been deliberately raped so that they will be outcasts from their family and society.

—Information from our correspondent in Bombay, India

'Women of Color' challenge N.O.W.

Washington, D.C.—Over 300 Black, Native American, Hispanic, Asian and white women attended the National Organization for Women conference "Between Ourselves: The First National Conference on Women of Color and Reproductive Rights," held May 15-17 at Howard University. The conference was full of spirit and diversity in many of the discussions and it had an international dimension.

There were four plenaries and 32 workshops which encompassed a wide range of topics: "School-Based Health Clinics"; "Political Priorities for Women of Color"; "Child Care Issues for Women of Color"; "Economic Barriers to Reproductive Freedom"; "The Impact of Women of Color on the Women's Movement" and more.

The plenaries and workshops were filled with many ideas and perspectives on reproductive rights including the question—what organization do women of color want to participate in?

A woman from Guyana had this to say: "I raised the question at the Sunday strategy meeting, whether women should form their own organization rather than linking with N.O.W. I was pleasantly surprised to first learn that N.O.W. was interested in this kind of conference and wondered if they were interested in more than having tokens on their Board of Directors. But I don't see why we should join N.O.W. We need to build our own power." The majority of women did not want to associate with N.O.W. because of its attitude historically to women of color and because of its single issue focus on the E.R.A.

Many presentations and discussions were eloquent on the relation between the fight for reproductive freedom and the fight for a free society. Chizu Iiyama, active in the Bay Area Asians for Nuclear Disarmament, said "The rise of the Civil Rights Movement in the South is one of the historic moments to empower women of color. Our young people tell us today—they'll never put us in concentration camps again because of the Black struggles. Our children grew with the anti-Vietnam War movement and the Civil Rights Movement."

The literature tables were part of the central focus of the conference. Literature tables were set up next to the main auditorium. Our "News & Letters" table had a beautiful display that posted reviews of Raya Dunayevskaya's latest work, *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future (WLDR)*. A young Latina, author and poet was very excited to see us—she had just completed reading *WLDR* and said, "Everyone needs to read this book."

A Black woman from Texas came to our table after giving a presentation on the 1860s—from slavery to the Civil War to Black Reconstruction in relation to the history of Black women's fight for reproductive freedom. She discussed with us Dunayevskaya's work *Marxism and Freedom on Marx and the Civil War*.

Lorelei Means from the Pine Ridge Reservation said, "I hope I can share a message from our people for the last 400 years. There is a saying: 'A Nation is not conquered until the hearts of its women are on the ground.' She also spoke on reproductive rights vs. genocide. And she ended by saying, "When people put their minds together no army can stop them."

This conference on "Women of Color and Reproductive Rights" was full of excitement, energy and revolutionary ideas. What we need to discuss is a philosophy, a direction in the movement for the totally new human relations we are struggling so hard for. A luta continua.

—Diane Lee

Workers stop blast at roofing tile plant

Los Angeles, Cal.—At my plant, where we produce roofing tile, they just hired a new production manager who was brought over from a roofing company that was shut down. He is as stupid about health and safety as the last manager who had no experience and quit, but what makes this manager more dangerous is that he has about 15 years experience and acts like a know-it-all.

As always there is a demand to keep the line running at 515 feet a minute regardless of safety for the workers. My job as pumper is to keep the production line supplied with coating asphalt at 500° F. The hotter the coating, the quicker the line is able to run.

The asphalt is heated in 6000-gallon kettles. Asphalt flashes (ignites) at 535°, and there's a very combustible mix inside the kettle, with the asphalt, the gases it gives off, and air. The asphalt inside the kettle absorbs some heat, and so keeps the temperature down, but we have to shut down when the kettle is half-empty because then we can no longer control the firebox from overheating.

When a truckload of coating from Mexico did not show up as scheduled one night, I informed the production manager that the line would have to be shut down in 30 minutes because we were running dangerously low on asphalt. He kept pushing and pushing that we continue to run as long as possible until we ran out. If we did that the kettle would have exploded!

I told him if he wanted to run the on-line kettle below a safe level he would have to do it himself, because he wasn't going to kill me or anybody else for his production quota. He called the plant manager, who told him to shut down.

But that's not the only safety problem. If the kettles needs cleaning inside, the temperature probe inside the kettle gets caked up and the temperature gauge is not accurate. The asphalt gets too hot and flashes without any warning. That's what happened after this first incident with the new manager, and a kettle blew up only five feet from me. A huge fireball

came out of the top, which blew the lid 50 feet away and caught the roof and the exhaust fan on fire.

The foreman was afraid to call the fire department because of the many fire hazards at our plant, but he was forced to do so after the fire could not be put out.

All money at the plant is being spent on more productive machinery, for speed-up, which creates an environment of accidents for workers. There are no real preventive maintenance programs, and repairs are made only when equipment breaks down or blows up. Reagan has made it easy for managers to kill workers by cutting OSHA programs and plant inspections.

As a worker I feel that workers should stick together and fight these safety problems ourselves. We have no reason to die for the job but are usually pushed and pressured by management who are on our backs all the time. Their only concern is production, production, production, regardless of workers' lives. We must put a stop to these inhuman working conditions!

—Gene Ford

Farmworkers win contract

Detroit, Mich.—Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) President Baldemar Velasquez spoke here May 16, at a victory celebration for the ratification of the three-way contract between FLOC, Heinz and 14 tomato and pickle growers.

The contract, which goes into effect June 1, covers over 500 farmworkers in Ohio and Michigan for the next three years. Two thousand farmworkers have been represented by FLOC since February, 1986, when Campbell signed the first FLOC three-way contract.

"Heinz negotiators said from the beginning that the last four years of what they call 'that Campbell thing' influenced their signing," Velasquez said. He thanked FLOC supporters, who boycotted Campbell for seven years, for having also pushed Heinz to sign. Special appreciation went to those at the rank-and-file level, whose support for FLOC defied the UFCW international leadership and church hierarchy.

Velasquez reported that the Ohio growers' contract with Vlastic was the biggest opponent to Heinz negotiations with FLOC. But Heinz was afraid of eventually becoming a boycott target. Twenty-seven growers who contract to sell cucumbers to Heinz also entered into the collective bargaining.

Velasquez then described how processors and growers demanded a farmworker ratification vote at several steps in negotiations, hoping to have the whole process defeated. He compared this phony concern with democracy to asking an oppressed people to vote on whether racism is OK, and pointed out the disgraceful truth that it wasn't until this year that the U.S. Labor Department was ordered to issue guidelines requiring field toilets and other facilities for farmworkers.

In the Heinz negotiations, farmworkers who were then in Florida and Texas were mailed ballots to ratify the agreement. FLOC won over 72% of the overall vote, even though they did not have direct mail access to all the workers as the growers did. FLOC won undisputed representation on 14 farms, and procedures are still being negotiated for the remaining 13 farms.

Heinz and Campbell have finally agreed to phase out the notorious independent contractor system. Farmworkers will get a 16% increase in wages and benefits, since the contractor will no longer be able to take out a large part of farmworkers' wages. —FLOC supporter

Chicago's Memorial Day Massacre: 1937 - 1987



On Memorial Day 1937—May 30—over 1,000 Republic Steel strikers and their families assembled for a rally near Republic's South Chicago plant. They were taking part in a mass strike by 70,000 workers against Republic, Bethlehem, Inland and Youngstown Sheet and Tube—the "Little Steel" companies. As they approached the plant gates, police opened fire on the men, women and children, then charged into the retreating crowd, beating any they could reach. Ten marchers were killed, 88 injured by police clubs and bullets. Such brutality was the response of capital to the organization of the CIO, which swept from the Flint sit-downs in auto to the mass strike in steel. But steel—"Big" and "Little"—was organized nonetheless.

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

2-What is new about the post-World War II immigration? Isn't it the added element of race and color, whether from Mexico or Jamaica, Dominican Republic or Haiti, Philippines or Korea? Isn't racism one element behind this law, as well as one element making immigrants today distinct in experience and consciousness from previous immigrants from Europe? Added to that, in the tradition of the European immigrants of the 1848, 1871 and 1917 revolutions, many immigrants today come from lands in open revolt. Isn't it against these freedom ideas, this new dimension these immigrants bring to American labor, that this law is directed as well?

ROBOTS AND PLANT CLOSINGS

3-What is the bourgeoisie's Plan for American labor? Automation, robots and plant closings have hit heavy industry where, despite being relegated most often to "hot, heavy, dirty" jobs, Black workers had gotten a foothold. There is the "good news" about unemployment being "down" to 6.2%, but it does not include Blacks, who are 13% unemployed and Black youth who are officially 38% unemployed. Precisely now, immigrant labor, already exploited, is to be singled out further for persecution.

What is demanded is solidarity, a solidarity as the Abolitionists understood it. They did not limit their solidarity to helping the slaves run North on the Underground Railroad. Basing themselves on the Freedom ideas of the runaway slaves, they strove for the total abolition of slavery. Solidarity today cannot be limited to the "right" of immigrant labor to be exploited on the same terms as "citizen" labor, at minimum wage!

This immigration law, the high Black and youth unemployment, the homelessness and destroyed lives, bring to light the inhumanity of a system that looks at human labor as a commodity to be bought and sold, and that has fixed a definite place in society for white labor, for Black labor, for immigrant labor, and for women's labor: a repressive, multi-tiered labor market. Our solidarity is with the Freedom ideas of immigrant labor, and Black America, for the reconstruction of society on human foundations.

News & Letters

Vol. 32 No. 10 June 5, 1987
(closing news date May 29)

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 21 times a year, biweekly, except monthly in August, September, December, for \$5.00 a year (bulk order of five or more — 15¢) by News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone (312) 663-0839. Second Class Postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to News & Letters, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,
National Editorial Board
Charles Denby Editor (1955-1983)
Felix Martin Labor Editor
Eugene Walker Managing Editor



News & Letters
is printed in
a union shop.

Marxist-Humanist Books

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution 234 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy

Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 to today
1982 edition. New introduction by author. 381 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$10.95 per copy

Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future 294 pgs.
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95

Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal 295 pgs.
by Charles Denby \$7.50 per copy

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

Dominican worker speaks

New York, N.Y.—I was in the Dominican revolution of 1965 when the U.S. invaded to overthrow the Juan Bosch government. There was a situation of dual governments and dual power. To me the U.S. troops were brutal Nazis. I saw a U.S. soldier shoot a woman running across the street, then he shot her child. I saw a man shot because he refused to help sweep the street. It was horrible to witness the reaction of a man who couldn't believe that his brother had just been shot dead by an American soldier for no reason. They were not combatants or political people.

Juan Bosch was a good president because he spoke to the peasants and to the intellectuals and to the workers. He had the attitude of making everyone "companeros." I feel that this was one time in Dominican history when they had leadership that expressed the sentiments of the people and the urges of the people. Every country gains its power from revolution, every country comes into existence because of revolutions, and this is what makes a country what it is. Even for America and Russia, as well as the Dominican Republic, it is the revolution that is the foundation.

I learned to speak my mind and fight in the revolution. So, I was angry because the union at Hebrew National was not serious about fighting the strike against the company (see N&L, Oct. and Dec. 1986). I was a captain of the picket line last summer when the strike was going. I was just standing there watching trucks go by at one place that does business with Hebrew National. I thought I was supposed to stop the trucks from going across the picket line. I complained to the shop steward at the union. He said I shouldn't worry about it. I knew then that the strike would be lost. But still, it was right to strike.

Now I work for a messenger company and I'm angry because I feel they are ripping me off. They contract for my services but I provide my truck, my time, all the materials, waiting to pay tolls and so forth. They appear to be paying me a lot for delivering packages to the airport but in fact I'm wearing out my truck, working twelve hour days, and making \$250 a week (before taxes) from all this work. It's exploiting me. They try to make you feel special by giving you a test. If you pass you get to wear a company jacket. It's so phony because they just turn around, exploit you, and give you a low pay check. —Hebrew National Striker

A new work on the two-way road of philosophy and revolution between the U.S. and Africa

the 1986 edition of
Frantz Fanon, Soweto & American Black Thought

by Lou Turner and John Alan

To order a copy, see lit ad, p. 6

Editorial

Congress' Iran-contra hearings pose no barrier to Reagan's murderous policies

Despite the fanfare of publicity, recollections of Watergate, and expectations of exposé which greeted the opening of Congressional hearings into the Iran-contra scandal, the proceedings have so far succeeded in showing only one thing—how much Congress would rather let Reagan off the hook than interfere with his ongoing war against the Nicaraguan people.

For after two weeks of testimony, the Congressional hearings never got around to pursuing the critical question—when did Ronald Reagan know what about the illegal and continuing state and private funding of the contras.

In fact, far from slowing Reagan down, the period in which Congress deliberated witnessed an intensification of Reagan's effort to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution. He brushed aside the murder of an American citizen, Ben Linder, by U.S.-backed contras, as if it were a trifle; he launched the most massive military maneuvers in the history of Latin America in Honduras; and he invited the President of Guatemala to Washington to get him to provide even more aid and support to the counter-revolutionary forces in Central America.

Among those who did stand up to oppose these actions by not separating opposition to Reagan's lies over the Iran-contra affair from Reagan's present murderous policies in Central America were the anti-war youth, who in demonstration after demonstration over the past month called for a total halt to the U.S. aid to the contras that brought on the scandal in the first place.

None of this meant anything to the Congressional hearings, which were marked by mildness of demeanor, failure to followup on questions of illegality, and disinterest in drawing out the details of what drove and what continues to drive the deadly contra machinery.

REAGAN'S 'CONFESSION'

This is certainly not because of any lack of indications about Reagan's role in creating, ordering, supervising and continuing the shipment of arms and materiel to the contras. The first witness to appear before Congress, Richard Secord (who helped direct the illicit operation) insisted that "Reagan knew of my conduct and approved of it"; the next witness, former National Security Advisor Robert McFarlane, insisted he had spoken with Reagan "dozens of times" about the secret govern-

ment and private funding of the contras. As if this weren't enough to at least invite curiosity, Reagan announced on May 15 that "I was very definitely involved in the discussions about support to the freedom fighters. It was my idea to begin with."

In face of this, even the *New York Times* lamented that "imprecise points were not followed up on" in the hearings. Senator Inouye summed up the feelings of his colleagues when he said, "We are not targeting the President, and we are not prosecutors."

This does not mean that information damaging to Reagan hasn't already surfaced, and won't continue to surface, as the investigations into the Iran-contra scandal continue. It's that Congress and the media are not rushing to use those facts against Reagan so long as doing so would threaten what all too many of them support—his effort to stifle revolution in Central America and elsewhere.

Indeed, it is Reagan who is taking the offensive. He chose May 4—48 hours before the hearings opened—to deliver a speech on Ellis Island calling for continued aid to the contras, this time dressed up in a call for "democracy." Then, in his May 15 address, he changed the tune he had been singing ever since the Tower commission whitewashed him of responsibility for the Iran-contra scandal on the grounds that his "hands off" approach meant he really didn't know what was happening; Reagan now proudly announced that he "knew from the start" the details of the contra operation, though he still denies knowledge of the arms transfers between Iran and the contras.

Reagan's tactic now is to say that all his funding of the contras, even when prohibited by the Boland Amendment, was really "legal" after all, since the will of Congress doesn't apply to him as president!

EXPOSE OR SOCIAL UPROOTING?

That Congress isn't going after him despite this, shows the emptiness of all the hoopla about the coming bicentennial of the Constitution. With all their talk about the "separation of powers" between Congress and the president, the rulers know all too well how to close ranks when one of their representatives is threatened. That goes for the media too, which has ignored plenty of opportunities to expose Reagan.

In this, today's situation is both similar to and dif-

ferent from Watergate. Then a scandal did lead to an exposé intense enough to drive Nixon from office. But even that happened only after the rulers felt assured the Nixonite policies would remain intact. As *News & Letters* wrote in 1974, "the decadent capitalist system was willing to make Nixon, who had been so perfectly produced in its own image, the culprit of Watergate only because it was so utterly certain of the 'ultimate' unconditional pardon for Nixon."*

Will the generation of the 1980s stand for such incomplete exposés? The protests of the "second" America—Black, women's liberation, labor, youth—reveal a different road, for they have responded to the revelations of the Iran-contra scandal by intensifying the protests against Reagan's efforts to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution. This was seen most recently in the response of youth to the murder of Linder: demonstrations broke out in more than 30 cities nationwide. At rally after rally, from Chicago to Atlanta, from Boston to Portland, from Los Angeles to Seattle, the cry was "Stop the Lies, Stop the Killing!"

That is a far more profound cry than that heard from the Congressional hearings. For involved in it is recognition that the scandal was not a "mistake," an "error in judgement," but the logical outcome of a policy that is inseparable from the very nature of this racist, sexist, capitalist system. It is the growth of that recognition from the soil of the anti-Reagan protests, not the vacillations of Congress and the media, that will define the limits of the Reagan era.

*See "High Politics in USA—One King Absolves Another" and "U.S. Investigations Increase Danger of Global Minefield," by Raya Dunayevskaya, in Oct. 1974 N&L.

Subscribe to
News & Letters
only \$5.00 per year

send to:
News & Letters
59 E. Van Buren, #707
Chicago, IL 60605

THE REVOLUTIONARY BLACK DIMENSION IS ONGOING

Lou Turner's reports from the South have been enlightening and moving to me, especially his article on "Struggles in the Delta" (N&L, May 22). As a veteran of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, the description of conditions of life, labor and struggle in the Delta of the 1980s left me with mixed emotions. We have clearly not uprooted the "power structure" of the old South; it has retained control under new guises, even including token Black participation. Nor have conditions been tremendously altered, when you consider that Sugar Ditch is still a part of America.

What is, however, inspiring, is that the "lowest of the low," those who made the movement of the 1960s, are again struggling today. And they are rejecting "all half-way measures, as well as all leaders."

Civil rights veteran
New York

Recently I attended a reading by the Caribbean poet Derek Walcott at Univ. of Illinois-Chicago. It was both illuminating and disheartening. When he read his poetry Walcott demonstrated a remarkable command over the English language. And in the question and answer session that followed, Walcott also showed this command. I was quite impressed with his views on theatre, poetry and literature in general.

Then he discussed his political beliefs. I was shocked when he stated that he originally supported the invasion of Grenada, and when he asserted that U.S. imperialism is simply a matter of the American public's lack of concern with small, remote countries such as Grenada and Nicaragua. It is disturbing that a writer with such a rich imagination lacks a substantial political philosophy.

Black teacher
Univ. of Illinois-Chicago

I was sorry to see that Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall's magnificent attack on the false and hypocritical bicentennial of the Constitution was so subordinated to our total view of **American Civilization on Trial**, in our ad for that pamphlet

(N&L, May 22). It isn't that I don't think that **American Civilization on Trial** is a great and true history of the USA. It is that, not only journalistically, but philosophically, the little word "new" signifies the todayness of the revolutionary category we call the Black dimension. What Marshall said is new.

That a man from the Black middle class, who has reached the Supreme Court not only because he was "legalistic," but because he was central to the elimination of the mythology of "separate but equal," now feels compelled to issue this critique, cannot be just "background" to what we think. I would like the readers to hear more of the context of what Marshall said, when he praised those "who refused to acquiesce":

"I do not find the wisdom, foresight and sense of justice exhibited by the Framers particularly profound. To the contrary, the government they devised was defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war and momentous social transformation to attain the system of constitutional government... They could not have imagined, nor would they have accepted, that the document they were drafting would one day be construed by a Supreme Court to which had been appointed a woman and the descendant of an African slave. 'We the people' no longer enslave, but the credit does not belong to the Framers. It belongs to those who refused to acquiesce in outdated notions of 'liberty,' 'justice,' and 'equality,' and who strived to better them."

Marxist-Humanist
Illinois

LABOR REALITIES

One paragraph in your Editorial (N&L, May 22) on workers' health and safety brought to mind something I've never seen in health and safety reports and that I have personally experienced. The statistics for deaths from construction cave-ins, and the fact that in Texas over half of them were minority workers, made me recall when I worked as a pipe-layer.

Several times a day in 30 and 40 foot deep trenches, we had cave-ins that were very near misses. We knew that the contractor was too cheap to buy the required box for workers to work in while laying pipe, so each of us took turns standing look-out for any cracks in the soil that would turn into a cave-in at the slightest vibration from a passing truck or bulldozer. We're talking hundreds of tons of dirt caving in on unprotected workers.

But your Editorial made me realize something that none of us ever talked about—that the ones in the trenches were Black. It makes you wonder just how far America has come.

Ex-pipe layer
New Jersey

Plant seniority is something we see very little of in the UFCW (United Food and Commercial Workers). The article on how Oscar Mayer (N&L, May 22) uses and misuses older women workers by playing with job rights and department rights was absolutely correct in my opinion. We have that same problem at Wilson Foods, at FDL, at just about all the plants, even with union contracts. I like the way the article said that it isn't a small technical issue, that "it's a matter of life and health."

Meatpacker
Iowa



WOMEN'S
LIBERATION
WORLD-
WIDE

I hope other readers looked up Mauritius on the map, after reading the report in N&L (May 8) from the Women's Liberation Movement there. It's a tiny little speck in the Indian Ocean! How moving and powerful that feminists from there have written to N&L.

—Feminist
Detroit

I read Suzanne Casey's powerful article on her experiences of getting painful outpatient surgery without anesthesia (N&L, May 8). She put it well—this is part of Reagan's way of "cutting hospi-

Reader

tal costs." Another thing that has been happening in the hospitals is that nurses' aides are being eliminated. The nurses' aides are in the unemployment lines, and the already worked-to-death nurses have to do the aides' jobs as well as their own. This is health care efficiency under Reaganism.

Bitter and angry
Los Angeles

YOUTH TODAY: QUESTIONS OF PRIVACY, HISTORY

Because of shooting-related deaths in Detroit high schools, there have been a lot of searches for guns and other sorts of weapons. But in my middle school, there have been a few searches, too. We are not allowed to carry book bags, briefcases, or large purses. We aren't allowed to wear jackets, coats, sweat jackets, hats, sun-glasses or belts with brass buckles.

I feel that this type of action is unnecessary and an invasion of privacy. You are not even allowed to call your parents to tell them that you are being searched!

A 13-year old
Detroit

I liked the article by a Steinmetz H.S. student (May 22, N&L). But I bet the students and the majority of the faculty of Steinmetz H.S. do not have even the vaguest idea of who Charles Steinmetz really was.

Charles Steinmetz was a hunchbacked German immigrant who happened to be an electrical genius. He came to this country in the 1920s at the invitation of the General Electric Co., who provided him with an elaborate laboratory. There he made many of the electrical innovations which made G.E. wealthy.

What they try to bury today is the fact that he was a Marxist, always openly voting Socialist Party. The Lynn Mass. local of the Socialist Party, where two G.E. plants were located, named their meeting place Charles Steinmetz Hall in his honor.

Boston Blackie
Evanston, Ill.

Theory/Practice

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Letter from East Europe: For Gorbachev, 'freedom is a word that does not appear'

I am turning my column over this issue to a letter I received from an East European friend who was visiting Prague at the time of Gorbachev's visit there in April.

—Raya Dunayevskaya

Prague, Czechoslovakia—Let's point out first: We have to be aware that Gorbachev is neither a philosopher—most probably neither a "thinker," certainly not a Marxian one—nor do his approaches represent a comprehensive program. This does not mean he is acting without purpose or clear aim—he surely intends to reach a definite aim with each of his steps. But neither his reforms nor his pursuit of "democratization" are parts of a vision.

He is a populist politician who may have understood the depth of the Soviet Union's backwardness and misery. Being a realist—note how often he stresses the need for "seeing things as they are"—he understands the need for change. Its direction, however, is being worked out by trial and error. Neither Marx's philosophical "worldview" nor Lenin's linkage of policy and reality can be attributed to Gorbachev. Notwithstanding this, he is, especially when measured by Soviet and East European policy standards, a remarkable and important politician.

With these facts in mind we can consider more clearly two of the messages Gorbachev sent out of Prague. For while visiting Czechoslovakia and not fulfilling any Western speculation, either about his castigation of Czechoslovak leadership because of its "no reform" approach or about a partial withdrawal of Soviet troops, he nevertheless sent three messages out of Prague. The first, the most visible one, regarding the missiles, was addressed to the West; a second one, perhaps less striking but equally important, to Eastern Europe; and the third, the least audible, to Czechoslovakia alone.

In the message to the "fraternal" East European parties the relevant item—almost hidden in the text of the long speech—reads literally: "It can be said that the period of the forming of socialism as a world system has ended. A new stage began which requires the whole system of mutual cooperation of our countries to be elevated to a qualitatively new level. What comes to the fore, which principles are the most important? We assume that the whole system of political relations among socialist countries is possible and needs to be constructed

on the basis of equality and mutual responsibility. No one has the right to claim a special position in the socialist world." And a few lines further: "According to our common opinion it is inevitable as far as economic relations are concerned to abide consequently by the principles of mutual advantage and mutual help."

This, of course, is of no small importance for the future. In the context of other Gorbachevian policies it may indeed mean a greater independence for single socialist countries—within the Soviet orbit, naturally. What it does mean, however, for the peoples of Eastern Europe can be gathered from Gorbachev's third message.

It is in view of this pronouncement of "the new stage of the socialist system" that we can probably understand better his behavior towards the Czechoslovak leadership. Gorbachev must have realized both its aversion for reforms and the inefficiency of Soviet interference with domestic affairs of other socialist countries. What he demands is an efficient "performance" within the framework of CMEA/Comecon. The way each country chooses in contributing to common economic progress is to be left to itself.

This leads us to the third message—that sent to the Czech and Slovak peoples—the least audible of all three. Once in Prague and once in Bratislava—so both peoples could understand in case they are willing to hear—Gorbachev mentioned 1968, the year of Prague Spring, without much specification, however. In both cases he did so among crowds of curious and eager people, many of whom looked up at him as a person embodying a sprouting hope. In Prague he said he remembered "those days" when he had visited the city as leader of a Komsomol group and had seen "the chaos of 16 youth organizations."

Pluralism can not be understood by a man grown up in a society which provides only for a centrally supervised unique and unified organization for every sphere of life. In Bratislava he declared he knew "of those hard days you (the Slovaks) had to live through." It is true, this was not "official"—there was no mention on Gorbachev's part of the Party document condemning the 1968 "counterrevolution," a document the importance of which Party secretary Bilak had stressed a few weeks before Gorbachev's visit.

Were then Gorbachev's pronouncements "ambivalent"—this being a characterization by a prominent Charter 77 member? However it may be, within Czechoslovakia this third message went under in the stream of official propaganda, while outside the host country it was buried in the echoes of Gorbachev's disarmament "peace" proposals. Yet in this author's opinion its importance lies in that it showed the "reformer's" averted face: freedom is a word that does not appear in the secretary general's vocabulary. Socialist countries may become more independent from Moscow but their peoples cannot be free.

HOW TO CONTACT NEWS & LETTERS

- CHICAGO:** 59 E. Van Buren, Rm. 707
Chicago, IL 60605 (663-0839)
Meets alternate Wednesdays and Fridays, 6:30
- DETROIT:** P.O. Box 27205
Detroit, MI 48227
*Thursdays, 7:00 P.M.-Central Methodist Church,
Woodward and Adams*
- OAKLAND:** P.O. Box 3345
Oakland, CA 94609 (658-1448)
*Sundays, 7:00 P.M.
3120 Shattuck Ave. (rear) Berkeley*
- LOS ANGELES:** P.O. Box 29194
Los Angeles, CA 90029
*Sundays, 6:30 P.M.-People's College of
Law Building, 660 S. Bonnie Brae*
- NEW YORK:** P.O. Box 196
Grand Central Station
New York, N.Y. 10163 (663-3631)
*Mondays, 7:00 P.M.-Grace & St. Paul Church,
123 W. 71st St. Manhattan*
- SALT LAKE CITY:** P.O. Box 8251
Salt Lake City, UT 84108
- FLINT:** P.O. Box 3384
Flint, MI 48502

Views

THE DIMENSION OF N&L

I am a Catholic priest working among the rural poor, particularly agricultural labourers and bonded labourers. I have been getting N&L for two years, since a friend arranged it. I should say that N&L disseminates a viewpoint that is sane and true. If only its voice was as loud as that of the scoundrels! When I see the announcement of various publications in N&L, I have a longing to read them. Do you have any arrangement to make those books available to people like me?

Subscriber
Raipur, India

Ed. Note: Can you help N&L send books and pamphlets to friends in the Third World—whether in India, Zimbabwe, or Mississippi? Postage costs alone are steep. We appeal to our readers for support.

I came across your table at the April 25 action. Being a humanist, Marxist, environmentalist, I was immediately interested in your organization. The things I learned just talking to a member for a few minutes already have been of great help to me. On the way back from Washington to Florida, I had verbal exchanges with members of the Socialist Workers Party. I shared my new knowledge of Natalia Trotsky's denouncement of them, printed in N&L (N&L, February 1962). This helped expose them as authoritarians out to con the workers.

I believe in a Marxist socialist system which meets the needs of all people. I am interested in writing up Southeast actions and happenings for N&L. Please send me your organization's Constitution...

New reader
West Palm Beach, Fla.

When I had the opportunity to be in Washington, D.C. last week, I went to two bookstores, Common Concerns and Hispania. Common Concerns was very enthusiastic about Marxist-Humanist work, especially Frantz Fanon, Soweto

and American Black Thought and Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution. They had seen the review of Raya's book by Adrienne Rich. When we asked about their Spanish section, they referred us to Hispania bookstore.

At Hispania we talked to a woman who was interested in the Mexican edition of Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. Imagine our surprise when she turned out to be Alicia Partnoy, the Argentine author of The Little School, whose article just appeared in N&L last month! Washington, D.C. readers should know that they can buy Marxist-Humanist literature in these two bookstores, (see article, p.2).

Diane Lee
Chicago



U.S.
AND
CENTRAL
AMERICA

The march in Washington gave me a different idea of how the American people felt towards Latin American people. We saw all colors and flavors of people marching. American, African, Central American, South American, from all over. The theme was very important: not only Central American but South Africa too. It was a total success!

Barrett Foods striker
New York

In the Iran-contra hearings, Robert Owen said that their nickname for Oliver North was "BG" — "Blood and Guts." That's disgusting. It's scary that North had all that power. What else is going on that we don't know about?

The U.S. is like a dictator in Latin America. In Honduras, the U.S. has put a lot of military there. They say, "We've done such great things for the economy." But I saw pictures of Honduras, and what there is, is a lot of business for the whores, from the men at the bases. This is what they're doing to that country.

High school woman
Los Angeles

WHY HEGEL'S 'PHENOMENOLOGY'? WHY NOW?

I had a chance to read Dunayevskaya's "Notes on Hegel's Phenomenology of Mind" several years ago. But the way they appeared in the special supplement (N&L, May 8) made them very new for me. What hit me first was the context of the Supplement—in a Left radical newspaper, right between Readers' Views and articles on the Black Dimension. When before has there been such a provocative jamming together of activist voices from below and revolutionary philosophy within a working class paper? I will be interested in knowing what some of the activists who read N&L think of this conception.

The new Introduction Dunayevskaya added to the Notes is a very sober one in its choice of what to quote and comment on within Hegel, especially in this age of Reaganism. That we could be in a twilight that is not the dawn of a new day, but just before plunging into utter darkness is frankly very difficult to comprehend. Yet what Dunayevskaya seems to be saying is that whether one is in darkness or at dawn, the pathway forward begins with grasping Hegel's philosophic journey as a New Beginning.

Enlightened
Chicago

The Supplement on "Why Hegel's Phenomenology? Why Now?" was unexpected. It's not the sort of thing that one usually finds in a newspaper—any newspaper. I will get around to reading it soon, I hope, though it is not exactly light reading. But I wonder if you really think that workers will read it. N&L seems to have a strange idea of what interests factory workers!

Professor
Illinois

I found the comments on Hegel's section on "The Law of the Heart and the Frenzy of Self-conceit" very helpful, especially when Raya says that they apply to the labor bureaucrat. She speaks of their "earnestness of high purpose," yet "when they meet up against mankind's opposition to this personal interpretation, the heartthrob for the welfare of mankind passes therefore into the rage of self-conceit." It helps me

understand how honest labor bureaucrats, even those who come from the production line originally, end up holding negotiations in secret and keeping information from the rank-and-file.

They are really hurt when workers don't agree with them. Their attitude is that they know what's best for us, as though we are children who have to be taken care of.

Meatpacking worker
Chicago

I think Marxism is humanism. But it is different from, for example, E.P. Thompson, who emphasizes ideology, 'culture,' etc. I feel closer to a structuralist view, but they don't talk about the human being, so I'm uncomfortable with it.

In Korea, I read one book called, Introduction to Dialectics. The ones who published it, around the period 1982-3, were then arrested. Even though it was primarily philosophic, the government picked out the proletariat/bourgeois opposition, developing into socialism, as subversive. There are a lot of books about Hegel in Korea. Many students started to study Phenomenology of Mind as a way to understand Marx.

Korean student
in North America

All we ever heard from many Marxists about Marx's relation to Hegel's Phenomenology was the importance for him of the section on "Lordship and Bondage." Frankly, that was presented as though it was the only part of the Phenomenology that any Marxist needs to know about. Recently I learned—in a book on Dialectics of Labour, by C.J. Arthur—that there is no evidence at all that this section was pivotal to Marx. In fact, it appears that this myth was popularized by Jean-Paul Sartre in his Being and Nothingness. It is therefore quite illuminating to see Raya's notes on Hegel's Phenomenology, which do not lump all questions under any one section, but give us a Marxist view of the whole work.

Long-time socialist
New York

Mississippi: Delta Pride workers show pride with union

Editor's note: While on his trip to the South, Lou Turner interviewed a Black woman worker involved in the organizing drive to bring a union to the Delta Pride catfish processing plant in Indianola, Miss.

Indianola, Miss.—The newspaper here ran an article when we were trying to get the union in that had a picture of us at Delta Pride that said, "Let's show our pride." What pride? We showed them our pride when we stuck that union up in there.

The union election was held on Oct. 10 (1986), but we still don't have a contract. We started getting little pamphlets in the mail from UFCW (United Food and Commercial Workers) around January and February of last year. A couple of us filled them out and sent them back. Then we started to get some answers. People from the union started to come in to talk to us. After we got some union cards and asked people to sign them, a couple people got fired for talking about the union.

JUST WANTED BETTER CONDITIONS

All we wanted was better working conditions. We don't even have sick days. In one department the company had people clocking out just to go to the bathroom, then they clocked back in.

Things are in bad shape at Delta Pride. We had a woman who got her foot scalded when hot water fell in her boot. She ended up with gangrene, and they had to do surgery on her foot. Another woman had a bone pop into her eye, and the company didn't even let her go to the nurse's office. And there was a man who lost the tip of his finger on the head saw cutter. When he cut the tip of his finger off, he didn't know which way it went.

May Day—Haiti's festival of labor

Port-au-Prince, Haiti—On Friday, May 1, the festival of labor and agriculture was massively celebrated in Haiti. As against previous years when the festival of labor was an occasion for the government to organize parades in its own interest, this year it is the workers themselves—headed by various union federations such as the Autonomous Center of Haitian Workers (CATH) and the Federation of Union Workers (FOS)—who came together to celebrate May Day.

Beginning very early at nine a.m., in the presence of thousands of workers, several speakers took their turn at the microphone, such as Fr. Jean Bertand Aristide, who is very involved in the movement, and Yves Antoine Richard of CATH.

The speakers put great emphasis on the necessity for workers to organize themselves in order to stop being exploited by the bosses. The celebration of May Day was continued in the afternoon with a demonstration through the streets of Port-au-Prince.

One of the principal demands in the course of May Day was to adjust salaries. The workers are calling for \$6 per day.

The Haitian receives \$3 per day for eight hours of work. In this way, the worker sustains severe exploitation by the bosses. Even worse, the Haitian worker cannot always join unions for fear of being fired.

Since Feb. 7, 1986, the date of the overthrow of Jean-Claude Duvalier, more than 5,000 workers have been fired for union activities. Haiti's Minister of Social Affairs was silent because his ministry is an institution in the service of Haitian business interests.

In the twentieth century, it is therefore an urgent necessity for all the workers in all countries to organize themselves in order to bring into being a humanist society. Such is our wish for all the workers.

—Renan Hédouville, correspondent

They fired him two days later. That's the kind of mess Delta Pride is pulling, and that's why we have a \$6 million lawsuit against them.

The company threatened to move me to another division. That was supposed to stop me from talking about the union. You know, if you're scared of them (the company), they're going to get you any kind of way they want. But if you're really not scared of them and you let them know where you're coming from, they're not going to mess with you and not going to pressure you, because they know we're still in court.

'LEADERS' AND CHOPPING COTTON

During the union drive we had community meetings to tell people in the community some of the things we were going through inside the plant. However, there were some people outside the plant saying that we didn't need a union. We had a "great leader" from the community, Willie Spurlock, tell us that we didn't need a union, and that he could make things better for us—after all these years that we had been through hell.

I asked him if he knew how they were treating us at Delta Pride? Did he know that there were women out there whose skin was raw from working with that fish because different chemicals in the fish were breaking them out? And he's going to stand up there and tell me to my face that he's going to make things better for us. I told him to let his wife go out there in all that blood and he would find out what we needed. She wouldn't stay out there two hours on that line.

I work 52 and 53 hours a week and only make \$3.85 an hour, and I've been there since '82. Now, you tell me that they're not making a killing off of us. We don't get time-and-a-half for working overtime. And sometimes

some of us work 60 and 70 hours and we still only bring home \$200. A 40-hour work week doesn't even cross our minds.

Delta Pride has three plants in all, including Fish Land and Well-Fed, in Belzoni, Miss. They have 22 18-wheeler trucks out on the road. So, nothing is selling but catfish down here—cotton's gone out of style. But you know, it's just like chopping cotton, working out at Delta Pride. We had this supervisor who told us that "we brought you all out of the cotton field, and we did this and did that for you people." Far as I'm concerned we're still in the cotton fields—out there with those cotton fish. It's no different to me.

—Black woman worker

Black/Red View

(continued from page 1)

theorist of the dialectic of liberation. The very title of *The Wretched of the Earth* indicates that Fanon was focusing on the incompleteness of the political revolutions in Africa and their failure to meet the striving of the masses to establish a new society once the white colonial rulers had departed. It is here, too, that Fanon singled out the separation of the leadership, especially the "educated classes," from the masses as the main internal reason preventing the creation of a new society in Africa.

Contrary to Fanon's critique of the "educated classes," Mr. Jinadu makes a category out of what he calls Fanon's "dissent intellectual." He goes to the extent of making the "dissent intellectual" one of the two major, original, theoretical contributions Fanon gave to Third World revolutions; the other being Fanon's understanding of the revolutionary potential of the peasantry. But Jinadu is of the opinion that Fanon has to share this latter contribution with Mao, Debray and Ché Guevara.

MENTAL vs. MANUAL LABOR

By the time we reach page 156, the intellectual has become, "like Plato's philosopher-king...the image of knowledge," the linkage between the elite and the masses, a "demiurge," i.e., a worker for the people. (The literal meaning of demiurge is the creator of the world.)

Jinadu acknowledges that Fanon denied the existence of a demiurge, but he insists that it is the only conclusion that can be drawn from Fanon's concept of the role of the intellectual. This is hardly true. Jinadu then leaps forward to an even greater conclusion by assuring us that the demiurge ends the "totalitarian option and arbitrary rule." It can be said at once that such a perspective arbitrarily formalizes a division between mental and manual labor, which Marx designated as the epitome of class rule.

Nothing that Jinadu has written about Fanon is original and profound, not even his attempt to use Fanon as a cover to propound a middle-class intellectual ideology. Black intellectuals in the U.S. have used Fanon in a similar way. Indeed, they are a world phenomenon that must not be ignored, because the leadership ideology that Jinadu and his colleagues project represents a constant danger to the masses' attempt to push beyond the narrow confines of mere political revolution. At the same time, the Jinadus are a serious intellectual barrier to genuine revolutionary intellectuals working out the projection of a revolutionary philosophy for real human liberation.

Salvadoran exile speaks

Los Angeles, Cal.—Because I come from El Salvador, I've been politically involved for a long time. Many people have the misconception that we come to the U.S. for economic reasons, not because of political reasons. But if it wasn't for the wars in Central America, a large majority of the refugees wouldn't be here. We're here because of what the U.S. government is doing in our countries.

My mother was a teacher in El Salvador. Because so many students have participated in the movements, the government says the teachers are to blame for putting the ideas in the heads of the students, and the teachers' lives are threatened. Two of my mother's best friends were killed. She was next on the list, and our family had to flee. A couple of days after we left, the government searched our house and destroyed everything.

It's really hard to come here not having any status because of the immigration laws. There was a little boy in elementary school whose grandmother was captured by the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) recently, and because she had custody over the child, the INS went right into the school and took him out to deport him.

We're trying to get status here, but it's very hard. We've been here six years and we should qualify under the new law, but you have to have proof that you were here every month during that time, that you never left.

As a Central American, I always like to tie together the struggles going on around the world. The struggle going on in South Africa is related to the struggle going on in Central America, because it's basically a people fighting against the system, against imperialism, against capitalism. The struggle of the youth has been important in Central America and South Africa, but it's also important here. American youth need to take responsibility for what their own government is doing.

—Salvadoran youth in the U.S.



Selected Publications of News & Letters

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board
Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
- The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
- Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion
by Raya Dunayevskaya 75¢ per copy
- Working Women for Freedom
by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes \$1 per copy
- Latin America's Revolutions
Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America \$1 per copy
- Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions
by Raya Dunayevskaya \$1.25 per copy
- Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, by Lou Turner and John Alan
New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan
Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o \$3 per copy
- Constitution of News & Letters Committees 25¢ postage
- A Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism:
A Half-Century of Its World Development
Full description of 10,000-page microfilm collection \$2 per copy
- Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts
Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski \$1 per copy
- The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S.
by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy

For Marxist-Humanist Books, see pp. 3, 7

MAIL ORDERS TO:

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

Enclosed find \$_____ for the literature checked. (6-5-87)

Please add 75¢ for each item for postage.
Ill. residents add 8% sales tax

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Youth

Korea's new revolutionaries

by Franklin Dmitryev

On May 18, the ongoing South Korean youth revolt brought to life the observance of the seventh anniversary of the Kwangju Uprising. Today's movement is not limited to the dramatic mass actions that occasionally get reported in the U.S. Since the Kwangju Uprising of 1980, those activities have been integrated with theoretical studies by what even the bourgeois press has called "a new kind of college radical."

Despite the continuing imprisonment of over 1,000 activists and the indiscriminate beatings of bystanders as well as protesters by plainclothes police, small and large groups throughout the country held protests during the anniversary week, calling for the overthrow of Gen. Chun Doo Hwan's dictatorship. Massive student protests have occurred almost daily during the six weeks since Chun's April 13 declaration that there would be no electoral reforms. (See story in May 8 N&L.)

DEMOCRACY AND REVOLUTION

Students have been the most daring participants in the democratic movement. Yet they have not separated it from their revolutionary struggle, which aims to overthrow not only Chun, but economic domination by the U.S. and Japan. They oppose the tremendous military—including nuclear—presence of the U.S., as well as Korea's division into two. Further, the student movement is where the history of Kwangju has been preserved, not only as memory but as a high point of the struggle, the only democracy divided Korea has ever known.

The May 18-27, 1980, Kwangju Uprising was sparked by college and high school student protests against Chun's martial law decree. Having witnessed the paratroopers' bloody repression of the students, followed by indiscriminate murders of young people, 200,000 citizens of Kwangju drove out the police and army, took up arms, and ran the city themselves, for themselves.

So great was the regime's fear of the revolutionary power of this movement for self-determination, that Chun withdrew—with U.S. approval—the Korean troops from the joint U.S.-Korean command to drown the insurrection in the blood of 2,600 citizens. Although the uprising lasted but nine days, its depth gave birth to the new generation of revolutionaries that is commemorating it now.

This generation has so powerful a concept of history as today's freedom struggles that they never fail to hold demonstrations marking the anniversaries of both Kwangju and the April 19, 1960, student uprising that led to the downfall of the first U.S.-installed South Korean dictator, Syngman Rhee. This year they have joined the two anniversaries together with a continuous revolt.

At the same time, the greatness of revolt cannot obscure the invasive presence of U.S. imperialism, which has armed every South Korean regime and maintains 40,000 troops there. The State Department's praise for Chun's "democracy" makes it clear that, in the wake of the Philippine masses' toppling of Marcos, the counter-revolutionary U.S. resolve to keep an iron grip on South Korea remains as strong as it was in 1980.

A HIGHER FORM OF LEARNING

The depth of the student revolt can be seen not only in the mass protests but in the attitude to education. Not limiting its repressive measures to large-scale detentions, savage beatings and intense, sometimes deadly, torture, the government exercises nearly total control over how both public and private universities are run.

Much of the Education Ministry's energy is spent trying to eliminate dissent by students and teachers. An official of the Presidential commission on education re-

form openly admitted that efforts to increase students' work loads are meant to be "the solution for student unrest."

In rebellion against an educational system where many professors do not dare to criticize the government in the classroom, many college students, especially the younger ones, have created a higher form of learning: underground study groups that engage in demonstrations and sit-ins as well as seriously taking up Marx's works and other banned publications. One such group managed to obtain and discuss Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*.*

This serious interest in a philosophy of revolution—specifically Marx's philosophy—is the hallmark of the new in the generation of revolutionaries born out of the Kwangju Uprising. It is the hallmark of the new in the youth of the 1980s globally, and it remains our task to develop it while holding it inseparable from the ongoing intense revolutionary activities.

*See "Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1986-87," in the July 1986 N&L.

Walkout can force change

Chicago, Ill.—At Lindblom High School we are very excited to hear that students at other high schools in Chicago, Los Angeles and New York have been inspired by our walkout. We hope that if other high school students have good reasons, rather than sitting back, they will walk out too.

After our walkout in March against closed campus, we got a lot of news coverage and got the principal, Mrs. Pease's, mind working. We were going to have a second walkout the next day, but that time only 30 students went out. If we had stayed out the second day, Mrs. Pease would have been forced to listen to us.

She threatened the seniors that if they didn't return to class, they would get suspended and wouldn't graduate. But it was the juniors who started the walkout, and who, along with the sophomores and the freshmen, will continue to suffer through closed campus.

After the walkout, there was a meeting of the principal with a group of selected student representatives. Most of us were not allowed to come in. Instead, we were told we had a limit of five ideas to give to our representatives. What if we have more than five ideas? Most student representatives get selected on the basis of their high grades, and they don't listen to what the students say. If you don't have the high grades, you don't count.

We walked out because so many rules put on us are so devastating to kids. What is the purpose of our new tardy policy? If you are tardy three times, you get suspended. If you are tardy five times, you get kicked out. We only have four minutes to go from one class to another. So ten to 20 people get suspended every day.

If you wear sunglasses or jogging pants, you get sent to the disciplinarian's office. We have no social clubs; Mrs. Pease stopped that in 1985. Our school building is falling apart. We have a 60-year-old plumbing system and a lunch room on the fourth floor which is a fire hazard. Why can't they do something so the students feel comfortable?

Wherever you work, if you don't enjoy yourself, you don't do a good job. School is no fun; it is like a prison. When we walked out, Mrs. Pease said it was stupid and that nothing would change. But we feel that if we do this again, Mrs. Pease can't suspend the whole school.

—Lindblom students

Nevada test site protest

(continued from page 1)

We heard something very very horrible: that women on some of the Pacific islands have given birth to babies so deformed that they are nothing more than masses of cells, "jellyfish babies." This stems from when the U.S. was conducting nuclear tests on the Bikini atoll. The radiation blew over the surrounding areas and contaminated everything. Children played in the ashes. Now they've grown up and the women are giving birth like this. How do we change something so awful?

I was talking to people about capitalism and different freedom struggles all around the world, including in Russia which I think is also capitalistic because the worker relationships are no different than here. Because I am young, some people had the attitude, "Are your parents Communists?" And many older people acted toward me like, "How sweet! She's getting involved!" But I have a brain, too! People like that are so set in their ways, and they don't realize how much they resemble their enemy.



—N&L photo

I don't agree with the attitude of some environmentalists at the rally who said "People are going crazy and ruining the world, so we have to save the animals and the earth first." I want to save the animals and the earth! But the whales are not going to start a revolution and make things better! People have to do that.

When I think of revolution, it's scary, because there have been so many revolutions that went wrong. But we can't just yell and fight, and not think about how everything has to be totally changed. I think everything will be very different in a revolution, people will be different, listening and acting and paying attention to everything that's going on because they'll be controlling themselves.

Even though people at the demonstration were wary of Marx and revolution, still for the most part they were willing to listen because Reagan is so thorough in everything he's done that people don't know how to respond.

One man told me, "I've been a Republican, a Democrat, a socialist, in the Peace and Freedom Party," and he hasn't found anything that represents him. Nothing is satisfying. People are looking for something very new.

—Samara

Reinstate Black student!

Long Beach, Cal.—In the biggest protest on the Cal State-Long Beach campus since 1968, a rally of hundreds of Black students on April 29 swelled to over 1,000 angry students of all races, who marched on the Administration Building and demanded the readmittance of suspended Black student Annette Kenoly.

Kenoly worked at the campus bookstore and was caught selling a 70¢ pack of gum to a friend for a nickel. Not only was she fired from her job at the book store, owned by Forty-Niner Shops Inc., but university officials suspended her from school for an entire year.

Black Student Union (BSU) member T'Shaka Jones told the crowd: "Check this out. If I work at Alpha Beta and get fired, can President Horn suspend me from the university?"

Kenoly's suspension followed years of other racist moves, including the dismissal of a Black woman department chair, Dr. Hoover, who had pushed to maintain the strong Black Studies program, and administrative policies which have meant that only a tiny percentage of Black students ever graduate. BSU Vice President Keith Alexander cited several cases in which white student officials caught stealing were not disciplined.

The BSU first rallied at the bookstore, and in response to their demand, or fearful of the consequences of staying open, the manager closed down. Other students gathered in support, including some who had been at a "Peace Day" event on another part of the campus.

When the students reached the Administration Building, they found its steel gates locked and guarded by snarling dogs and dozens of Long Beach police officers in full riot gear. No fewer than 33 police cars had been called. The students refused to move unless a reconsideration of Kenoly's suspension (promised for ten days later) was issued that day. After three hours the word came down: Kenoly would be reinstated with "only" six months academic probation.

Far from being quieted by this concession, Kenoly is calling the probation "unjust," and the BSU has promised more protests until Annette's status is normalized. The Chicano organization on campus, La Raza, is calling for a total boycott of graduation ceremonies if this demand is not met by then.

—Students and supporters

Youth as a Revolutionary Category

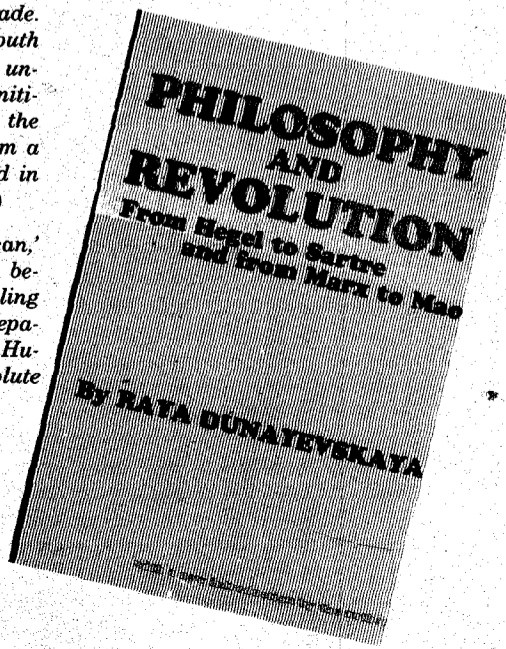
The continuing challenge of Raya Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* for today's activists

"Black was the color that helped make the 1960s so exciting a decade. By their self-activity, self-organization, self-development, the Black youth struck out against white supremacy in the quiescent South, and with unparalleled courage took everything that was dished out to them...They initiated a new epoch of youth revolt, white as well as Black, throughout the land...the objectivity of their struggle for freedom was inseparable from a self-developing subjectivity...Humanism was indeed the unifying thread in the revolts..." (from Chapter 9, "New Passions and New Forces")

"So integral is empiricism, so a part of the very organism 'American,' that even those who wish to uproot capitalism—the youth who have become aware of themselves as revolutionaries through relating their feeling of alienation in academia to Marx's theory of class alienation—still separate what history has joined together: Marx's beginnings as a 'new Humanism' and the culmination of the Hegelian philosophy in the Absolute Idea." (from Chapter 1, "Why Hegel, Why Now?")

To order a copy of *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre, and from Marx to Mao* by Raya Dunayevskaya

send \$10.95 to: News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, #707, Chicago, IL 60605



Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Reagan's militarized Persian Gulf poses new threat of war

The Reagan administration has responded to the Iraqi missile attack on a U.S. ship in the Persian Gulf, which left 37 U.S. servicemen dead, by intensifying its military presence in this turbulent area. In sending the aircraft carrier *Constellation* and other military vessels near the Gulf on May 23, Reagan referred to the area as "a vital choke point" that "is vital to U.S. interests."

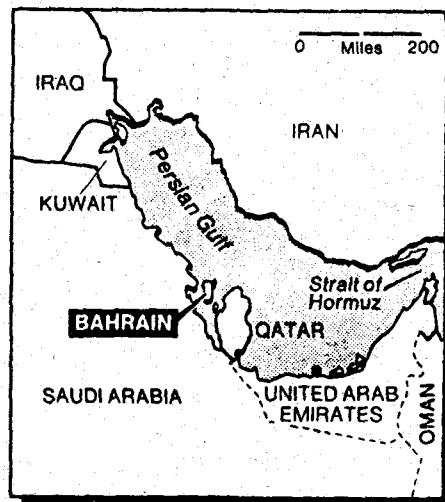
Reagan's Secretary of Defense, Caspar Weinberger, quickly followed this up by stating on national television that the U.S. will now try to obtain permanent naval and airbase facilities in the Persian Gulf as a response to the attack. Though Weinberger has wanted such bases for years, even those states in the region most compliant to U.S. wishes have resisted granting them up to now. Is this the price the U.S. expects countries such as Kuwait to pay for providing "protection" to its ships passing through the Gulf?

The dangerousness of the present situation was highlighted when Iran responded to Reagan's saber-rattling by engaging in some saber-rattling of its own, declaring that it feels free to attack any ship in the region, including those carrying U.S. flags. Reagan has already offered Kuwait's merchant ships military protection as well as the right to fly the U.S. flag.

Despite the perilousness of the present situation, Reagan is moving ahead with plans to increase the size of U.S. military forces in the Gulf, on the grounds that it is needed to counter rising Russian influence in the region. As the ruler of Kuwait remarked on May 24, the Gulf War "has now extended even to the great powers."

The whole Persian Gulf area—weight-

ed down by the continuing Iran-Iraq War and Russia-U.S. superpower rivalry—remains a tinderbox.



Klaus Barbie trial

The trial of Klaus Barbie comes more than 40 years after his reign of terror as "the butcher of Lyons" as part of the Nazi occupation of France. Close to 15,000 were imprisoned in Lyons' Montluc prison, hundreds were tortured, more than 900 shot, thousands more deported to Nazi death camps. It is not alone the individual trial of Barbie. It as well holds up for examination the entire French role during the occupation, especially in regard to the deportation of some 65,000 Jews, only 2,800 of whom survived. At issue also is the fact that Barbie was able to arrest and torture French resistance fighters because they had been betrayed by French collaborators.

Not can the role of the United States be forgotten. From 1947 to 1951 it protected and paid Barbie

while using him as an informant in Germany. Then, when the French demanded his return so he could be tried, the United States arranged for Barbie's escape to Bolivia. It took 30 more years until Barbie could finally be extradited to France in 1952.

So explosive have been the possible repercussions of a trial, that it is only now in 1987 that the government has allowed the trial to begin. First is the actual horror of Barbie himself, whose sadistic practices have been documented in two previous trials and in books. But as important will be the possibility of a self-critique of France's war-time role during the occupation. No real examination of the United States government's post-war Nazi hiding has ever been performed.

Argentine trials

The attempted military coup of April was evidently a partial success. President Raul Alfonsin has asked the Argentine Congress to pass a bill which would free most of the military officers still on duty who face charges for killing or torturing political detainees during the fascist military regime of the 1970s. This is despite the tens of thousands of Argentinians who rallied to prevent the coup attempt from succeeding and despite the protests of human rights advocates, including the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, who are demanding trials and full disclosure of the military abuses.

Oil economics

If you thought former Secretary of the Interior James Watt was anti-environment, you should meet present Secretary Donald Hodel. He is determined to make America the oil capital of the world, no matter what the cost to the environment. A few weeks ago he decided to throw open the entire coastal plain of the Arctic National Wildlife refuge in northeastern Alaska to oil exploration. His newest order was to open for oil and gas leasing millions of acres

off-shore along the Atlantic, Pacific and Alaska coasts. The threat to wildlife migration, marine life and environmentally sensitive areas is enormous. But black gold rules.

Philippine elections

The election of a new Senate and House of Representatives in the Philippines has once again confirmed the popularity of President Corazon Aquino some 15 months after a popular revolt forced the ouster of Ferdinand Marcos. Candidates on Aquino's slate appear to have swept almost all the Senate seats and a majority of the House seats. But such obvious popularity has not been able to hide the pervasive, deep contradictions that led to the ouster of Marcos and Aquino's presidency.

Foremost among these contradictions is the failure to have any land redistribution program in a country where some two-thirds of the population lives in rural poverty. Aquino's own background is that of a rich landed elite that characterizes so much of the Philippines. Her own family's 12,000-acre farm is worked by peasants who labor for a few dollars a day.

Second, she has continued the war against the guerrilla movement. Despite a brief cease-fire and the pretense of negotiations, Aquino's military has now been given a free hand to attack the guerrilla insurgency. Aquino has failed to take any actions against military officers who were involved in torture and killings during the Marcos regime.

Third is relations with the U.S. Not only has there been no serious movement by Aquino to challenge the U.S. presence at Clark Air Force Base and Subic Naval Base, but there has been an intensification of U.S. military and CIA presence in the Philippines. President Reagan has reportedly increased the overt activity of the CIA in the Philippines, and a number of U.S. military officers have arrived in Manila after counterinsurgency work in Central America.

Far from any deep reform, Aquino seems to be taking the path of refusing to shake up any class relations in the Philippines, while maintaining close relations with U.S. military and CIA activities.

Botha tightens grip, Black revolt deepens in South Africa

(continued from page 1)

1987 a nationwide South African Youth Congress was formed. In April, 300 delegates gathered secretly to found a United Democratic Front Women's League. But the most crucial new element has been that of Black labor self-organizing as never before.

The most serious recent strike was that of 18,000 Black railroad workers against the South African Transport Services (SATS) in the Johannesburg area, begun on March 13 and led by COSATU's South African Railway and Harbour Workers' Union (SARHWU). On April 22, six SARHWU strikers were killed by police and then police raided COSATU headquarters, arresting 400, beating people viciously. SATS then began firing all strikers. That same week a two-day Black stayaway in Soweto kept thousands home from work in a rent protest which also supported the SATS strikers.

The following week, COSATU came out in support of the May 5-6 election stayaway, and its offices were immediately raided again. On May 7, one day after the election stayaway, COSATU headquarters was destroyed by a bomb. COSATU general secretary Jay Naidoo said: "The organization however has not been stopped by the attack on our house and the events of the last few weeks." Clearly the regime wants to crush the labor movement.

But the labor movement nonetheless continues to grow. The generally pro-ANC (African National Congress) COSATU has a membership of over 700,000. The newer Black Consciousness-oriented National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU), formed in 1986 from the merger of the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) and the Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU), now claims 600,000 members.

Since early April, 4,000 Black postal workers in Soweto have been on strike against management racism and arrogance. The *Sowetan*, a Black paper, reported (4/7/87): "The young white workers have also been accused of sending Black old men, old enough to be their grandfathers, on personal errands like buying cigarettes for them."

A major victory was won in February by the Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa after a ten-week strike by 10,000, mainly women workers against 120 stores of O.K. Bazaar, the country's biggest supermarket chain. The workers won a hefty wage increase, maternity leave and non-victimization of strikers. NACTU Assistant General Secretary Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said recently that solidarity with the O.K. strikers from "the UDF, AZAPO, CUSA-AZACTU, COSATU and other forces of differing political views made it very difficult to break." On the other hand, he stated, "We feel that

the SATS strike was easier to crush because of the lack of support from other organizations." (*Weekly Mail*, (#4 4/30/87).

Nefolovhodwe went on to critique some of the township youth "comrades" for having alienated a part of the proletariat: "To some extent the youth have failed in fundamental issues like convincing the working class on the type of campaigns needed to bring about change." Nonetheless, the youth have remained a vital source of creativity for the movement, ever since Soweto 1976. This was seen most recently in the four days of demonstrations at the University of Cape Town, and at the University of the Witwatersrand where 3,000 students trying to have Winnie Mandela speak were brutally dispersed by the police on May 4.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN THOUGHT

In 1986-87, the workers' organizations have moved to the forefront, not only in activity, but also in thought, questioning not only some of the tactics of the township youth, but also asking how to avoid a single party state after the revolution.

Some of this was caught in an article by Professor Thomas Karis (*Foreign Affairs*, Winter 1986-87) when he wrote: "At the height of the Solidarity union movement's challenge to the Polish state, organized black workers in South Africa were strongly pro-Solidarity,

not so much because they were anti-Communist but because they favored workers' control and were anti-state. COSATU, in sum, represents the kind of autonomous force that could not easily be manipulated or controlled...Men like Ramaphosa, [National Union of Mine-workers leader-Ed.], with their experience of prolonged detention, their own approach to socialism, and their political evolution from Black Consciousness to affinity with the ANC have developed a self-confident spirit of independence and a vision of democracy that is accountable to the grass roots."

At the same time, after meeting with exiled ANC leaders, a COSATU representative stated: "I told the ANC...we did not want superficial change or Black bosses to replace white bosses, while the repressive machinery of state and capital remained intact." (Quoted by John Saul in *New Left Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1986)

A new society is today struggling to emerge from under the crushing totalitarian grip of the apartheid state, and the world movement needs to create forms of solidarity and revolutionary dialogue with its South African brothers and sisters. This year marks the tenth anniversary of the murder of Black Consciousness founder Steve Biko, and all tendencies plan commemorations. Most immediate however is June 16, Soweto Day, when massive actions are planned in South Africa and abroad.

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.