

Reagan, Gorbachev in Iceland: All things fall apart

by Raya Dunayevskaya

Chairwoman, National Editorial Board of
News & Letters

The collapse of the hastily-called Reagan-Gorbachev "pre-summit" in Iceland—which turned out to be the real summit—is the most ominous happening in this changed world. It actually opens up the race to the nuclear holocaust, meticulously prepared for. It is this precisely—the need for highly technological preparations on the level of who can be superior in space—that is making the bi-polar nuclear behemoths walk so softly, making sure that the blaming of each other for the collapse of the summit is shrouded in a note of hope.

I. THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE TRAP

As against the flim-flam man in the White House, who has been called the Great Communicator, and the head man in the Kremlin, who has passed himself off as from a totally new generation, it becomes necessary to examine what did happen at Reykjavik. Why was the collapse such a total surprise not only to observers, but to Reagan himself?

So confident was Reagan that he was going to have another Geneva-type summit capitulation from Gorbachev, who he felt was nowhere as sophisticated as he, that Reagan came to the summit empty-handed. On the other hand, Gorbachev came well prepared, precisely because he had taken the measure of Reagan's immovable stance on Star Wars at the Geneva summit.

It began with bringing his beautiful wife, Raisa, with him for public relations chores. After all, Iceland, where the U.S. has a nuclear installation, is much closer to Russia's border than to the U.S., and is a country with which Russia wants to have very good relations.

At the summit itself Gorbachev read a prepared, collective statement from the Politburo. One more thing was left. He convinced Reagan to have unscheduled meetings of their respective arms control specialists, who worked through the night to 6:30 a.m. Statements were coming from both sides that made it clear that arms control was the issue, and that they

were getting so far on that, that all other issues from Afghanistan to human rights were forgotten.

It was at this point that Gorbachev sprang the trap that would make Reagan responsible for the break-up of this "pre-summit." That is to say, he made it clear that all the radical things they had agreed upon concerning reductions in intermediate and intercontinental ballistic missiles were all a "package" which depended on leaving Star Wars at the laboratory stage. Down came Reagan's Great Illusion, down came Gorbachev's package, down came whatever hopes the masses of the world had that we weren't headed for nuclear holocaust.

Indeed, in this week that was, all things fell apart. This included those which had no direct connection with the summit, as was seen when the U.S. C-123 cargo plane, with arms for the Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries, was shot down over Nicaragua. (See "Our Life

and Times" p. 12).

As if that were not enough, the natural disaster of the El Salvador earthquake—which the U.S. certainly could not be blamed for—still revealed how deadly is the U.S. embrace of a colonial country. The devastation was so great that the guerrilla rebel army unilaterally declared it would not attack and asked for similar action on the part of the government. Whereupon, both the U.S.-backed army and the U.S.-chosen President Duarte gave a resounding "No" as their answer. Indeed, Secretary of State Shultz went there not merely to announce U.S. aid, but to "warn" against the revolutionaries "taking advantage" of this disaster.

II. THE AFTERMATH: FIRST REACTIONS AND THE WHITEOUT

Whatever shock and rage Reagan displayed to his close entourage on his way from the Hofdi House Sum-

(continued on page 10)

The deepening crisis of poverty in America



photo by Bruce Harkness, Detroit

by Olga Domanski

National Organizer, News and Letters Committees

A woman worker in Oklahoma wrote News & Letters: "In the past 30 days four banks here have defaulted. A postal worker in Edmond killed 14 others and then himself. Yesterday two other men here killed themselves. None of the experts seem able to understand what's happening. I can tell them. It's pure hell not knowing where your next meal is coming from, much less a roof over your head and no relief in sight. This week 100 will be laid off at GM and the following week 200 more. After that, the whole second shift. And Oklahoma is just one statistic in many."

From a young man who recently left Detroit to move to New York, the same day's mail brought the following: "Detroit was a city exemplary of U.S. capitalism's crisis. But let me tell you, this city is poor. There may be rich parts of town but the very poor are everywhere in Manhattan. You can see the writing on the wall by looking at all the homeless, the people in emergency shelters, on assistance, and many, many working poor, especially immigrants."

A PERMANENT EMERGENCY

On the opposite coast, at a meeting of the Los Angeles Homeless Union, a young Black man who has been living on the street for seven years told N&L: "The government is doing nothing to help. They make life harder for us. There was an empty warehouse where 100 people used to sleep, but when they found out they closed it down. When homeless people established our own "city" of cardboard shacks—Justiceville—the government bulldozed it. They won't help us but they don't want us to help ourselves, either. They don't want us to get together."

The ever deepening crisis of permanent unemployment (continued on page 9)

Too little for work of a lifetime



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

On Oct. 7, I went to my UAW retirees meeting. About 600-700 retired workers from GM, Ford and Chrysler filled the union hall. First we were shown a film produced by retirees like us. This film to me was different than any other film shown to us by the union leadership.

The film showed how we workers during our working time built a society for everyone else: we created all the wealth so the capitalists could get rich; we paid into insurance plans for the insurance companies to get rich and for the doctors and dentists to get paid; we had done for everyone except for us, the workers.

BAD AS 50 YEARS AGO

The film showed that labor today is almost as bad off as labor was 50 years ago, when we began to organize the CIO and the unions that were supposed to organize all of the unorganized. This film said we had only scratched the surface as far as creating a society for the working class, and that the labor movement had just begun.

One worker I was sitting next to said, "If the labor movement has just begun, what we need to do first is get rid of this union leadership that has been bargaining all these concessions contracts and selling us out." Other workers were saying the same kind of thing.

When the union bureaucrats running the meeting began to see how these retired workers were reacting to the film, they refused to recognize any of us to speak from the floor. Only other bureaucrats were recognized to take the floor and say something. And all they had to say was to tell us to be sure to go to the polls and vote for Democrats, as if that will solve our problems.

The problems are much deeper. It is this whole capitalist system where we the workers exist to create prof-

(continued on page 5)

On the Inside

Adrienne Rich—writes "Living the Revolution" on Raya Dunayevskaya's four books, p. 4.

Samora Machel—African revolutionary, p. 8.

India Today—tribal miners struggle in Bihar, pg. 3; landless peasants protest, pg. 5.

Also—High school youth speak out on drug tests, birth control, p. 11; Haiti Chronicle, pg. 5; Zaire reviewed, p. 8.

Black World

Next barrier to African Revolution



by Lou Turner

When two very distinct voices—one the Black revolutionary intellectual Frantz Fanon and the other a Black South African worker in COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions)—intercommunicate across the expanse of two-and-a-half decades there is bound to be a battle of ideas. This is especially true when a '60s activist like Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael) is challenged about his failure to articulate a comprehensive philosophy of revolution for the Black dimension.

Whether or not Toure recognized that this was what actually was at issue in a recent exchange we had at a conference called "Organizing Mass Anti-Colonial Consciousness" held at predominantly Black Chicago State University on Chicago's South Side, that is what today's liberation struggles in the Black world demand. Though the conference only attracted 30 or 40 people, there was no doubt that those who did attend were not so much interested in his topic, "understanding the function of the settler colonial state," as much as they had come to hear what was behind Toure's two-day arrest and detention by the Guinean government in mid-August of this year.

ABSTRACTIONS VS. PHILOSOPHY

While little light was shed on that subject, what did evoke much discussion and debate was the statement I made from the floor following Toure's vulgar materialist presentation on what constitutes political consciousness. As against Toure's abstractions about settler colonialism, Nkrumahist "scientific socialism" and illusions about coming from within the African struggle to organize "mass anti-colonial consciousness," the question I had was: coming from within with what philosophy?

My point was that it is insufficient today to talk abstractly about consciousness outside of its relationship to organization and to a philosophy of revo-

(continued on page 8)

Home-based work—a deeper alienation

by Terry Moon

"...what is deeply inherent in Reagan's retrogressionism... is to turn world capitalism away from what was attempted by it when the Depression threatened its very rule—i.e., the New Deal." —Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87

Raya Dunayevskaya

One manifestation of Reagan's retrogression that will affect hundreds of thousands of women in the U.S., the majority Third World and poor, is the imminent lifting by the anti-labor Labor Secretary, Bill Brock, of the ban on home-based work; while his counterpart, anti-labor chairman of the Senate Labor Committee Orrin Hatch, uses Orwellian language to introduce his "Freedom of the Workplace" bill which would end the ban on commercial work in the home, all in the name of "the rights of women."

The ban on homework, the manufacturing of clothing and jewelry in homes, was instituted in 1943 after a decades-long fight by the Women's Trade Union League and the union movement against the horrible conditions of sweatshop labor in the factory and in home sweatshops throughout the first half of the 20th century.

Senator Hatch claims, "We're not living in the sweatshop days." But in this year of the 75th anniversary of the horrible Triangle Shirtwaist Fire where 146 textile workers were killed, most of them women, we are still living in "sweatshop days." In New York City alone the State Department of Labor estimates the number of sweatshops to be between 2,000 and 3,000. Another Triangle Shirtwaist Fire could happen anytime.

"SWEATSHOP DAYS" ARE HERE

What about the exploitation of the home-based worker? Orrin Hatch may not be able to find it, but Kenneth B. Noble began his New York Times article of Aug. 30 describing an undocumented Mexican woman who "sits at her sewing machine hemming a pair of pants. It is a ritual she repeats with various designs on a number of garments for at least 14 hours a day, seven days a week, earning about \$140 a week—less than half the Federal minimum wage of \$3.35 an hour."

In 1986 as in 1943, the willingness of the capitalist to exploit women and children remains. As we wrote in our *Draft Perspectives* in the July 1986 N&L, even in highly industrialized countries "production is rooted in the most wretched, low-paying, non-union, piecework labor done by subcontractors for its high-tech corporations." What is also at issue is the proliferation of home-based clerical work with women doing piecework on video display terminals which have yet to be proven safe.

That reality of 1986 makes it necessary to address those who think that in this society there is a liberating aspect of home-based work.

ILLUSIONS ABOUT HOMEWORK

Eileen Boris writes in the Oct. 18th issue of *The Nation*. She knows home-based work will be exploitative, but she thinks there is something to be said for it. She praises "pro-family conservatives" who "recognize the interaction between home and market." Her conclusion declares that "we must look beyond the workplace to the home, and struggle for the restructuring of both... Only with a new home and new workplace can homework be a good deal for women."

Living vs. minimum wage

Oakland, Cal.—The California Industrial Welfare Commission (IWC) is again holding hearings on whether the minimum wage of \$3.35 per hour is adequate. They held hearings in 1982 and in 1984, nothing happened, and now, even if an increase is recommended, no one will get it before 1988. The commission is charged with setting a minimum wage "adequate to supply the cost of proper living, and to maintain the health and welfare of employees of this state."

In every other Western country the minimum wage is tied to the cost of living, but in the U.S. inflation eats away its purchasing power. In 1984 it was determined that a minimum of \$5.01 would be necessary to buy what you got for \$3.35 in 1967. Today, in terms of value, the minimum wage is the lowest it has been in 30 years—one-third below the poverty line.

Nationally about 10 million make the minimum wage (one million in California), but millions more, especially the undocumented workers, make even less. Two-thirds of minimum wage workers are women. One-fourth are heads of household, the majority are adults and not, as employers claim, teenagers earning pocket money. Three-fourths of all household workers, as well as many in "women's" occupations—clerical, garment and service trades—earn minimum wage. Enforcement of this pitiful wage is also pitiful—there is no staff to investigate and penalties are like parking tickets.

The Housecleaners Co-op, (P.O. Box 28071, Oakland, CA, 94604) would like to hear from you if you think the minimum wage needs to be increased. Especially write to the Industrial Welfare Commission: P.O. Box 603, San Francisco, CA, 94101, and let them know your views. They are inundated by employers and their heart-rending pleas for more profits.

—Joyce Maupin, Housecleaners News

While that may be the reality for the 30 or so well-off women in Vermont who knit outerwear on fancy machines in their middle-class homes and want the ban ended, for the vast majority of women there is absolutely no way that home-based work can be anything more than the most dreadful exploitative and alienated labor.

Marx had a totally different concept of what labor could mean if it were freely associated: a place for the free development of the individual's power, of her or his natural and acquired talents. That can occur no more in a home sweatshop than in a factory.

Only in a new society when work unites thinking and doing—human self-development—will it be possible for work in the home or in the factory to be liberating. Under Reaganism it will simply be a deeper form of exploitation and alienation.

A Kurdish Woman Speaks

Editor's note: The following excerpts are from a letter by a revolutionary Kurdish woman in response to Marxist-Humanist writings on the Iranian Revolution and the Kurdish movement for self-determination.



Kurdish women in Eastern Turkey left by men gone west for work

I agreed with your idea about "reorganizing our minds" (especially Iranian minds!) on leadership and organization [in order] to continue the Iranian revolution which was usurped by the mullahs of Khomeini's regime and his thug agents. There is no doubt that revolutions of the last century have failed miserably. The situation in Iran is tragic and we need to do a lot of thinking about this.

After thinking hard, one thing many of us Kurds made up our minds about is that there has been a political, cultural and social pattern of the "old school" of Kurdish leadership accepting "blood money" from feudal, colonial and imperialist agents. This has resulted in Kurd killing Kurd for political reasons.

Instead we must unify our efforts to fight our real enemies, the oppressor governments of Iran, Iraq and Turkey, and U.S. and Soviet "imperialism." And we must insist upon decolonization of all occupied Kurdish lands and the establishment of a socialist Kurdistan where Kurds presently living in the occupied lands of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria and the Soviet Union, and in exile could live.

The role for women has not been good in Kurdistan but this has changed in the last 15 years, especially in the last seven years. Kurdish women are fighting alongside the men for survival and for freedom. When I grew up all we women did was things for the men like sew, cook, bandage men in battle, etc. Some say, because we were close to the men on the battlefields and our scarves (chadors) fell off, that we were "liberated women." To me that is nonsense! Kurdish men have very backward ideas about women as do Iranian men and most men around the world.

I never felt "liberated" in Iran or Kurdistan! I felt liberated when I left Iran and Kurdistan. Now I will never be pushed around again by domineering men, elders, brothers, etc. when I go back to Kurdistan (liberated from Iran, etc., I hope). I believe many Kurdish women have been educated in this way, even many still in Kurdistan, as women have been fighting to survive, the same as men.

Life in Kurdistan was never even a little easy, but now it is intolerable. It is up to the Kurds in exile to inform others about the situation of our brothers and sisters in the Middle East—especially about the war.

—A Kurdish sister

KHADIJEH HUSEYNI is an organization that publishes information regarding Kurdistan's self-determination movement, culture, political organizations and aspirations. Send Canadian stamped (\$3.00 postage) and self-addressed envelope or donation in Canadian currency to cover postage for a literature list of over 100 documents. They are looking for people who want to become involved in their work. Write: KHADIJEH HUSEYNI, P.O. Box 3475, Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6B3Y4 or call 1-604-986-6857.

Rich views Dunayevskaya

The Women's Liberationist poet and activist Adrienne Rich reviews the four books of Raya Dunayevskaya in the September 1986 *The Women's Review of Books*: "For about three years I've been reading a paper called *News & Letters*... It features the thinking of Raya Dunayevskaya, its founder and clearly its guiding hand and spirit. Who, I soon began to wonder, is Raya Dunayevskaya?" For excerpts of this review, see page 4.

Secretaries win strike

Detroit, Mich.—After four weeks the Detroit Association of Educational Office Employees accepted our bargaining team's recommendation to return to work with a total package worth 14%. We got a 7.5% wage increase and an incentive of \$770.

The Board of Education was forced to give up one of the best packages ever. I think they felt pressure from the other unions. We had been invited to the Teachers' Union meeting scheduled for the very night we settled. At Cooley High School, teachers who had given moral support all along, honored our picket line for the first time, just before the end of our strike. A lot of students came out of the school and joined us too.

Though we didn't get a 10% wage increase, it was a victory because we proved we could stay out and stay united. We gained recognition because the school system felt what it was like without the secretaries. Before, they had seen our job as merely mechanical. But even a learning company has created a poster of a school secretary which reads, "I can only do 12 things at once."

—Detroit school secretary

Sexism at packaging plant

Philadelphia, Penn.—The negotiations which began in July between our union and the packaging company for our first contract have produced a lot of discussion among workers and have brought to the fore a host of grievances. Some of the most glaring have to do with the situation of women in the plant.

Before I started, the company eliminated the machine technician job classification, forcing operators to do their own set-ups and repairs and to bring raw material to the machine and mount it. Women who were good operators but lacked mechanical experience or physical strength, quit or signed off the machines. Several women told me they are convinced that the company does not want women running machines.

The company hires only women as inspector/packers, while all male new-hires are placed on machines. Although everyone starts at the same pay rate, machine operators and helpers have higher top rates and get raises faster. "Skill and ability" give operators and helpers seniority over inspector/packers in the event of a layoff, even if they have been there only a few weeks and are still in training!

One woman, who took a voluntary lay-off when she was pregnant and came back immediately when called, was stripped of her seniority and treated like a new-hire—after seven years with the company! She feels as though she is being punished for having a baby. Three women on sick leave have been approved by their doctors for light duty, but the company refuses to let them come back, claiming there is no light work.

The shop steward was politic enough to include two women on the negotiating committee, but I doubt that many of these concerns will be raised in that forum. It's impossible to know what is going on, though, because union officials have instructed our negotiating committee members not to reveal the content of the discussions to their co-workers.

—Woman worker

Women Within the Archives

Adrienne Rich writes: "Raya Dunayevskaya is part of the history of Women's Liberation... Who she is and what she thinks matters to our understanding of what and where the movement for Women's Liberation, has been and might go."

You can follow the development of Raya Dunayevskaya's thought and activity in the *Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of its World Development*.

- Women's activity in 1940-1950s on miners' wives, on telephone workers' strikes, on "Woman and Socialism"
- The emergence of today's Women's Liberation Movement in the 1960s
- The relationship of Marx's Marxism to today's Women's movement and perspectives for the future

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'Global Assembly Line': reality on film

The *Global Assembly Line*, Lorraine Gray's documentary film, follows the lives of workers in the U.S. as they are faced with runaway shops, and the reality of work in the Export Processing Zones (EPZ) in Mexico and the Philippines.

The film begins with angry and bewildered workers at Magnavox in Tennessee who have just learned that their plant is closing and moving out of the country. Despite their union's protests and mass demonstrations, the company moves because, as the spokesman explains, Magnavox needs to escape "exorbitant wages"—\$5.40 an hour. In the Philippines wages are only 70 cents an hour.

FEMINIZATION OF WORKFORCE

While the movie focuses on the zones in Mexico and the Philippines, what nevertheless becomes apparent is the feminization of the workforce that is taking place worldwide—over 90% of the workers in EPZs are women between the ages of 16 and 23. These young women support entire families because they are the only ones who can get work.

In the Philippines the film traces the life of a young Filipina as she moves from the less-than-sub-



sistence existence of the rice farm to the horrendous conditions of, first, a textile factory in Bataan, and then an electronics job in Manila. In the electronics factory we see the women spending eight hours a day peering through high-powered microscopes.

By age 23 the women are old—blinded by the microscopic work and poisoned by the chemicals. When challenged about this problem, one of the businessmen replied that the women were young and could take lots of abuse, and in fact they abused themselves!

Workers however, have not accepted these working conditions passively. As one woman explained, "Our only defense is self-organization and unity even though it's illegal." In the Philippines the workers form a human barricade in an attempt to stop a company from moving its goods to another plant in order to escape the workers' demands, and in Mexico there is a first-ever general strike in the zone. But as soon as the workers organize, the companies move out.

UNION CONTRADICTIONS

At the end the film suggests that it will take international or industry-wide unions to halt this flight, but the film itself shows, perhaps inadvertently, the unions themselves are too full of contradictions to be any solution. We see a union organizer telling the workers at Atari that they should have joined the union sooner, that there's nothing that can be done because the company is within its legal rights. In Mexico the unions are controlled by the government and the workers can't even install their newly elected leadership.

While this ultra-mobility of capitalism and the establishment of export processing zones are new, capitalism's "werewolf-like hunger" for ever-cheaper sources of labor, and workers' revolt against it, is a centuries-long battle that can't be solved by internationalizing the unions as they are now constituted. As the film itself so beautifully shows, the conflict reaches deeply into every country and will require profound international, social, political and economic transformations.

—Deborah Morris

Housing becomes a luxury

by John Marcotte

How can it be that a man or woman can be working, have a job, and still end up living on the street? Yet that is a fact. This guy I know, A., has been doing the same casual labor job for the last four years, and he spent last winter sleeping in abandoned cars and what not. He makes four dollars an hour, and there's no work when it rains or things are slow. A rental room in New York now goes for 70 to 80 dollars a week, but you have to eat too.

A. got a room now, but the landlord wants him out, he's selling the building. A. swears he won't spend another winter on the street. "I'll leave when I find another place. He can call the cops. I'm not going out on the street."

Another guy who works there, W., has a mother on welfare who lost her apartment six months ago. The landlord wanted it for his own use, he said. Now she's in a welfare hotel in Manhattan.

W. told me, "It's a Catch-22. Welfare won't pay the full rent when she finds an apartment, and if I give her the money to make up the difference, welfare tells her she can't have outside income. So the City is paying the crook who owns the hotel \$2,000 a month for her room but they won't give her \$500 a month for an apartment."

There is a class struggle in the sweatshops of New York, and it continues unabated when you get home—if you have a home to go to. That rent is always there, is always due, you sweat all week, all month just to pay the rent. That struggle between landlord and landless—whether housed or homeless—is surely part of the class struggle in New York.

I've got a good friend named Carlos who works for the Marriott food services for the airlines. I'm sure everyone remembers the recent TWA strike and how TWA got rid of 450 workers in their food service, shut it down and are now subcontracting out to Marriott. No wonder that was cheaper for TWA, though someone's getting rich on this. Carlos makes \$4.16 an hour. Out of that, the company takes \$15.36 a week out of his paycheck for medical benefits.

I've been helping Carlos look for an apartment. Right now Carlos, his wife and two children are sharing one room in a basement with three more adults. When we go to real estate agencies, two-bedroom apartments are all \$500 and up. Most are over \$600. Most all of them say, "No washing machine, no pets, no children." So where are the children supposed to live? They have six-room apartments and the landlords say they will only rent to a single man!

Such is the sickness, the greed of the real estate business in New York, that has left the human being completely outside. Surely there must, and there will, come a reckoning, a beginning of settling this score.

Kaiser union unity

San Francisco, Cal.—On Oct. 15, 300 showed up at the most exciting meeting I've ever been to of my local union—Local 29, Office and Professional Employees Union. A large majority felt strongly that we have to support our fellow workers in Local 250, Service Employees (SEIU), who are being forced to strike against Kaiser Hospitals on Oct. 25 when their contract comes up. [Editor's Note: As we go to press 9,000 health care workers at 26 medical centers have gone on strike.] In the name of "cost effectiveness" Kaiser is demanding 12 takeaways—a "dirty dozen"—which include a two-tier wage system, farming out our work, eliminating health benefits for some retirees and diluting seniority rights.

There are 8-9,000 people affected by this contract—licensed vocational nurses, housekeepers, pharmacists, pharmacist techs. Because Kaiser is asking for a package, Local 250 invited the other unions to take part in the negotiations as observers.

We formed United Kaiser Unions, including my local, the optical people (SEIU 505), California Scientists and Engineers (medical technologists), and SEIU 535, which is in negotiations right now. We all know that whatever Local 250 gets, or eats, in a bad contract is what they are going to offer us. So now is the time to draw the line.

Our union put out a button "an injury to one is an injury to all" and listed all the unions on it. That speaks to everybody's sentiment. Local 250 has a slogan, "Kaiser works because we do." This is a real test to see if we can defend ourselves.

Kaiser's marketing experts are saying our patient base is getting older and more expensive to take care of. Hospital policy is clear: with Medicare paying only 80% of 1975 rates, it is not profitable to keep patients.

A lot of people are hospital workers because they like to help people. Yet for the hospital, that is promoted as a surface image only, to get more enrollees. In practice, they are constantly looking for ways to get the patient out of the hospital and speed up the stressed-out staff to make as much money as possible.

They took the money Kaiser got through its union member enrollees in Northern California and opened up Kaisers all over the United States. The odds are really stacked against quality health care unless we as staff and patients take more responsibility to fight for more staff and more review that is controlled by the patients on our own behalf.

—Kaiser worker

Tribal iron miners' struggle bares dualities in India

Bihar, India—Some years ago there were 30,000 unionized miners and another 30,000 were non-union in the Singhbhum district of Bihar, where iron has been mined since 1895. The union miners have housing and education benefits, retirement, etc., and their children can inherit their job. Their union is Rightist, controlled by Jan Sangh elements.

The other 30,000 work for a piece rate—they dig and are paid by how many feet of mineral they get. Whole families work together, despite child labor being legally prohibited. Children from 14 on up work, especially girls who do not attend school. These people, who come from a tribal society which is more egalitarian than Brahmanical society, have usually lost their lands and come to the mines in search of money for food on a temporary basis.

WILDCAT STRIKES

Before 1981, when a new union was formed among the tribals, few democratic rights existed. We could not celebrate May Day because of Mafia-type management/police connections. But there were other forms of resistance. They went on strike in 1978 because they were being paid three rupees per day—24 cents! This wildcat strike got them a raise to four rupees, less than the official minimum wage at the time of five rupees, of which they were kept unaware.

Workers in this period protested against misuse of women, both informing the police and taking militant action. In one case a woman was molested, and they got hold of the molester and took him to the police. The workers instead were arrested, so many more went on strike in protest.

The new union of the non-permanent workers was born in the 1981-82 strike. By the time of their next strike in 1983, with the help of human rights activists and other supporters, the new union, Saranda Tetka Mazdur Sangh (STMS) had been formed. Although they lost wages and faced repression, they forced management to negotiate right on the shop floor—not in a hotel—and in the language the workers spoke, not English.

After ten days, management and the police reached agreement with the 5,000 strikers, 90% of whom were tribals, and 50% women. All were there as witness to the settlement. The tribals were all there armed with bows and arrows. They sang and danced all night as the negotiations took place. They had big battle drums. It was decided that 50% of the union representatives would have to be women. Some support came also from the permanent workers, who donated rice and beer to the strikers.

Since the 1983 victory, they have tried to victimize workers. They refused to implement parts of the agreement such as maternity benefits. They started to say that you must inform them of your pregnancy in writing and go to a hospital and report it. But a tribal woman cannot read or write and is reluctant to discuss her pregnancy with a non-tribal male doctor. Once workers won their self-respect in 1983, there were many other strikes.

THREAT OF MECHANIZATION

Today, mechanization has come to the iron mines. In surface mines blasting and drilling are now done automatically and diesel shovels are used for moving boulders. When mechanization came, we decided that it would be impossible to fight it completely. But we demanded that contract workers could be absorbed into the jobs with the machinery. But the new mechanization plans say that women cannot run the machines. There will also be only 400 vacancies, all of them for men. So the other thousands of workers have had to move on to other unmechanized mines, to face the same conditions as before.

—Labor activist

Indignant Heart:
A Black Worker's Journal

Charles Denby's account of his own life —

- His youth in the share-cropping South.
- His 30 years of activity within the auto plants, confronting Chrysler, union bureaucrats and Left parties alike
- Reflections on labor and civil rights struggles both as participant and as editor of *News & Letters*

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As Others See Us

Editor's note: Below we print excerpts from Adrienne Rich's "Living the Revolution," a review of Raya Dunayevskaya's four major books which appeared in the September, 1986 Women's Review of Books (Wellesley College Center for Research on Women, Wellesley, MA 02181. Subscriptions are \$14 per year.)

For about three years I've been reading a paper called *News & Letters*, formerly published in Detroit, now in Chicago. Describing itself as a Marxist-Humanist publication, it combines worldwide capsule reporting, feature articles making connections among political movements and events, discussion of Marxism, past and present, with particular emphasis on "the Black/youth/women's dimension" of liberation. It features the thinking of Raya Dunayevskaya, its founder and clearly its guiding hand and spirit. Who, I soon began to wonder, is Raya Dunayevskaya?...

Raya Dunayevskaya is part of the history of women's liberation, and one of the oldest continuously active women revolutionaries now living. Who she is and what she thinks matters to our understanding of what and where the movement for women's liberation has been and might go. I came out of a strain of feminism (I almost said "a tendency") which saw itself as a leap forward out of Marxism, leaving the Left behind, and for which a term like "Marxist-Humanism" would, in the late sixties and early seventies, have sounded like a funeral knell. A major problem (not just a problem of language but of organizing) was to break from a male-centered terminology of class struggle which rendered women invisible unless in the paid workplace, and also from a "humanist" false universal which derived from the European glorification of the male. Radical feminists were of necessity concerned with keeping the political focus on women, because in every other focus—race, class, nation—women had gotten lost, put down, marginalized. In addition, we were fighting the dogma of class as the primary oppression, of capitalism as the single source of all oppressions. We insisted that women were, if not a class, a caste; if not a caste, an oppressed group *as women*—within oppressed groups, and within the ruling class...

DUNAYEVSKAYA HAS SPENT a lifetime in the philosophic and organizing struggles of the Left, in the study of Hegel, Marx, Rosa Luxemburg, Mao, Sartre, among others, and of more obscure documents of the radical movements of our century and before. While I've felt the challenging dimensions opened up in trying to review her, I've also felt that her work deserves examination from a feminist who has lived alongside, but not immersed in, that world at once so splendid, poignant, schismatic, sometimes visionary, sometimes stifling, always embattled—nowhere more than here in the U.S.

I was drawn to Dunayevskaya's work a few years ago by the title of her pamphlet, "Woman as Reason and as Force of Revolution," an early presentation of some of the material in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*. I was coming out of a period of increasing discontent with tendencies in feminism toward a kind of "inner emigration" (Hannah Arendt's term for the withdrawal of many Germans during the Third Reich into an "interior life...to ignore [the] world in favor of an imaginary world 'as it ought to be' or as it once upon a time had been.") I'm talking not just about lesbian separatism but about versions of female oppression which neglect both female agency and female diversity, in which "safety" for women becomes valued over risk taking, and woman-only space—often a strategic necessity—becomes a place of emigration, an end in itself.

I WAS FIRST STRUCK, in the pamphlet and then in ranging through Dunayevskaya's books, by the vitality, combativeness, relish, impatience, of her voice. Hers is not the prose of a Marxist mandarin, a disembodied intellectual. She argues; she challenges; she urges on; she expostulates; her essays have the spontaneity of an extemporaneous speech (some of them are) or a notebook—you can hear her thinking aloud. She has a prevailing sense of ideas as flesh and blood, of the individual thinker, limited by her or his individuality yet carrying on a conversation in the world. The thought of the philosopher is a product of what s/he has lived through.

In *Marxism and Freedom*, Dunayevskaya is grappling, in the face of the Stalinist legacy, with the question which continues to engage her: *What happens after?* What happens when the old oppression has been successfully resisted and overthrown? What turns a revolutionary leader into a tyrant? Why did the Russian revolution turn backward on itself? How do we make the "continuing revolution," "the revolution in permanence" in which this cannot happen? She is passionate about "the movement from theory to practice and from practice to theory" as a living process, and about the necessity for the "voices from below" to be heard and listened to if a movement is to keep on moving. She has the capacity, rare in people as learned as she is in Western philosophy and theory—including Marxists—to respect and learn from other kinds of thinking and other modes of expression: those of the Third World, of or-

dinary militant women, of working people who are perfectly aware that theirs is "alienated labor" and know how to say that without political indoctrination. Maybe Dunayevskaya would claim she originally learned this from Marx...

Philosophy and Revolution is the most academic, least accessible of Dunayevskaya's books; it retraces some of the history of philosophy in *Marxism and Freedom*, moving on from there to discuss the Cuban revolution and



Adrienne Rich

the student and youth uprisings of the Sixties, along with the emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement. This work feels—up to the last chapter—less dynamic and more laborious, more like a political philosophy textbook. But in both books, Dunayevskaya is on a very specific mission: to rescue Marx's Marxism from the theoretical and organizational systems attributed to him; to reclaim his ideas from what has been served up as Marxism, in Eastern Europe, China, Cuba and among Western intellectuals. She insists that you cannot sever Marx's economics from his humanism; humanism here meaning "the self-emancipation of human beings,"...

Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution is something more than a critical philosophical biography. But that it certainly is: an account of Luxemburg as woman, thinker, organizer, revolutionist...

LUXEMBURG WAS "a reluctant feminist" who was "galled in a most personal form" by the "Woman Question" but, "just as she had learned to live with an underlying anti-Semitism in the party, so she learned to live with...male chauvinism." (Does this have a familiar ring?) In particular, she lived with it in the person of August Bebel, a self-proclaimed feminist who wrote of her "wretched female's squirts of poison" and Viktor Adler, who called her "the poisonous bitch...clever as a monkey."

The book opens out into a sequence of essays generated, as Dunayevskaya tells us, by three events: the resurgence of the Women's Liberation Movement out of the Left; the publication for the first time of Marx's last

writings, *The Ethnological Notebooks*; and the global national liberation movements of the 1970s which demonstrated to her that Marxism continues to have meaning as a philosophy of revolution. Luxemburg's life and thought become a kind of jumping-off point into the present and future—what she saw and didn't see, her limitations as well as her understanding. We can learn from her mistakes, says Dunayevskaya, as she begins developing the themes which she will pursue in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*.

IN THIS 35-YEAR collection of essays, interviews, letters, lectures, you see Dunayevskaya going at her central ideas in many different ways. Agree or not with her analysis here, her interpretation there: these working papers are some of the most tingling, invigorating writing since the early days of Women's Liberation when writing and organizing most often went hand in hand. This is an irresistible depiction of women in movement, across the world and through history; Dunayevskaya really does hold to an international perspective. She chides and criticizes Simone de Beauvoir, Sheila Rowbotham, Gerda Lerner; praises *Wuthering Heights*, *A Room of One's Own*, the "Three Marias" of the *New Portuguese Letters*; the poetry of Gwendolyn Brooks and Audre Lorde; she says Natalia Trotsky went further than Trotsky; she chastises Engels for diluting and distorting Marx, and post-Marxists and feminists for taking Engels' *Origin of the Family* as Marx's word on women and men. Her quarrel with the Western post-Marxists is that they've taken parts of Marx for the whole, and that what has been left out (especially the dimensions of women and the Third World) is crucial in our time. Her quarrel with the Women's Movement is that feminists have jettisoned Marx because he was a man, or have believed the post-Marxists without looking into Marx for themselves. She insists that Marx's philosophy, far from being a closed and autocratic system, is open-ended, so that "in each age, he becomes more alive than in the age before." That Marx was himself open to an extraordinary degree to other voices than those of white males...

Dunayevskaya vehemently opposes the view that Marx's Marxism means class struggle is primary, or that racism and sexual oppression will be ended when capitalism falls. "What happens after?" she says, is the question we have to be asking all along. And this, she sees, the Women's Liberation Movement, Black and white, has insisted on...

I HAVE LEARNED so much from Dunayevskaya, have so much respect for her political imagination, her tenacity, her own dialectical growth, that I want to hear what she has to say on many of the edges of struggle where we find ourselves in 1986. She mentions in passing, for example, that "It is that topic, sexuality, that is still in need of a relation to revolution." Neither sexual purity nor sexual liberation has established that relation for women. She affirms the lesbian and gay liberation movement, but I want more. We're still unclear how and by what historical forces heterosexuality has been socially constructed, indoctrinated; the degree to which lesbian and gay liberation has been a revolutionary force; how actual sexual practice informs theory; the conditions under which sex is work, recreation, or, in Audre Lorde's phrase, "the erotic as power..."

What I hear Dunayevskaya saying above all is that we have reached the point in history where real freedom is attainable, if we are willing to commit ourselves to a more inclusive definition of freedom than has ever been attempted. If indeed Marx was moving in such a direction, we can't leap forward from Marx without understanding where he left off, and what he left to us.

—Adrienne Rich

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Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution

by Raya Dunayevskaya

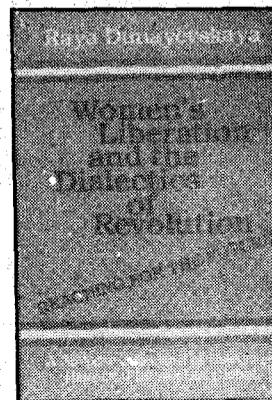
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Haitian Chronicle

by Renan Hédouville, Correspondent

Port-au-Prince, Haiti—On Thursday, October 16, 1986 the Committee for Democratic Unity (KID) held a press conference. During this press conference, the KID leadership made a proposal: a call for a three day hunger strike to protest against the unpopular policies of the National Governing Council (CNG).

On the afternoon of October 16, at the College of Sciences, Rue Mgr. Guilloux, Port-au-Prince, the leading members of the National Organization for the Defense of Youth (ORNADEJE) held interviews with the press, the radio and certain democratic organizations on the crisis facing the country. The members of ORNADEJE took advantage of the occasion to denounce the injustice of Haitian Justice—in other words the lame functioning of the Ministry of Justice, headed by Francois LaTortue. They also asked those present to practice civil disobedience against the CNG and also to boycott the actions and projects of this unpopular and anti-national government.

For some time a climate of insecurity and psychosis has reigned in Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti. Several cases of disappearance and of illegal arrests have been recorded. In this regard, I can cite the cases of Charlot Jacquelin (disappeared since Sept. 19), Premeus Jasmin, Jean Modichon and Ernst Cadet (former Haitian political exile who returned to the country after Feb. 7).

It should also be noted that in recent days, several members of democratic organizations have been the object of threats and acts of intimidation. For example Frantz Guilliter, an activist in MUPAC, a youth group in the town of Cayes, was forced to leave his home town and at the same time to become a maroon [trans. note: maroons were fugitive slaves who went to the mountains under the French] because he was threatened with death by the military in Cayes.

On October 6, school reopened in Haiti. However, we must note that from 1804 (the date of Haiti's independence) to today, the Haitian school system functions for the benefit of a minority, in other words the privileged class of our society. Therefore, for a population of six million, there exist only about 180 schools. What's more, the majority of them are private schools. In effect, Haitian leaders invest only in militarization.

Editor's note: Our correspondent, Renan Hédouville, is editor of an exciting new Haitian journal, Jeunesse en Action (youth in Action), which carries important reports and analyses by members and friends of the National Organiza-

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

its for the capitalists. While capitalism exists, the workers cannot help themselves, because under capitalism all the surplus value our labor produces goes to the capitalist, while we get barely enough to exist on as our wages, to furnish our needs, to go and work the next day. Then when we have worked for our whole lives, we retire into sickness and poverty.

NIGHTMARE NOT DREAM

I remember that when I was still working at GM, the international union leadership used to tell us time after time how much we were all going to enjoy our retirement, that we would have the leisure and freedom to do so many things we wanted to do. Well, that beautiful dream they used to brainwash our minds with turns out to be a nightmare for many.

I am speaking from my own experience. I am living this reality. I have had operations and my health is not good, but I have had to take a job as a janitor because I cannot pay all my bills—and this is with a pension and medical insurance "coverage" from one of the strongest industrial unions in this country! What is happening with other retirees—how are they surviving?

Just recently my wife died from cancer, and the insurance companies still haven't paid thousands of dollars of the bills. I am being threatened each week by the doctors, who seem only interested in making money.

At the retirees' meeting, one worker I know said: "That film says we need a new labor movement. But what we need to do is to take control of production. That is the only way. We have tried everything else and nothing else has worked."

That is the kind of new labor movement I would be for, one towards a system controlled by the producers ourselves, where we produce for people, where all people of the world are free to self-develop themselves to become full human beings, mental and manual labor together in each person. Then we wouldn't need armies and the bomb to destroy people and jailhouses to put poor people in.

This kind of talk amongst us retirees shows what we are thinking after having worked all our lives in this system. We old-timers need to join with the energy of the youth for a movement to change this capitalist system into a human one.

Protests continue

tion for the Defense of Youth. The latest issue contains articles in French such as "The Haitian Nation Faced with Foreign Interference", and "Once Again a Young Woman (Junie Depestre) Falls Beneath the Assassin's Bullets of the Army", as well as reports on the recent student strikes. They desperately need subscriptions and financial contributions to survive, and we urge our readers to answer their call for support. Address all correspondence and contributions to: Renan Hédouville, Delmas 24: Rue Caonabo #51, Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

India's landless peasants



Editor's Note—This past summer New Delhi was the scene of peasant demonstrations as the government asked once again for the forced sale of land held by 114 villages surrounding Delhi. One million residents will become homeless as a result of this new decree. In July the residents of the village of Ber Sarai organized a protest meeting in which over 5,000 people participated, representing all the villages. Below we print excerpts of an interview with residents of Ber Sarai.

New Delhi, India—In 1964 our land was stolen from us for building the Jawaharlal Nehru University. Nehru himself came to the four villages, giving a speech that everyone will be given jobs in the new university—jobs as gardeners, day laborers, guards and watchmen for the illiterate, and office work for the literate people. But in fact no one was given jobs. The university brought in people from the outside. That part of the land which was held in common for pasture—over half of our village, 120 acres—was taken away from us, forcefully and without compensation.

The government paid a ridiculously low price for the private property it took over. As a result life changed a great deal. Most of the people became unemployed. There was no longer land for agriculture or pasture. Young men who were unemployed went to drinking and drugs. Women used to do a lot of agricultural work. Everything except plowing was done by women. Life was much happier for women; we could work on the land, plant different things, have different kinds of food.

The British law of 1894 for Acquisition of Land is still in force. It is that law that allowed them to expropriate the lands and was never removed from the books after independence. On the one level the government says it is socialist. But then it takes our lands, jobs, occupations and shelters. Only two kilometers away, land that was taken away from us is now used for a residence for government ministers. Huge houses for the rich have been built on land taken away from us without compensation. We are still for resolving problems through peaceful means but it seems that unless there is a bloody revolution things are not going to change. How long can you have a non-violent revolution?

Everywhere people are bleeding. There is no honesty among the capitalists. They do not feed the poor and hungry and we are very frightened about our future.

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'Hegel and his critics'

Atlanta, Ga.—The October national meeting of the Hegel Society of America on the theme "Hegel and His Critics: Philosophy in the Aftermath of Hegel" drew almost 100 participants, probably the largest attendance ever. Held at Emory University, the meeting included not only Europeans and North Americans, but also Koreans, South Americans and Africans. Women and young people were also present in larger numbers than before.

While Hegel's relation to various philosophers such as Husserl, Derrida and Heidegger was discussed in the three days of the conference, to N&L readers probably the most interesting sessions were those on the relation of Hegel to Marx. One presentation, by Leslie Mulholland, used Marxian categories to argue that the major difference between Hegel and Marx was that Marx opposed Hegel's concept of the private bourgeois individual with his own concept of communism. William Maker, a non-Marxist Hegelian, critiqued Marx's concept of dialectic insofar as it involved a turn toward the world of praxis as against what he saw as Hegel's concept of remaining silent on the course of the world.

In the discussion, Mulholland's failure to address Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays—specifically Marx's own discussion of individualism and humanism there, as well as his profound "Critique of the Hegelian Dialectic"—was criticized for creating a statist reading of Marx, while Maker was criticized for having ignored Hegel's concept of the role of reason in a critique of the real world.

However, the most controversy was generated by George Kline in his Presidential Address on "The Use and Abuse of Hegel by Nietzsche and Marx," where he actually drew a parallel between Marx's philosophy and that of Nietzsche, as well as accusing Marx of being "totalitarian" and deterministic. He especially attacked Marx for looking to the historical future, while he praised Hegel for supposedly refusing to anticipate it. In the discussion, as against Kline, one speaker used Hegel's concept of becoming to show a parallel between Hegel and Marx, where both spoke of the future as a process of becoming out of the present, and where their view of the future was based upon real possibilities within the present. Another speaker from the floor accused Kline of giving an existentialist reading of Hegel.

The continued growth of the Hegel Society of America in the last decade, and the new debates over Marx at the 1986 meeting, are a sign of the times, and of special interest to Marxist-Humanists. —Kevin Anderson

Nicaragua's constitution

Managua, Nicaragua—One of the most exciting events I witnessed was the ongoing debates over the new constitution. It was exciting because it illuminates both what is new and inspiring about the revolution and some of the problems that need to be confronted.

Rather than simply voting "yes" or "no" on the 221 articles decided upon by legislators, the Nicaraguans created "cabildos abiertos," open town meetings, as the place for the constitutional debates. Between May 18 and June 30 of last year, 73 cabildos abiertos were held where 2,500 people spoke, 1,800 turned in written statements, and over 100,000 attended. These meetings were also reported on radio and television.

Five meetings were held nationally where women could voice their criticisms and demands. For example, the women debated the issue of abortion. Religious conservatives are demanding that the constitution state that life begins with conception, and AMNLAE, the national women's organization, wants the constitution to recognize that a woman's life is sacred and to guarantee the right to safe, legal abortion.

Unfortunately the FSLN strategy in the abortion debate seems to be to use it as a bargaining chip in the debates with the religious conservatives. Apparently they don't want to feed into the Reagan administration's charges that the government is "anti-church." It appears that the constitution will guarantee all Nicaraguans the right to life, which makes capital punishment illegal, but leaves the right to abortion to be battled out in the courts or the streets. This is true despite the fact that complications from illegal abortions are the leading cause of death in Managua's women's hospitals, according to a doctor there.

This constitutional process seems to be part of a revitalization period in Nicaragua. The government is now opening up to greater mass participation and has agreed to agricultural reforms that were initiated by campesino land seizures and demands by some of the Atlantic Coast minorities. Women have also finally won property rights and are recognized as heads of households.

While applauding these changes, the question that seemed to be on many people's minds is whether the FSLN is truly re-evaluating its attitude to the masses, or is this merely a tactical shift designed to thwart the U.S.-supported counter-revolution? —Karen Hect

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ICELAND SUMMIT INTENSIFIES WORLD CRISES

The article on "world revolts and economic crises" by Raya Dunayevskaya (Oct. N&L) was not easy to read, but I appreciated several of its points very much. First was the very beginning, about how the U-2 incident smashed the "spirit of Camp David" in 1960. It set me thinking about what happened at the Iceland meeting. There was no spy plane, but it seems as though Gorbachev and Reagan were trying to trap each other. No one on my job felt good after Iceland. There seemed to be a uneasy feeling of waiting to see what would happen next.

The other part of the article that I liked very much was on youth in world rebellions. I don't think that it's only youth in other countries, like South Africa and Haiti that are rebellious. Plenty of youth right here are, but they don't know what to support...

Black woman
Detroit

I was reading one article over and over—"the Superpower Grip." In fact, I read it to my mother and we were talking about it. The article was about Reagan and Gorbachev and economics. But most important to me was Chernobyl. Because in the Spring there was a lot of talk about it, and this article brought it back up. We were talking about it, and how the imperialist powers made a major accident that spread throughout Europe and the whole world.

M.L. King, Jr. H.S. student
New York, N.Y.

Reagan and his Star Wars plans are hated here by the large majority of people... Caspar Weinberger intervened directly in British politics, attacking the Labour Party's policy commitment to unilateral nuclear disarmament on the grounds that this will undermine NATO. Labour's response has been to stress its desire to build up Britain's conventional armed forces and support NATO to the full. A future Labour government would keep Britain in the Cold War, build more tanks, submarines, frigates and warplanes. Even on the nuclear issue, the first signs of backsliding are now visible.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

Reagan says we have to have Star Wars, above all else, no matter what the Russians offer. Then we learn that it will cost a trillion dollars. Where will the money come from? Already my electric bill is up 60% just to pay for the nuclear power plants they said we had to have, and their cost is just a spit in the ocean compared to this.

Bus driver
Chicago

What I worry about after the Reykjavik summit is that Gorbachev will look so good, so much the peacemaker, compared to that maniac Reagan, that the whole anti-war/anti-nuke movement will take his ground on everything. Some say that he is more "cultured" than Reagan. It's true, but more important, a little Marxism goes a long way. Sure, it's a completely fake Marxism, but that's what he uses to make Russia's world ambitions sound like "internationalism," rather than like what everyone knows Reagan wants—world domination.

Worried
Chicago

At work, when the conversation gets off baseball and onto the summit, it's that feeling of cold chill. When I heard Reagan's speech to the NATO troops, I got such a cold shiver. The last time I felt that was watching the Rehnquist nomination on TV. I think they are actually thinking about World War III.

Worker
New Jersey

What made me really think, especially after the Iceland events, was Dunayevskaya's startling summation of Reagan's retrogressionism last issue. She says that what is deeply inherent in it

is "his effort to turn world capitalism away from what was attempted by it when the Depression threatened its very rule—i.e. the New Deal." For Dunayevskaya, who was the first to put forth the theory of state-capitalism as a new world stage back during World War II, to suggest that Reagan wants to institute a fundamental change now in what Stalin's Five-Year Plans, Roosevelt's New Deal, and Japan's "co-prosperity sphere" launched some 50 and more years ago, is no small point. I kept wondering, what new form of capitalist rule might be in the offing in this age of Star Wars?

Librarian
Illinois



WOMEN IN REAGAN'S AMERICA

Lou Turner's column (Oct. N&L) on *The Black and Youth Employment Crisis*, edited by Richard Freeman and Harry Holzer, was very powerful. I read the book myself, and the editors evidently don't think that young Black women have an employment crisis. Their study is strictly about Black men. While the statistics presented are devastating, with Black male youth unemployment astronomically high, what about young Black women? To these editors, women are invisible.

Diane Lee
Chicago

The *New York Times* carried a report on the campaign for the Senate in Maryland. It's a contest between a fairly liberal Democrat, Barbara Mikulski, and a Reagan Republican, Linda Chavez. But what is unique about it is that here are two women running against each other for the U.S. Senate. So what happens? Chavez launches a campaign against Mikulski on the ground that she is single, childless, anti-male, and associates with "radical feminists." Chavez, of course, is "pro-family." Even more sickening is the dirt Chavez staffers are spreading on how Mikulski "imported an Australian Marxist-feminist" for her staff and let her stay in her house. The implication of all this is, of course, that Mikulski is a lesbian. No, all women are not my sisters! I hope Chavez gets buried (electorally, of course).

Feminist
Chicago

A MATTER OF COLOR

I was sitting in the Grand Central Station waiting room when a policeman walked by, banging his nightstick against the benches where homeless men sat. Before the men could stretch their arms to shake the sleep out of their bodies, they were told to go somewhere else. He also chased away a lot of Black men who were just sitting and talking.

He walked past me; I was safe. I guess I should thank my white skin for granting me the privilege of sitting on the bench for as long as I wanted to. But it wasn't something I was proud of.

Stunned
New York

FREE SOUTH AFRICA!

At the Oct. 11 Free South Africa Movement (FSAM) rally in Los Angeles, contradictions came out into the open. Supporters of FSAM questioned the leaders' insistence that the African National Congress (ANC) is the "sole legitimate representative" of the South African people. Members demanded platforms also for Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) representatives, who more openly challenge capitalism. At the rally leaflets were circulated exposing the underhanded way the FSAM had taken a "final vote" for the ANC-only program at the rally—on a night

Readers' Views

when all who would have voted to hear PAC and BCM were away at a Steve Biko memorial meeting.

The insistent demand by large numbers of people at the rally itself forced the organizers to allow a speaker from the South African Students Committee who supported Black Consciousness. We need a free flow of ideas in our movement if we are to fully understand and support the South African struggle.

Black activist
Los Angeles

INDIA'S NEW VOICES

I read your report "India's new voices of revolution." It is a good report. It will help the Americans to understand some trends of the Indian society which they don't get through the controlled media. There are a few mistakes. Sanghatra is not the correct name. These are peasants in Arwal organized by Mazdoor-Kisan Sangram Samity, i.e., Workers-Peasants Struggle Committee. Sanghatra means just organization. Also it is not correct to say that the Mizo National Liberation Front won self-determination for the Mizoram area. They won statehood within the Indian union as Bengali or Punjabi or Tamil people already have. In spite of these few mistakes, the report is certainly interesting and informative and gives a glimpse of what is boiling in India. Thanks for this good report. I will try to write for *News & Letters*...

Indian revolutionary
Delhi, India

LIFE IN OUR HEMISPHERE

In Chile, the recent assassination attempt against the dictator Pinochet has brought immense new repression and suffering to the Chilean masses. It now seems certain the attempt was carried out by the Manuel Rodriguez Front, and not manufactured by the govern-

LABOR IN STRUGGLE, IN EXCHANGE OF IDEAS

Five hundred steelworkers locked out by USX Corporation blocked a shipment of steel from Fairless Works north of Philadelphia on October 2. The company obtained an injunction two weeks later banning picketing on the railroad tracks, the union complied with the court order, and the steel was sent to California. When I attempted to take the October issue of *N&L* to the picket line and to talk to the workers, I was turned away by USWA Local 4889 officials, who are more interested in preventing the exchange of ideas than they are in preventing shipments of steel.

B.A. Lastelle
Philadelphia

I recently spoke with some Cubans who had come to the U.S. on the 1980 Mariel boat lift. They are finding out that America is not a land of freedom and plenty for everyone. Their legal status is not yet settled; they have to remain in an institutional setup. One of them got a job installing fiberglass doors in airplane bathrooms. The dust is horrible and it goes into their noses and mouths, even when they wear a mask. At the end of two weeks of work, working 10 hours a day, he received a paycheck for \$285. He said that they could not complain about their job because they were all "illegal" workers.

Reader
Los Angeles

The article on the retail store (Oct. *N&L*) was very good. In some retail work we are considered sales people, but not here. You do five jobs at once, like sales, stock, displays, cleaning, registers, and you get one paycheck though you do the work of five persons. I feel like a dust bunny from all the dirt I have to deal with.

Wonder Woman of retail
New Jersey

ment as many people thought at first. I am totally opposed to such vanguardist actions. I also believe that the Front was not even trying to inspire a mass uprising, but was only trying to pressure the government into making some kind of deal with the Communist Party.

Chilean exile
East Coast, U.S.A.

If the U.S. and Salvadoran governments had any sense they would act quickly and efficiently to aid the victims of the recent earthquakes in El Salvador. Instead, they seem to be letting the poor suffer once again. You would think they would have learned something from the experience of Nicaragua, where Somoza hastened the revolution by stealing all the international aid following the 1972 earthquake that destroyed much of Managua.

Anne Jaclard
New York

HORMEL STRIKERS' APPEAL

Brothers and sisters, there are still 850 dedicated P-9 families who continue to be locked out by the Hormel company in Austin, Minnesota. The new contract here—approved by counting the votes of hundreds of scabs working in the plant—left the strikers without any recall rights. Until everyone is back to work the struggle will continue. As the season changes these families are going to be in greater need of financial assistance. The P-9 members have come to depend on your contributions to "Adopt-a-Family" and "Emergency and Hardship" to get their families through the tough times. Without your continuing solidarity there will be nothing. Send your donations to:

Austin United Support Group
PO Box 396
Austin, MN 55912

A friend of mine was laid off from her job as a receptionist when the shop that she worked for was cutting back. She filed for unemployment but didn't get any as the judge sided with the boss who said that she was fired for lateness, though she had never been warned of this. She's been unemployed two and a half months, drags herself to job interviews where she doesn't really want to work. Her savings have all gone, her rent is due.

She went to get food stamps and was encouraged to claim welfare, but they told her that welfare wouldn't pay all her rent and that she'd end up owing \$200 a month. It's not very far before you end up on the street or living under the boardwalk at Coney Island.

Worried
New York City

I agree with Felix Martin (Oct. *N&L*) when he says that "bravery and militance is not enough to win a strike" in these days of Reaganism. In the 1980s we have seen some workers try to go outside "bravery" and establish new kinds of workers' organizations. I am referring to Solidarnosc in Poland and the Black trade union movement in South Africa. They are not separating shop floor struggles from those in the whole society, and they have challenged all political parties with their questions about the shape of a future society. Here in America we may be seeing the beginnings of that kind of independent workers' movement also, as people try to find an alternative to the established unions.

If *N&L* is becoming a biweekly, as Martin says, to help the "forces of revolution get together with each other and with a philosophy of revolution," then I think it is urgently needed.

Long-time subscriber
Illinois

ON MARXIST-HUMANISM'S BODY OF IDEAS

finishing Marxism and Free- attended an International Social- organization meeting at NYU, enti- Marxism and Trade Unions." The er said Marx lived before the rise industrial revolution so he didn't anything about unions. In order rstand the labor movement you start with Lenin and Trotsky. He he real tragedy of the 1967-1973 s in Detroit was that there was no ent socialist organization to lead rkers. Raya's book showed me his interpretation of history was . Our role is to learn from the rs, not instruct them; so when is a revolution, it will be a hu- tic one.

New reader New York

been reading Dunayevskaya's Luxemburg, Women's Libera- and Marx's Philosophy of Revo- I'm currently on Ch. 4 where kes up the debate between Lenin Luxemburg on organization. I'm in agreement with Luxemburg's on; I think revolutionary organiza- as to be free and democratic, or will freedom and revolutionary de- cy come after the revolution? ple always say: "It is time now to ranks against the external enemy. eed solidarity. Don't raise any dis- nents or differences amongst our- ." But how can revolutionaries ave this line after the Russian ution, after the Spanish Civil I say that our whole idea is free- and we will only get that if we de- it within our own organization.

Lesbian-feminist California

writing to you on behalf of the Proletarja" (Proletarian League) shed last year with a view to ying the historical absence of any local organization with a similar ical orientation. We hope to pub- ur appearance through the publi- of a detailed Declaration of Prin- which also contain information as policy, both foreign and local, as ved by our Congress.

We would greatly appreciate it if News and Letters Committees would forward us a copy of your declaration of principles or political manifesto. Such a document would help us clarify our ide- ological position... May we also have a catalogue of your publications and a sample copy of N&L?

Lega Proletarja 3, Stuart Street Gzira, Malta

Revolutionary greetings. The study group which was studying Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought here has been dismantled. But I have taken the opportunity to read the book thoroughly, and in my opinion it was very good and worth reading. I admire the way in which the authors analyze both the political and black cul- tural consciousness which could be a deadly weapon in the hands of the black working class internationally in their fight against capitalism.

What is most interesting about the book is how black leaders such as Steve Biko and others, who were not Marxist or Trotskyist, exposed Stalinism, show- ing that it is no friend of the interna- tional working class, much less of the black working class. I would be willing to help find Jamaican bookstands to distribute the book...

Revolutionary socialist Kingston, Jamaica

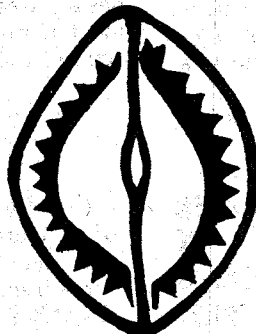
CANCER FOR THE POOR

A special report, "Cancer in the Eco- nomically Disadvantaged," was present- ed by Dr. Harold Freeman of the Har- lem Hospital Center in New York. It revealed that "poor whites and poor Blacks fare less well than middle class Americans of all origins... The nearly 34 million Americans living below the pov- erty level (23 million white, 9.5 million Black, 1.5 million other races) have a cancer survival rate of 10-15% below the overall rate of approximately 50%."

Dr. Freeman's conclusion was: "If poor people die in America from cancer because of what poverty means—that they don't have education, they don't

have access, they have barriers to en- tering the health care system—then in- deed poverty itself is a cause of in- creased death from cancer. This raises very significant ethical questions as to what this country's approach will be to this growing segment of the popula- tion." How many more unnecessary deaths before we can turn this society into one for humanity?

Disgusted Berkeley, Calif.



Gikuyu shield

RELEASE KENYAN POLITICAL PRISONERS NOW

Since 1982 Kenya News has been ex- posing different aspects of the barba- rous character of the Moi regime in Kenya. It is the bulletin of the Commit- tee for the Release of Political Prison- ers in Kenya. Following the massacres in Wajir and Pokot in 1983 and 1984, the killings of students on Bloody Sun- day and the executions of political pris- oners during the Women's Conference in 1985, the regime has begun the sys- tematic torture of those it suspects of membership in, or sympathy for, the re- sistance movement in the country.

Nearly all the prisoners arrested or detained this year were kept incommu- nicado for at least a month. Those who were mutilated by the beatings, water torture and other methods used routine- ly in the underground chambers of Nyayo House on Kenyatta Avenue have been detained or have disappeared. To contact Kenya News, write:

76 Stroud Green Rd. Finsbury Park London N4 3EN England

SUPPORTING N&L

N&L is the only publication I read that goes out of the way to get input from the rank-and-file. This is the only way to get a real feeling for what is happening. Keep up the good work. En- closed is my subscription renewal plus a \$7.50 donation.

Auto worker Clinton, Mich.

We apologize for the delay in writing to you but we have been very busy these last few months because of the dockers' strike in Spain, as you can see from the last issues of La Estiba, which we are sending you regularly. Thank you for sending us your May N&L with the article about the Hormel strike. We are trying to translate it because we want to reprint it in an upcoming issue of Etcetera with a little notice on your paper and on the Spanish edition of Dunayevskaya's book on Rosa Luxem- burg. You are free to reprint from both La Estiba and Etcetera...

La Estiba Calle del Mar, 97 Barcelona, Spain

A more or less continuous flare-up is on the industrial scene in British Co- lumbia. Currently loggers, longshore- men, grain-handlers, nurses and meat- packers, as well as some public employ- ees, are at the forefront. The vast ma- jority of the tugs-of-war end in relative- ly ignominious retreat. A few manage to retain a recognizable semblance of con- ditions in force prior to the downing of tools.

On the political party front we are undergoing a tussle between about as sad an example of a party of social de- mocracy as could be found anywhere, and the current administration (Social Credit). It seems a foregone conclusion that charisma will be deemed the most important factor in the campaign, since the Social Credit leader is an illiterate clown whose only claim to fame is an overabundance of almost Reaganesque charisma.

I hope the enclosed contribution will be of assistance...

Labor activist Vancouver, B.C.

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS FROM NEWS & LETTERS

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby \$2 per copy
The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II by Raya Dunayevskaya \$2 per copy
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
The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya \$1 per copy

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Subscriptions to News & Letters Unique combination of worker and intellectual, published 10 times a year \$2.50 per year
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ARCHIVES

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

BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future 294 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya \$15.95 (\$38.50 hardcover)
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Zaire: 'A crisis for more than 25 years'

The Crisis in Zaire: Myths and Realities, Nzongola-Ntalaja, Editor, African World Press, Trenton, N.J. 1986.

This vast country—the Congo of Patrice Lumumba—has been nearly invisible to the American press. Reports by Amnesty International of recent atrocities committed by the security forces in the southeast countryside and of the torture of political prisoners drew only the barest mention. But Zaire's strategic significance has never been lost on the U.S. government. Surely not now, when Reagan is arming Savimbi's war in Angola and, evidently, the CIA is supervising Savimbi's supply lines in Zaire.

Nzongola-Ntalaja, the editor, asks, "how can a crisis last for more than 25 years?" Indeed, the Mobutu dictatorship owes the whole of its long existence to American, Belgian and French support. It was the U.S. taking the lead with the murder of Premier Lumumba in January 1961, six months after Zaire's independence, that began the drastic new form of intervention.

That role extended from propping up Tschombe through the 1964-65 civil war to the decades of financial and military assistance that Mobutu has enjoyed. Published here are State Department cables from that period.

Today, it is Mobutu who lends a Black face to neo-colonialism. This was clear when he arrived in Togo on Sept. 28 with 350 troops, five days after a coup attempt against French-backed President Eyadema.

For Zaire, the 26-year-old crisis has put conditions of life well below what they were at independence. Since 1976 Western banks have rescheduled Zaire's massive debt five times, the transportation system has disappeared, the money economy is shrinking and the countryside is under military occupation.

Most of the 16 essays in this book follow either Nzongola-Ntalaja's emphasis on the "external" factor or his concern with the everyday existence of the Zairian masses. Allen Roberts describes the suffering and resistance of rural villagers to wandering members of the JMPR (the youth section of Mobutu's ruling party). Catharine Newbury mentions a recent "women's tax revolt" among the Tembo people of Eastern Zaire, but there are few details.

Direct from South Africa Freedom Journal

Johannesburg, S. Africa—The Azanian Confederation of Trade Unions (AZACTU) and the Council of Unions of South Africa (CUSA) have decided to form one Federation.

The merger between the two comes after lengthy talks which started after the formation of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in 1985. Initially, it was intended to form one giant federation, but because of whites' participation within COSATU, AZACTU and CUSA pulled out of the federation. The crux of the matter was that the participation of whites should only be at the grassroots level and they should be elected democratically into the executive committee.

A new giant is to be born very soon. The merger between AZACTU and CUSA signals a new era in the field of labour. Both AZACTU and CUSA have many unions in their wings and their coming together will bring thousands of workers together.

It should be noted that the Federation which is coming from the merging of AZACTU and CUSA should not reflect an opposition to COSATU. COSATU has its own policies to follow and so do AZACTU and CUSA. The point of interest is that labour in South Africa is about to explode because of the new Federation.

Racism in roofing plant

Los Angeles, Cal.—In the roofing tile production plant where I work all of the management above foreman are white, while the workforce is 90% Hispanic, 6% Black and 1% white. What workers are starting to refer to as the "white clique" is no joke.

What brought this to a head was a statement by the newly hired department manager of maintenance. He told the maintenance foreman that he had "two strikes" against him being able to advance above foreman at this company. "You have been here at this job too long, over 15 years; and you are a Mexican." And this department manager was hired from the outside with no management experience.

Another production manager was hired in from shipping and receiving, having worked there three years and two years as a carpenter. His main qualification was the color of his skin, also white. He had no experience on the production line and didn't know the "front of the line from the back." His main job was to intimidate workers.

This separation between mental and manual labor, with the additive of color, can be seen as part of that crisis within production which creates and destroys relationships. These relationships must be confronted and changed at that point of production, where workers must take control of their own lives, against racist intimidation by the company stooges. —Gene Ford

Nzongola-Ntalaja writes that "Zaire presents, albeit in an exaggerated manner, the contradictions through which the realities of contemporary Africa can be apprehended." Yet the analysis never seems to bring together the "exaggerated" extremes of the reality of Zaire. There is no theoretical link between Mobutu's tyranny and the African revolution, its consciousness and spontaneity, whether in the history of the Congolese independence struggle or as ongoing struggle in South Africa.

—Calvin Brown

Samora Machel, African Revolutionary



Samora Machel, 1933-1986 and Eduardo Mondlane, 1920-1968

The tragic death on Oct. 19 of Mozambique President Samora Machel in a mysterious plane crash just inside the South African border has sparked charges of South African complicity. On Oct. 21, thousands of Black youths rioted in neighboring Zimbabwe, attacking and setting fire to the South African Airways office. They also broke windows at the American Embassy, blaming U.S. imperialism for backing South Africa. The youths carried signs such as "Blood for Blood" and "Time for action: castrate Botha." In fact, South Africa's President Botha had in recent days once again been threatening military action against neighboring Mozambique, blaming it for a new series of African National Congress guerrilla attacks. He has also actually carried out serious economic strangulation measures against Mozambique.

MACHEL AND MONDLANE

Samora Machel will be remembered in history as the guerrilla leader who commanded Mozambique's FRELIMO liberation movement against Portuguese colonialism until independence was achieved in 1975 after more than a decade of civil war.

In 1969 Portuguese agents, helped by South Africa, assassinated FRELIMO's founder, the socialist humanist theorist and activist Eduardo Mondlane, whose book *The Struggle for Mozambique* had been one of the first to argue forcefully for women's liberation as an integral part of the African liberation struggle.

Under Machel's leadership after 1969, FRELIMO continued Mondlane's fight against narrow nationalist elements and, after independence was won, encouraged the self-organization of women, peasants, and workers, while openly avowing Marxism as the philosophy of the Mozambique revolution. From 1975 to 1980, Mozambique suffered destructive attacks by Rhodesian white forces, as it served as the main rear base for Robert Mugabe's ZANU movement, today in power in liberated Zimbabwe.

MNR CONTRA AID NOT STOPPED

During this same period, South Africa, Rhodesia and Portugal set up a contra movement called the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR) which by the 1980s had destroyed much of the transport networks of the country. When drought hit in 1983, MNR terrorists disrupted food shipments to famine-ridden areas causing mass starvation. This led Machel in 1984 to sign the tragic Nkomati Accords with S. Africa where he promised to cease all aid to the South African revolutionaries.

South Africa never kept its 1984 promise to stop massive aid to the MNR, but instead channeled its aid through the collaborationist Banda regime in Malawi. Today, U.S. reactionary groups such as the Heritage Foundation want Reagan to openly aid the terrorist MNR which, according to *Africa News* (10/13/86), "continues to be best-known for its atrocities," including killings and mutilations of innocent civilians on a mass scale. The immensely popular revolutionary leader Samora Machel will be remembered for his lifelong fight against racism and colonialism and for genuine African liberation, not only in Mozambique, but throughout Africa and the world. —Kevin A. Barry

Black World

(continued from page 1)

lution. To make that point I said that such que are being posed and debated right within the ing struggle in South Africa. For instance, asked about Black workers' support of the AN (American National Congress) and Nelson Mand something that has been taken for granted i anti-apartheid movement—the Black South A worker in COSATU responded: "We long for th when Comrade Nelson Mandela is our prime mi in a free South Africa but when that day com want to make sure we have our own indepe trade union movement so that we don't get k around by a new set of bosses."

I continued that in my view what the Black African worker expressed in 1986 is inseparable Frantz Fanon's critique of the African single party that he wrote 25 years ago in the greatest work *Wretched of the Earth*: "The single party is the ern form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie masked, unpainted, unscrupulous and cynical."

SINGLE PARTY STATE

To the question of the single party state today, replied that he would have to disagree with the South African worker because all organizations c by the masses in the course of the struggle su trade unions, would have to relinquish their inde ence to the demands of this state after the rev Toure then christened this single party state, "A unique contribution to the world revolution!"

As for Fanon, Toure answered that "Fanon is tron saint of our (Pan-African) movement." He w to acknowledge that Fanon lived in Nkrumah's (when he wrote *Wretched of the Earth*, but not moment did it dawn on Kwame Toure that Fanon tique applied specifically to Nkrumah.

After listening to Toure extol the supposed virtu the single party state in Africa, when the histo post-independent Africa is strewn with the wreck: its utter failure, I couldn't help noting to myself— cially on this third anniversary of another wreck: the single party state, the counter-revolution v Grenada's revolution followed by U.S. imperialism vasion*—how far removed Toure is from the mass organization of revolutionary consciousness that is ally unfolding in areas like South Africa and Haiti.

There is an indissoluble link between the fre filled consciousness of the Black masses and org tion. There is, however, no way to forge it with philosophy of revolution which can hear in the th of Frantz Fanon in 1961 and in the Reason of a worker in South Africa today, the new beginnings ed to unite theory and practice in the Black World foundation and method for working out such a ph phy of the Black dimension for our age, I conte Marxist-Humanism.

* Little indeed separates Kwame Toure from his mentor C.L.R. who tried to rationalize the counter-revolution within the Party New Jewel Movement in Grenada with the Bonapartist conclusi "A mass movement above all needs leadership, and if the political does not give it, people turn to another organization, often the Incredibly, this was said nearly a year after the Army had shot into the mass movement that had spontaneously mobilized in def Maurice Bishop. See Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Thought*, p.92; *News & Letters*, 1986.

Letter from The Gambia

Serre Kunda, The Gambia—I am now al 23 years old and have, some four years back, comp my secondary school education. A neo-colonialist of education does not prepare one for the imme needs of his/her country and people, but will only pare you to face your exams. Many have become tims of such a backward education.

I will not call myself a Marxist. But I am doing can to become one. What has actually confused through my research is that I have learned that are too many tendencies of Marxism, and each of groups interpreting Marxism in their own way. W one is right?

On the political situation here in my country: present neo-colonial capitalist regime is already fa The conditions are far beyond their control.

Rice, which is the staple for the oppresse sometimes far ahead of the salary of the wor They cannot afford their basic needs. The Da which is the currency of the country, is of no val

This situation is forcing the peasants to smuggle products to Senegal. The regime is dancing to the of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) which succeeded in pushing the country into the debtors. The IMF has caused a lot of deaths, starvations, d'états, etc. in the Third World. Unemployment is ting higher and people are losing their jobs becau the economic recovery program which has been pu ward by the IMF. The workers are the most aff and are likely to suffer more in times coming. Good disappearing daily from the market because of the of foreign exchange.

For me personally I have dedicated my life and to the cause of the oppressed masses wherever may be, and shall forever do so, but presently my country is primary... —Ba Ka

The deepening crisis of homelessness and poverty in the U.S.

(continued from page 1)

ment, widespread poverty and epidemic homelessness that permeates these three communications, is not in the headlines. Not even for the purposes of the November elections has a single politician, Democrat or Republican, made any of these urgent questions a campaign issue. But that "campaign of silence" will not make the crisis go away.

The term "epidemic" to describe the horror of the situation is no exaggeration. The numbers of the homeless are staggering: 9,000 in Boston, 60,000 in New York City, 25,000 in Chicago, 10,000 in San Francisco—"numbers" made up of those who have lost a job, an apartment or their welfare benefits.

They move from emergency quarters to shelters and from shelters to the streets when shelter space runs out. At a recent count, 1,200 homeless families in Boston were looking for shelter, and there was shelter space for only 345. In Chicago, shelters report they have to turn away as many as 1,000 every month. In Los Angeles there are 3,000 shelter beds for an estimated 15,000 men and women who are in need of them.

Whole colonies have banded together everywhere—from under the boardwalk at Coney Island to "Skid Row Park" in L.A., where as many as 300 sleep every night—and where four were shot to death in the month of September as they slept outdoors. Many now make vigil arrangements. In Santa Barbara, where a ban on sleeping in public places brought the threat of massive demonstrations by the homeless, the City Council relented and voted to let the homeless sleep in "roadside shrubbery, culverts and streambeds!"

The homeless include entire families—most prominently thousands of women and their dependent children. Recently, they have begun to include the working poor—even in Silicon Valley, where, in contrast to the affluence of the majority of residents, dozens of low-paid clerks and electronic assemblers who cannot afford the available housing crowd into the emergency housing shelters in San Jose. Indeed, when recent statistics show that those on the lowest income level use no less than 70% of their income for rent, it means that they are only a month away from homelessness at the slightest unexpected expense—like a sudden medical bill, or a rent increase.

That the extent of homelessness is aggravated by the numbers of battered women who have had to flee with their children from what homes they had—and by the mentally ill who have been dumped from an institution

not be believed by those who measure reality in human terms—whether that be the fact that racism and poverty have joined to push the rate of maternal mortality for Black women in the U.S. (18.3 out of every 100,000) not only three times as high as it is for white women, but higher than in many Third World countries. Or whether it is the fact that the caravans of "economic nomads," which used to be made up of skilled blue collar workers from shut-down oil plants and steel mills in the Midwest, now includes auto workers and employees of ailing high-tech companies as well. Or whether it is the estimate that the government farm-lending agency, the Farm Home Administration, will hold more than

The greater this reserve army in proportion to the active labour-army, the greater is the mass of a consolidated surplus population, whose misery is in inverse ratio to the amount of torture it has to undergo in the form of labour. The more extensive, finally, the pauperized sections of the working class and the industrial reserve army, the greater is official pauperism. This is the absolute general law of capitalist accumulation.

—Karl Marx, Capital, Vol. I

farms by the end of next year.

As more and more workers slide closer and closer toward the ranks of the homeless, whether as the working poor or as the outright unemployed, some new forms of revolt are beginning to appear.

ORGANIZING THE HOMELESS

Just as new kinds of organizations are being called forth by the ever-worsening situation of the unions—from the "Unions United Against Concessions" who called the rally and march in Gary, Indiana at the end of September, to the Theatre Workers Project that took six former steelworkers on national tour to tell their story in a workers' play (see October N&L for reports on both)—so new kinds of organizing have begun around the issue of homelessness.

• In Mount Holly, Burlington County, near Philadelphia, a band of homeless people erected a tent city on the main street, directly in front of the county courthouse complex, to protest the county's refusal to pro-

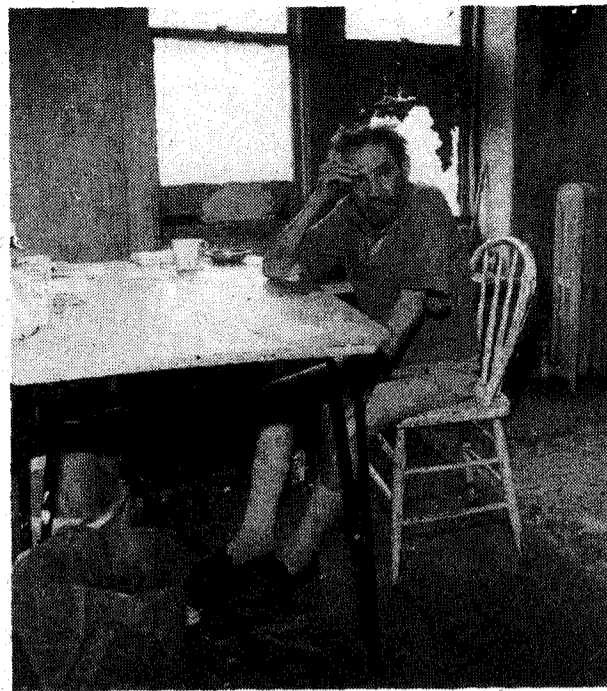


photo by Bruce Harkness, Detroit

vide a site for a shelter. Supported by the local clergy, they remained there for five weeks before they were removed, to continue their protest as a picket line with more supporters from Philadelphia.

• In New York City, fighting back means organizing before you are evicted, because once you lose an apartment you have lost any rent control that still existed for you and can never afford another one. Organizations like Harlem Legal Services say that their lost cases become the homeless—while every square inch of Manhattan continues to become more and more "gentrified," low-income dwellings become more and more extinct, and 100,000 families are already on the waiting list for public housing—which is not being built.

• In Chicago, more than a dozen community groups are participating in a "Housing Abandonment Prevention Program," which works to stop the eviction of tenants from low-income hotels up for demolition, takes over their management, and makes needed repairs both from funds elicited from the city and from rent income.

• Newest of all is the National Union of the Homeless, founded in Philadelphia a year ago, where it has won the homeless there the right to list a shelter address as a residence on applications for voter registration and benefits, and forced the University of Pennsylvania Hospital to provide free medical care to 50 indigent people a year. Other locals of the Union have appeared in New Orleans, Washington, D.C., Boston,

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

—Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1986-87

Homeless protests grow

San Francisco, Cal.—"They put all those homeless people out. If they can throw over 15,000 people out on the street, I want to see what this city is going to be like. Nobody will rent these hotels freely. I want to see them run all these hotels. You'll see the city come under martial law. We're not talking about single people like myself. But families with children. Mayor Feinstein doesn't care about them. They won't do anything for us, unless we do something for ourselves. There will be 15,000 of us on the streets protesting. We will stick together."

So spoke a protester, one of hundreds of homeless and their supporters who marched to city hall on Oct. 10 when they were locked out by hotel owner Charlie Patel. This was Patel's answer to a local newspaper's expose' of living conditions in his hotels which included charges of widespread fraud and false billing.

A second marcher who had been kicked out of one of Patel's apartments added: "If you walk inside these apartments, you'll see for yourself the kind of conditions we have to live in. Either there's no heat at night, or no warm water in the morning, or no lock on your door. We stayed in this place for a week and had to trust the management to make sure we wouldn't get ripped off. All our clothes were stolen.

"We've got people coming here everyday, from different states, different countries. We're all trying to pull together. I love these people here and I didn't know them till I got on the street. We take care of each other. If we all start to pull together, we can make something positive out of this negative matter."

Chicago, Ill.—On Oct. 22, 300 people marched to protest the building of luxury housing when so many are homeless in Chicago. The protest was organized in the area once known as "skid row," where many single room occupancy hotels used to be. These hotels were the last refuge before living on the streets for many unemployed workers. Today many of them are being demolished by the city to make way for the development of luxury apartments and offices.

The protesters were marching to call attention to the complicity of the city and federal government who have given huge subsidies to developers of luxury housing while ignoring the plight of the unemployed and homeless. The protesters demanded that the last remaining hotel in the area not be demolished. One marcher angrily said, "We shouldn't be forced to live like dogs. We are human beings and need safe and affordable shelter."

—Lily Hunt



onto the streets—is further proof, if any were needed, of the barbarity of this so-called civilized society. The "emergency" is permanent.

REAGANISM'S DOMESTIC 'DISINFORMATION' CAMPAIGN

In the face of the spreading epidemic, Reaganism has mounted a campaign of domestic "disinformation" that makes the "disinformation campaign" directed against Libya pale by comparison.

Thus, the current unemployment rate of 7% (which in terms the current unemployment spelled as 8½ million men and women looking for jobs they cannot find) would be doubled if it included all those who have been unemployed so long they have stopped even looking for work; if it did not count as employed those who have joined the military; and if it did not count as employed everyone who works more than one hour a week for wages. So many are working part-time because they cannot find full-time jobs that more than one out of every five employed is now a part-timer.

The Administration evidently now thinks it can likewise reduce poverty simply by changing the formula used to count the poor. The official estimate of 33.1 million thus would be cut to 21.5 million, if "non-cash benefits" were included as cash income. Nearly 12 million of the poverty-stricken could thus be cut from what few benefits have not already been eliminated, since Reagan took office.

Reaganism's ideologues may believe the Big Lie that we are in a period of economic "recovery," but it will

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Reagan and Gorbachev at Iceland summit

(continued from page 1)

mit to the U.S. airbase was well wrapped in a mixture of superpatriotism and light jokes by the time he addressed the assembled airmen, uttering words about being so glad to be "at home."

As against this utter subjectivism, Gorbachev's first statement was objectively framed and full of internationalism. He even used the Chernobyl nuclear disaster to show not only the lessons they themselves had learned from it, but what Russia had as well learned from the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna, which resulted in the establishment of international machinery on nuclear safety: "We must take steps away from the nuclear abyss...we were guided by the motive of freeing the European peoples from nuclear catastrophe..." Whereupon he proceeded to talk of the summit and how the Russians were for "on-site verification," as against the U.S.' attempt to actually replace the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty (1972).*

Gorbachev concluded that it "was not just a matter of reducing arms as was the case with SALT I and II and other treaties. But here we were speaking about the actual elimination of nuclear weapons in a relatively short time."

And it is this message that he had his "diplomats" present not only to the Third World, who he takes for granted will support him, but within the NATO nations as well.

That his framework will go far could be seen right in Washington, D.C., with the visit of West Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who spoke of the necessity of resuming the negotiations with Gorbachev.

So insoluble is the contradiction between trying to present the collapse as both a great victory for Reagan and as a non-collapse for the West as a whole—a veritable "whiteout," not only for what actually had happened, but of the orders to Weinberger at the Pentagon for a helter-skelter rush with Star Wars—that there has been as well a return to the old theme of the alleged backwardness of Russian technology, which cannot possibly catch up with the U.S.

III. THE BACKWARDNESS OF RUSSIA OR OF SCIENCE?

In the deluge of articles on just how backward the Russians are on computers, the indispensable tool for space wars, there has been but one article disputing the alleged backwardness by Daniel Greenberg, the editor and publisher of the Washington-based newsletter, Science and Government Report, who wrote for U.S. News and World Report (10/20/86). Mr. Greenberg stressed that we better not forget that Russia beat us into space with Sputnik. (At that time Khrushchev was having a good time at the U.S.' expense, saying that they had sent a Volkswagen into space while the U.S. had only sent a grapefruit.) Greenberg notes that right now the Russians are "building the biggest ever atom smasher, and it is clear that their theoretical mathematicians and physicists rank with the world's finest."

But even Greenberg is so busy pointing to the backwardness of Russia in agriculture that he does not seem to recognize that the superior technology of U.S. agriculture has not stopped it from having a total crisis that has brought the family farmer back to Depression days.

In Russia, what had suddenly brought mathematics into the center of everything at the end of the 1920s was the fact that what they thought would bring them everything, would bring them "socialism"—the Plan—brought them a crisis as big as the 1929 Great Depression had brought to private capitalism. Bureaucratic planning was no more than a moment of the chaos of the market. In the 1930s, in the middle of the first 5-Year Plan, they suddenly "discovered" Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts. Instead of seeing the genius of Marx in defining Plan as "despotic plan of capital"—the barrack discipline over the workers on the production line—they embraced the law of value. The mathematicians' clinging to the formalism of Newton flowed from Stalin's christening the law of value as "socialism."**

IV. MORE BIG POWER MANEUVERS

The most ominous part of that summit collapse is that Russia and the U.S. are so much alike that these two nuclear titans are twins. Though one is state-capitalist and one is private capitalist, both practice exploitative capital/labor relations. Though not identical, both are creating some loopholes that seem to contain a ray of hope one moment, to be dashed apart the next moment. Witness the fantastic new expulsion of 55 Russian

diplomats (added to the 25 who were just expelled). Whereupon Gorbachev has now expelled not only five Americans, but ordered all Soviet employees in the American Embassy in Russia not to work there any longer.

Much more serious is the search on the part of both Russia and the U.S. to more closely align science with its "application" on the production line.

What has followed the Reagan-Gorbachev summit is that on Oct. 16 the leading Soviet mathematician and science administrator, the Ukrainian Guri I. Marchuk, was elected president of the Academy of Sciences. What is interesting about Marchuk is that back in 1964 he organized the computer center and was then transferred to what they devoted a whole city (Akademgorod) to, the research center in Novosibirsk. That far back he became the deputy director. Now this mathematician, computer-wise, is the head of it all.

The whole so-called reforms of Gorbachev are all directed to making inseparable scientific research and the production line. In a word, we are back at sweated labor and how much unpaid labor you can get from any worker depending on the speed of the machine.

The mad dream is that Reagan with his computers is sure the U.S. can get "there" first and destroy Russia before the Russian laggard can reach the U.S.

Each nuclear Behemoth is aiming for superiority, for single mastery of the world. This helter-skelter unabated "computerized" arms race must be stopped now! The stakes are nothing short of humanity itself.

—October 22, 1986

Ireland was wondering

*That wet Derry sun
pierces the morning checkpoint
charlie,
where the good samaritans
turn cheeks
to assassins
I was standing there wondering.*

*The wind like a scroll
unravels along market squares
where graffiti
adorn buildings
I stood there looking*

*The town clock strikes midday
more beggars line the streets today
a week since the social came through
standing round, nothing to do
(at least it's not raining)*

I was wondering what we are doing here.

*From the bars, the sounds of cheering
a brief anaesthetic from what we are fearing
the ghost of the past
and the fist of tomorrow
each side ready for another sorrow*

I was wondering what is really happening here.

*Down South
incoherent sounds came from their mouths
they want nothing to do
with a country cracked in two*

*Freedom is painted in murals
torn from our lives
Still, it is history*

But Ireland was wondering.

—Nigel Quinten

Philippines in revolution

Crisis in the Philippines: The Making of a Revolution, E. San Juan, Bergin & Garvey Publishers, Massachusetts, 264 pp, 1986.

E. San Juan's book, published at the very time of the overthrow of Marcos, is steeped in the history and literature of Philippine revolution and counter-revolution. Especially important are Chapter II, "Strategic Interventions: Beyond Class: The Church, Nationalities, and Women"; the last chapter, "Toward Socialist Feminism"; and "Epilogue: Tunneling Out of the Belly of the Beast."

What is great about Chapter II is its concreteness. For example, not only does it note the activity of church-related groups and individuals, but shows within this milieu a variety of tendencies. I have seen nowhere such a comprehensive description of the movement, or this kind of appreciation for the battle of ideas, which tends to center on the relationship of revolutionary activity, including armed struggle, to self-development of the individual within the society.

The national minorities, 7 million Filipinos—16-18% of the population—are treated as seriously. Yet, even with San Juan's appreciation for revolutionary self-organization, such as his discussion of the re-creation of the ancient Bodong, or "Peace Pact," of the indigenous Igorot peoples to fight world capitalist development designs, especially hydroelectric dams, on their communal lands, we still don't have a comprehensive view of the history and contribution of what may have been the vanguard role of these national minorities.

The relation of Women's Liberation and philosophy comes to the fore in the last chapter and in the Epilogue. It seems that only in recent months has the whole story of the depth of the feminist movement in the Philippines been told. It emerged together with the beginnings of the movement in the U.S. and elsewhere in the late 1960s and '70s.

Then, Marcos' martial law regime succeeded in driving it underground, and murdering Maria Lorena Barro, founder of the first all-woman revolutionary organization, MAKIBAKA (Free Movement of New Women). Today, especially considering the tremendous diversity of organizations and trends of thought outlined by San Juan, who also has women speaking for themselves, it's clear the movement has grown by leaps.

San Juan's appreciation for the various dimensions of the mass Philippine movement from below seems in sharp contradiction to his uncritical quoting of the New Peoples Army's Maoist conceptions of revolution. There is no doubt as to the fact that the NPA as built a guerrilla movement which was important in the downfall of the Marcos tyranny, and is now in opposition to Aquino's reformism and to the "Marcosism" of her right-wing Secretary of Defense Juan Ponce Enrile. But that cannot stop the necessary battle of ideas against vulgar conceptions of Marxism which can only lead us to dead ends, not new revolutionary beginnings.

E. San Juan shows an awareness that Marx did write a great deal on what we call the Third World. How much stronger his book would have been had he chosen to work out the relation of Marx's view to the ongoing Philippine struggles, rather than leave the question as that of the NPA's reductionist view of Marxism in the Third World.

—R. Russell

Salvadorans' forced return

Los Angeles, Cal.—In the week when Elie Wiesel won the Nobel Peace Prize for his work to ensure that humanity "never forgets" the victims of the Nazi Holocaust, the U.S. Congress passed a highly-touted so-called "immigration reform" bill that closes the door to refugees fleeing death squads in Central America (El Salvador and Guatemala), even as U.S. immigration laws in the 1940s closed the doors to Jews trying to flee death camps in Central Europe.

Currently, Salvadoran refugees are shipped home at the rate of 100 a week. Only 3% of Salvadoran applications for political asylum are approved, in contrast to 49% for Polish refugees and 60% for Iranian exiles; Guatemalans suffer a similar fate. The State Department exerts a heavy hand of "advisory" opinions—which the Justice Department adheres to in 100% of the Salvadoran cases.

The closing stages of a year-long class-action suit in Los Angeles federal court starkly reveal the reality of Salvadoran President Duarte's U.S.-funded "democracy." The suit accuses U.S. immigration officials of systematically denying Salvadoran refugees their right to political asylum, and has presented such devastating evidence of the lack of any semblance of "democratic justice" in El Salvador that the presiding judge, David V. Kenyon, was forced to comment that the trial has been a "real revelation" for him.

Simultaneous with the immigration bill, the Reagan administration is continuing its stepped-up surveillance and prosecution of the sanctuary movement, the "underground railroad" of life for illegal Central American refugees, demonstrating more clearly than ever that their freedom is inseparable from our own.

—Michelle Landau

Marrist-Humanism's discussion of Marx's Mathematical Manuscripts

- 600 pages written by Marx in 1861-62
- first discovered in the 1920s
- not published until 1939 in Russian-German edition
- 120 pages published in English in 1953, but never discussed

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*See Tom Wicker, "Origins of the Collapse," New York Times 10/19/86, which deals with article 5 of the ABM treaty which is being given a "reinterpretation" by the Reagan administration.

**See The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts, News & Letters, 1984. I hope to develop more on this shortly.

Youth

High school drug tests vs. youth passion for freedom

by Laurie Cashdan

"I don't think drug testing would go over with the kids in my high school, whether or not they take drugs. The attitude towards school is bad enough. Even if people don't think it's an encroachment on their rights, they would say it's against their personal rights and not go to school. So they're going to have a tough time putting this over on us."

So spoke one student from Queens, N.Y. For many high school students, mandatory drug testing would be one more reason to rebel against school. The opposite to their ideas is the authoritarian "drug control" campaign by Reagan and the Congress.

In a new publication put out by the U.S. Department of Education, **What Works: Schools Without Drugs** (Sept. 1986), Secretary of Education William Bennett instructs school personnel and parents on how to crack down on students. Interspersing "recommendations" among descriptions of "model" programs in different high schools, mostly in inner-city neighborhoods, it focuses on enforcing anti-drug policies through tactics like suspension, expulsion, searches and police intervention.

MILITARIZATION OF SCHOOLS

At every one of the six model schools in the booklet, police presence has become a permanent feature in addition to security guards. Are Reagan and Bennett trying to militarize the schools? Two weeks after unveiling his drug crackdown policy Bennett signed an agreement with Defense Secretary Weinberger to encourage retired military personnel to become teachers.

The door was opened for this type of militarization in the mid-1970s when ID cards were required in many schools, a plan which was met with student protests and teach-ins in Detroit. Then in 1984, also in Detroit, surprise searches of all students and their lockers for weapons by police and security guards were implemented.

But perhaps the most shocking element is the way Bennett encourages the use of suspension and expulsion of students—and not just for drugs. The booklet commends the principal at Eastside High School in Paterson, N.J. who "removed 300 students from the roll in his first year for discipline and drug-related violations." (Emphasis added.)

Simple arithmetic tells you that in this inner-city school of 3,200 students, the principal expelled 10% of the student body in one year! This school was picked by Reagan as representing the model high school.

REALITY OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Is the idea to throw away drugs or to throw away youth? It is true that drugs can lead to lives being thrown away and that there is a rise in the number of young people using crack, but why don't school officials try to help them? "Drug testing is stupid because it won't solve anything," one young woman in New York angrily said. "They should try to talk to kids who take drugs, to try to understand them. If they expel someone, he'll just take more."

Nowhere does *What Works* mention how exacerbated are the problems youth face in the 1980s under Reagan, with youth unemployment up to 19% overall and 40% for Black youth, and boring low-paid serv-

ice sector jobs looming as the future for most of those who do find jobs. Instead, Reagan wants us to think drugs are what is creating all the problems young people face.

The drug crackdown is supposed to justify relegating youth to a future of unemployment. Yet more and more students are rebelling against having that kind of future imposed on them. At Martin Luther King High School in Manhattan last June students walked out of school to protest the hiring of a new principal who was supposed to turn King into an exclusive school. Next door at the High School for Performing Arts many students are saying if mandatory drug testing is implemented there they will walk out.

This type of rebelliousness is just what Reagan wants to head off at the pass. Yet despite his attempts to militarize schools and make us think that we're the problem, young people have ideas about determining our own futures and the future of society.



Eighty students protested the propaganda appearance of a Nicaraguan contra at Northern Ill. University Oct. 13.

Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Over 100,000 protesters formed a human wall Oct. 11 around the seven-mile perimeter of a U.S. Army base in Hasselbach, West Germany, where nuclear missiles are to be deployed. Taking place just before the Iceland summit, it was the largest anti-nuclear demonstration in Germany since U.S. Pershing II missiles were deployed there in October 1983.

At predominantly Black Tennessee State University, 350 students protested a state "desegregation" plan that would make the school 61% white. With 30% white students now, it is already the most integrated school in the state system, while the desegregation plan calls for the Univ. of Tennessee to become 11% Black.

Fifteen young men demonstrated in Warsaw, Poland, on Oct. 3, calling for the right of draftees to refuse military service and for the release of several draft resisters who remain in prison despite the recent amnesty. The 15 were members of the group Freedom and Peace, whose president was one of the signers of the statement on the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution (see "Our Life and Times" p. 12).

In Seoul, South Korea, 15,000 students spontaneously marched downtown after an athletic event Oct. 18, shouting slogans against the U.S.-supported dictatorship of Gen. Chun. Riot police charged in, firing tear gas, and 2,000 students regrouped to fight back with stones and Molotov cocktails. The same day, the government announced a hit list of 6,090 student, labor, religious, and other "left-leaning" activists who will be "investigated" in a "stern, steady crackdown."

Cass students sit in

Detroit, Mich.—Almost 300 students at Cass Technical High School sat in at the main office Sept. 18 to protest administration policies aimed to destroy the special nature of our school. Student murals of the school clubs and activities have been painted over and the building looks very ordinary now. The administration had threatened to end several senior activities.

We moved to the auditorium where the administration answered questions. But we've also been saying that Cass is our school and we want some control over what goes on here.

Even though only a small percentage of the students participated, we saw how terrified the administration was. They let the senior activities go on as planned. And we proved to ourselves that we have unity.

—Junior, Cass Tech H.S.

Birth control debate leaves out students

New York, N.Y.—"It's important for them to give out birth control here at school, because if they do it at school people will probably get it. If they have to go over to the hospital to get it they probably won't. You could just make a mistake once, and that's it, you get pregnant. The boys are in it to have a good time, but the girls are the ones who have to pay for it," said a young woman at Martin Luther King High School, one of the nine New York City schools with a health clinic.

When the word got out in early October that the state-funded clinics were either dispensing contraceptives or writing prescriptions for them, suddenly the clinics became the center of a heated controversy. All the major newspapers reported the clashes between Board of Education members, health clinic workers and the Catholic church. Later the Board voted to restrict the clinics. One fact that united all this hoopla, however, was that students' own ideas were totally left out.

One student thought the clinics should have to get parental consent before giving out contraceptives, since parental consent is needed at the beginning of the year for a student to receive aspirin.

But her friend disagreed, saying, "I don't think you should have to get your parents' consent for birth control because you don't need their consent to get pregnant. I can talk to my mother about a lot of things but there's a limit. Getting birth control shouldn't involve your parents. It's just your business."

Student opinions like these were not heard when a divided Board of Education voted Oct. 15 to suspend the distribution of contraceptives at the clinics. The clinics may continue writing prescriptions for the next six months, after which the dispensing of birth control will again come up for a vote.

Students at other New York high schools without clinics will also have to wait six months for more clinics to be opened, despite the fact that the clinics are geared to provide all aspects of health care services to students from low-income families who may never have seen a doctor in their lives.

Correspondent, N.Y.

Utah anti-apartheid demo.

Salt Lake City, Utah—Two hundred Utahns, including many high school and college youth, demonstrated here Oct. 25 for "Peace, Jobs and Justice." Demonstrators gathered at the four shanties erected at the University of Utah to protest apartheid and the university's investments in South Africa, then marched two miles to the Federal Building downtown. Speakers included Pule Libe, a South African now living in the U.S. and a young woman representing the Coalition to Stop Apartheid, who spoke about the university's holdings in South Africa and the court battle her organization waged this summer to keep the shanties from being removed. Organizers for the Nov. 17 demonstration at the Nevada Test Site also spoke and passed around a petition. A Utah contingent will participate in that demonstration.

One student carried a sign saying Fund Education, Not Apartheid to protest the upcoming 10% hike in tuition and budget cuts at the university. Student groups are now organizing a demonstration to protest these actions.

—A. Anilewicz

Just say, 'No pasaran!'

Berkeley, Cal.—Vice President Bush and Gov. Deukmejian might have learned something at school recently, but as usual, they probably weren't paying attention. The students, though, learned a lot about them when the two showed up at Berkeley's Columbus Middle School on Sept. 25 to sing their election piece about "drugs" and preach "just say no." Just seeing police snipers on the school roof was enough to inform the 4th, 5th, and 6th graders of the state of "democratic government" in today's America.

But outside the school building a different education was taking place when about 200 demonstrators, many of them high school youth who had taken the afternoon off, came to vigorously protest the visit.

The whole neighborhood was also out in a festive atmosphere. In the lively discussions among the crowd, many people talked not only about the use of the drug hysteria to take away civil liberties here in the U.S., but also its use against the people of Central and South America. Protesters carried such signs as, "Just say 'NO PASARAN!'" Some of the teachers also publicly objected to the use of students for election propaganda.

The electioneering visit backfired, and for now, the opposition of people here has prevented those two reactionary politicians from using the "drug crisis" as "political opium," as one protestor called it. We have our own way of saying "No" to this new aspect of Reaganism, and we definitely intend to continue.

—Participant

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Our Life and Times

Reagan's plane crashes in Nicaragua

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

The capture of Eugene Hasenfus in the act of feeding the CIA's supply pipeline to the contras in Nicaragua underlines Ronald Reagan's naked aim to overthrow the Nicaraguan government.

Hasenfus' plane was shot down Oct. 5 while on a flight to drop arms, ammunition and other supplies to contra units. Papers on the plane and crew document a regular series of supply missions flown from military and civilian bases in the U.S., through bases in El Salvador and Honduras, to the contras inside Nicaragua.

Hasenfus has said he assumed he was employed by the CIA. Two other U.S. citizens killed in the plane crash have been linked to the CIA. Hasenfus has also identified two Cuban-Americans, Max Gomez and Ramon Medina—both veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion—as coordinators of flights out of Ilopango Air Force Base in El Salvador.

Each day has brought more revelations and denials of the extent of U.S. military involvement with the contras. The trail from Hasenfus has led back, for one, to the office of U.S. Vice President George Bush (who headed the CIA under Gerald Ford). Bush has called Gomez, who reportedly met Bush on several occasions to brief him on the El Salvador supply network, a "patriot."

Gomez' record includes participation in the operation that captured Che Guevara in Bolivia. He now wears the dead revolutionary's wristwatch as a trophy. Ramon Medina has been identified as Luis Posada Camiles, involved in the terrorist bombing of a Cuban airliner in 1976 which killed 73 passengers.

Sudan: starvation, war

Belatedly, in mid-October, the international food relief "Operation Rainbow" began deliveries to starving people in southern Sudan. It remains to be seen whether they will reach many of the estimated two million people facing death who are in rural refugee camps.

While the crisis situation is due only in part to drought, it has reached mass starvation proportions because of the civil war. The post-Numeiry Khartoum government of Sadek El Mahdi has not acceded to the central demand of the Sudanese Peoples Liberation Movement (SPLM) led by Col. John Garang: the abolition of Islamic law and the return to a secular constitution, in order for negotiations to begin.

The military began the type of campaign last year against the SPLM which Numeiry had also utilized in the past: they armed and supported Moslem tribesmen against the Dinka and other southern peoples, whose cattle and wells were destroyed.

A human rights group in Khartoum called this campaign a "real genocide attempt...killing the cattle in Dinka territory means depriving the local people of their means of sustenance and turning them into refugees dependent on international aid, that is, making it impossible for them to help the SPLM rebels."

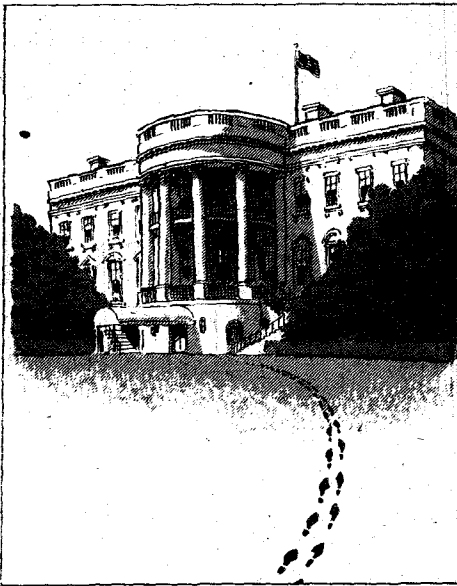
The highest price is being paid by the children who are dying in unconscionable numbers in the refugee camps.

Bolivian protests

In October, Bolivian and U.S. soldiers raided the town of Santa Ana. They were chased out by a crowd of some 3,000 residents, shouting "Yankee go home," who would not allow the soldiers to take off until the mayor verified that no arrested townspeople were on the plane. The U.S. military's involvement with Bolivian troops, (soldiers and drug agents have been stationed there since April) purportedly to capture top cocaine manufacturers, is seen as a possible forerunner to a permanent U.S. military presence.

This incident followed the recent protests of the Bolivian miners. In August the miners went on strike against the government's plans to dismantle the state mining industry, which would throw 8,000 miners out of work and shut down schools and clinics run by

Reagan has praised these "private volunteers"—and rewritten history—by comparing them to the U.S. citizens in the International Brigades, who went to fight on the revolutionary side in the Spanish Civil War. This same cynical U.S. president, before his trip to the Nazi cemetery in Bitburg last year, had enraged the Spanish people by saying the opposite—



that Americans fought on the "wrong side" against the fascist Franco.

Naturally there is nothing new or secret about Reagan's counter-revolutionary ambition to overthrow the government in Nicaragua; as recently as August Reagan said the contras should "have their way and take over." However, in the Hasenfus incident Reagan wanted to appear as if he were not, in fact, violating the 1984 Con-

gressional amendment prohibiting U.S. military aid to the contras. Congress was due in October to vote on Reagan's request for \$100 million in contra money. It was passed.

downers. Despite the present stagnation of the sugar industry, they amassed great wealth under Marcos.

Philippines land protest

The proposed land reform calls for the government to acquire up to 40% of large landholdings. The landless sugar workers and tenant farmers will then be eligible for 25% of the government-held land, i.e. 10% of the total. The sugar growers are resisting, even though their remaining 60% is forecast as enough to meet present and future sugar demand.

A group of landowners formed the Foundation for Peace and Democracy, composed of right-wing pro-Marcos elements, to carry on an intimidation campaign against land reform and "Communism". The Defense Minister, Juan Ponce Enrile, was their featured speaker at a rally last month.

The Aquino government has projected a very mild land reform. On Negros Island, the main sugar growing province, reform has been met with open hostility by the large lan-

downers. Despite the present stagnation of the sugar industry, they amassed great wealth under Marcos.

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Hungary, 1956-1986

A group of 122 East European dissidents from Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and East Germany issued an unprecedented joint statement on Oct. 18 to mark the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution. Their proclamation (as published in the NY Times) read in part:

"On the 23rd of October 1956, workers, students and soldiers stormed the radio building in Budapest because

they were fed up with the official lies and wished the truth and to voice their demands...They destroyed Stalin's statue and the credibility of the regime...

"The Hungarian revolution as well as the uprising in East Berlin, the Prague Spring and the social movement of the free trade union Solidarity in Poland were suppressed either by Soviet intervention or domestic military violence...Over the last 30 years life has become easier for many. Some people speak up without being thrown into jail, but the basic demands of the revolutionaries have not been realized..."

"We declare our joint determination to struggle for political democracy in our countries, pluralism based on the principles of self-government, peaceful reunification of divided Europe and its democratic integration, as well as the rights of all minorities..."

The signers, nearly half Hungarians, included Charter 77 and Solidarity members, anti-war activists, writers, scientists, journalists and others who are remembering the 1956 Hungarian revolution as "our common heritage and inspiration."

This small demonstration did not stop Congress from approving contra aid. But it does show part of the opposition within the U.S. which rejects Reagan's Rambo schemes for Central America.

awarded it for saving lives, and in renouncing it I hope to save the lives of innocent people in Central America." Another 85 medals from other vets were turned in during the protest.

Arthur James also left his Silver Star from Vietnam duty behind: "I was

awarded it for saving lives, and in renouncing it I hope to save the lives of innocent people in Central America." Another 85 medals from other vets were turned in during the protest.

This small demonstration did not stop Congress from approving contra aid. But it does show part of the opposition within the U.S. which rejects Reagan's Rambo schemes for Central America.

Samora Machel, African Revolutionary, p. 8

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

present.

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

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