

NEWS & LETTERS

Theory/
Practice

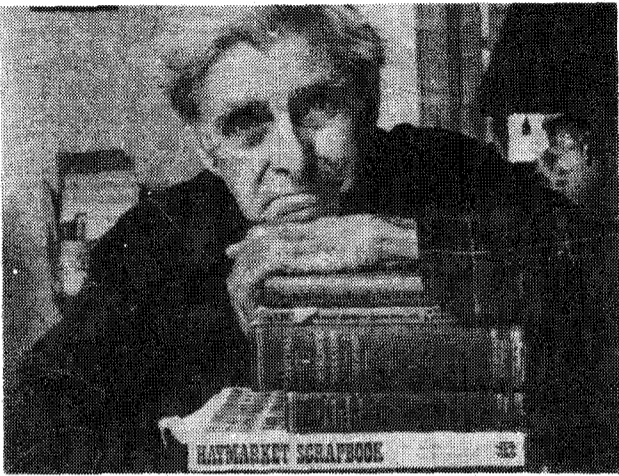
'Human Power is its own end'—Marx

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Fred Thompson, 1900-1987 One Big Union



Fred Thompson knew labor history—a history he had lived from the first strike he joined at the Halifax shipyards in 1920—not as past, but as present and as future. The concept of "One Big Union" was the philosophy he lived by from the moment he joined the Wobblies in Canada, where he was born, to the day he died in Chicago at the age of 86 after a lifetime of fighting to make that international goal a reality. His papers, housed at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, are a rich mine for today's freedom fighters to dig into.

Fred devoted his life to the emancipation of labor, as his book, *The I.W.W.: Its First Fifty Years*, shows from its first page to its last. At the height of its power, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) claimed one

(continued on page 3)

Black World

Politics of race in Chicago



by Lou Turner

There is nothing "political" about the current electoral campaign for mayor of Chicago. With 82% of Chicago's white voters having cast their vote for former Mayor Jane Byrne in the Feb. 24 Democratic Party primary, and 98% of the Black vote going to Mayor Harold Washington, the social reality of race has subsumed the ideological one of politics.

One of Harold Washington's opponents in the general election, Cook County Assessor Tom Hynes, was right when he said, following the primary election, that "Harold Washington had the scare of his life." Mayor Washington had barely squeaked by with only a 4% margin of victory, thus narrowing the preoccupation of the political pundits to the single question of who would best be able to garner the white vote to defeat Washington.

The sheer racism of that view was easily demonstrated when the *Chicago Sun-Times* (3/11/87) carried an editorial urging another of Washington's opponents, his wily City Council foe Eddie Vrdolyak, to drop out of the race in order to give Hynes a one-on-one shot at Washington. What none of the pundits want to consider is that perhaps neither Hynes nor Vrdolyak wants to drop out of the race, precisely because neither wants to be defeated in a one-on-one race at the hands of a unified and politically conscious Black electorate.

Indeed, so much is the political solidarity of Black Chicago a force to be reckoned with, that the national Democratic Party can no longer afford to take it for granted. For that reason, and that reason alone, endorsements from national Democratic Party leaders immediately came pouring into Chicago for Washington, after four years of "benign neglect."

However, while this new and continuous Black political solidarity is a force to be reckoned with, few have taken it seriously as reason. It is for that purpose that I discussed the meaning of the Washington election with some grass-roots activists in the Black community recently. The following is a composite of what I heard:

The most obvious difference is how we are welcomed when we go down to City Hall, as against previous administrations. Though we have strong differences, we have negotiations. And people in the departments are more knowledgeable about the community.

(continued on page 6)

West Europe's masses pose new alternatives to deepening crisis

by Mary Holmes

Dissatisfaction in West Europe has been boiling over the last two months, in student movements and worker strikes. They have challenged governments of the "left," as in Spain and Greece, and of the "right," as in France. At the same time, hanging over all the crises in West Europe, is the U.S.-Russia nuclear face-off with its U.S. Star Wars schemes and its Russian SS-20 missiles, its NATO forces now equipped with intermediate nuclear weapons and its tens of thousands of Warsaw pact troops.

None of the West European governments have been able to resolve the political, economic and social crises that are wracking the region, much less offer a distinctive alternative. Let us begin by looking at the ongoing crises in three countries of West Europe: Spain, Greece and Ireland.

SPAIN: STUDENTS IN THE STREETS

The most dramatic events of 1987 have occurred in Spain. There, high school students halted a school boycott after the Socialist Party government of Felipe Gonzalez agreed to increase education spending and scholarship aid, to freeze tuition, and to involve the students directly in deciding education reform. But the Education Ministry refused to scrap "selectivity," the exam system for admission to the state-run universities. And while the boycott is ended for now, the students continue to hold marches and rallies.

From the start of their movement, the students from academic and vocational high schools rejected what they saw as a government reform aimed at turning higher education into a privilege for the elite. Their central demands included an end to "selectivity" and quotas at the most popular universities; more government funding for poor students; increase in teachers' pay; and direct participation by students in any future reforms.

The marches and boycotts, which began in December, were nationwide and culminated in the class boycotts of January. The students were supported by a majority of their parents. In some cases, students appealed to workers at factory gates for their support and to raise money. In February, students in Barcelona marched with

striking SEAT autoworkers in solidarity with their wage demands.

No sooner did the students leave the streets of Madrid than they were filled by miners protesting job cuts. Agricultural workers from the southern provinces, whose movement for land distribution has been growing in the 1980s, marched in Madrid in February demanding "More hunger, No! Work, Yes!"

Spain formally joined the European Economic Community (EEC) on Jan. 1 with the highest unemployment rate in West Europe—22%. Entry followed three years of a sustained government austerity program, which has resulted in the decimation of employment, from steel to shipbuilding.

Most recently 50,000 students and supporters directly challenged Casper Weinberger's two-day official visit with a march on the U.S. air base at Torrejon.

GREECE: GENERAL STRIKE

In Greece, workers have already taken their rejection of the "socialist" government's anti-worker policies to the streets. On Jan. 15, and during a week-long period in February, some 2.5 million workers mounted a general strike bringing Greece to a halt. They marched in Athens in the largest demonstration since the Greek colonels fell in 1974.

Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu and his ruling Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) have attempted to solve Greece's economic crisis through the austerity route, with the aim of courting foreign investments as well as loans from the European Economic Community and the International Monetary Fund. The crisis is being blamed on "consumerism," which is to say on the workers themselves. One of the workers' cen-

(continued on page 8)

On the Inside

Reagan and Gorbachev, two-of-a-kind?—Raya Dunayevskaya writes on the superpowers' new nuclear gambit, page 5.

International reports of freedom struggles—Iranian women, page 2; South African youth, page 7.

Also—Racism on campus, page 4; Meat-packing struggles, page 3.

Students rally against racism at N.I.U.

DeKalb, Ill.—On March 5, 2,000 students attended a three-hour rally against racism, in the largest outpouring of student protest on this campus since 1970. Students came out in force to denounce anti-Black fliers which had been left on campus buses a week earlier, on Feb. 24. That, by no coincidence, was the day of the Chicago mayoral primary. The fliers had a giant swastika symbol and said "N-----s Get Out! Go Back to Your Slums!"

On the day the news of the fliers appeared, activist groups on campus began to discuss what to do. A broad coalition for the March 5th rally soon formed at the initiative of the radical activist John Lennon Society and the Black Student Union. It included the Student Association, Latino student groups, the Gay/Lesbian Union, African, Iranian and Southeast Asian student groups, as well as fraternities and dorm associations. But even the organizers were stunned by the size and enthusiasm of the crowd who turned out on March 5, about one quarter of which was Black.

Speakers included Black World columnist Lou Turner of *News & Letters*, who stressed that the liberals as well as the open racists were responsible for the resurgence of racism in America, since the liberals had kept silent for so long. Pam Bozeman of the Black Student Union expressed the determination of the Black students to stop racism at NIU. Karen Seymour, Vice President of the Student Association (SA), stated that the SA regarded racism as illegitimate.

The rally culminated a two-week period of campus activism. On Feb. 21 Jesse Jackson drew an enthusiastic audience of 1,500 people, on Feb. 24 CIA critic John Stockwell drew 600, and on Feb. 25 a South African trade union activist drew 75, while Sandinista Leonor Huper drew 200. Right-wing students were angered at this resurgence of campus activism, and as early as Feb. 21, eleven students drove a truck around campus yelling "Kill Jesse!" and "Kill the n-----!" This university, drawing most of its 24,600 students from the Chicago area, nonetheless has a student population that is only 4%



Students at March 5 anti-racism rally

Black, and even that percentage is declining.

At a meeting of the John Lennon Society a few hours after the rally, 50 student activists discussed what had taken place. A woman student said, "A friend of mine just joined the Marines. He's stationed in Hawaii and they're getting ready to be sent to the Philippines. They were told to make out a will. I find that frightening and that's why I wanted to be at the rally." Other students pointed to how activists last year protested the subcontracting at minimum wage of the Pow-Wow cafeteria to Roy Rogers, and then got NIU President Clyde Wingfield to resign over that and other issues. An Iranian student stated, "I was really impressed with what I saw today. Over and over everybody asks themselves if we can make changes, or if there is going to be change. Don't underestimate the things we can do." All saw March 5 not as an end, but a beginning.

—Participant

Iranian women: the angry new generation

Editor's note: We print below excerpts from a talk given at our International Women's Day celebration in Chicago on March 11 by Parvin Bahar from Iran.

We Iranian women, we wanted freedom so we took part in the demonstrations and strikes, and fought against the Shah's regime in the hope that we would construct a new society with new relationships. But a new reactionary and oppressive regime came into power instead and aborted our efforts.

What has been happening in Iran since 1979 is that we are training a female generation that is angry. I'm talking about different classes and different types of women, not just intellectuals, artists or theoreticians, but housewives, workers, women who are practically illiterate; women who during the first year of the revolution, because they had a religious background, supported Khomeini and the regime. Gradually, however, these women have lost their jobs, or have seen their husbands, sons and daughters lose their jobs. This was the first step.

The second step was that they could see the horror of the Iran-Iraq war. Not only could they see the horror of death, but also the economic pressure and frightening inflation. It is women who go to the long lines for food and every little item. Once the women are outside their houses, the housewives especially, they start getting together; you see little communities forming in every locale. When they see there are no Revolutionary Guards around they start talking and discussing what has been happening.

They call the regime names. There have been fights in these lines so many times that the Guards have trouble labelling these poor women "counter-revolutionary." They are experiencing what the Islamic Republic is bringing to them, and it's all misery. Even those women who don't care about having to wear the chador and veils (and here I'm talking about women from religious families) are being hit by all these economic and psychological pressures of war.

SENSITIVITY TO POLITICAL SLOGANS

I should mention that any objection, any little step forward and they get rid of you. The prisons are full. They don't bother with you, they kill you. So it is very difficult to do something and the opposition right now is these long lines and women complaining. Of course there are little demonstrations here and there, but what has happened which is not so much on the practical level, and is more on a psychological level, is that women, religious or non-religious, middle-class and working-class, have become sensitive to political slogans.

In the beginning Khomeini said that he didn't want to send the women back into the home. But on March 7, 1979, he declared that women should wear the chador and cover themselves. Thousands of women filled the street in protest. Then Khomeini's agents started attacking the women, not only on the three days of the demonstrations, but on the following days. They attacked women with clubs, bricks, pieces of stone, broken bottles and acid. They scared and terrorized them.

Many men said to their wives and daughters and sisters that "our revolution is in danger and there are more important things than struggling against covering and veiling." Even the Leftist organizations underestimated the importance of the event and left the women alone in their struggle.

So we had to use this uniform. The next stage was the color and pattern and design of these uniforms. At first women only had to wear the chador in ministries and government offices. Many women were then fired

As Others See Us

'Global view of feminism'

Excerpts reprinted from: The Woman Activist, 2310 Barbours Rd., Falls Church, Va. 22043, January 1987.

Raya Dunayevskaya has provided for feminists of whatever stripe an account of women who have been totally engaged in the political offices of their countries, especially at times of movement and change. This 35-year historical, philosophical and global view of revolutionary feminism necessarily is moving and affecting change for those who need and study it.

The women leaders of thought and action explored in this study are, as put by Dunayevskaya, "exemplars of reason and revolutionary force." In striking detail and depth, Dunayevskaya proves Karl Marx to be a feminist with an intellectual underpinning of feminist theory relating to change unknown to many women.

Along with women who are historically familiar, she gives us new heroines of the past and present, the Iroquois women in America, Rosa Luxemburg, and today's Anna Walentynowicz in Poland, the miners' wives in West Virginia, the Women's Rights Conventions and the abolitionists, Rosa Parks, Amy Jacques Garvey, the women in Iran against Ayatollah Khomeini, Vera Zasulich, one of the three founders of the Russian Marxist movement in 1917, Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. Then there were the milk maids at the Paris Commune and the French Revolution...

Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution is stimulating reading and should be required reading as women feel their way into national and international power struggles where more and more the need exists for a feminist world view, especially vis-a-vis Reagan and Gorbachev...
—Flora Crater

from the offices and sent home. Others were deprived of technical colleges and schools. I'm showing these examples because they said they didn't want to send the women back home, but these details show how step by step they actually did it. They made women dependent on men and then said that women can't do these jobs.

But it wasn't only the government. Part of the blame also goes to the men, not as a sex, but as men carrying the residue of patriarchal culture. When we were talking about all these stages, all the catastrophes which were going to happen, they would just say, "they just want you to cover yourself, so put that thing on your head and we'll fight together against Western imperialism or the Soviet Union."

There are now different opposition groups as a result of this regime, and although they have been suppressed a lot you still hear their voices. But many women have become extremely sensitive to what they have to say. We want a government that is not religious, one that will not bring us war, and will give women a main priority. Those are important conditions to start with. During the Shah's time if you talked about those things you couldn't relate to masses of women. But now, regardless of their literacy, their jobs, their class, those are their demands and that is the political growth and maturity they have achieved.
—Parvin Bahar

Indian women outraged



Women in Raipur, India, demonstrating for justice for Shweta Sharma.

Raipur, India—On Jan. 9, 11-year-old Shweta Sharma disappeared. The police refused to do anything. Her body was found on Jan. 13. She had been raped for three days before being strangled. The next day women students held a 2,000-strong silent procession. From Jan. 22 through Feb. 2 women held a relay hunger strike. Despite pressure to stop, they were joined by 3,000 state government employees who struck and marched on Jan. 28. Even though two young boys were arrested, no one believes they are guilty and the women's demands had expanded beyond punishing those responsible. The women called for a statewide strike by women on March 8, International Women's Day.

—Information and Photograph from *Manushi*

Phila. paper workers resist

Philadelphia, Pa.—I work in a paper products plant that holds monthly meetings to boast of improvements in the production process. Back on the shop floor our supervisors freely violate seniority and overtime rules. Jobs that won't run are moved from machine to machine; maintenance won't make repairs and the raw material falls apart. People are laid off because a crucial machine is broken down and someone forgot to order boxes to pack the product in.

Frustrated by deteriorating conditions, machine operators in my department have bid on posted jobs that would get them out. Management issued a new rule in response: No one may bid on a lower-paying job. Since the starting rate for every job in the plant is below the operators' rate, the intention is to trap experienced workers in their present positions.

Resistance takes the form of absenteeism, lower productivity, refusal to cooperate with supervisors and increased hostility toward the company in union contract negotiations. When the plant manager comes around to thank us for our patience, we tell him that we are angry, that we want things fixed, and that they are working us to death and don't they know that we have a life outside this place? We talk to each other all the time, but can individual anger and revolt become collective action?
—Woman operator

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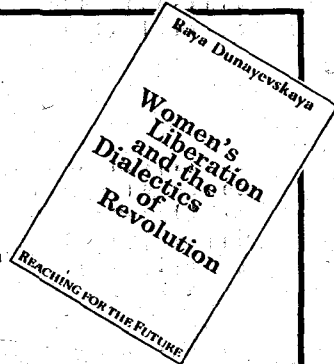
Part I: Women, Labor & the Black Dimension

Part II: Revolutionaries All

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Special offer for Women's History Month, only \$12.95, a savings of \$3.00. Send your order to: *News & Letters*, 59 East Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Buy one for a friend and get them both for only \$24.00.



Canada celebrates IWD

Toronto, Ontario, Canada—More than 6,000 women and men marched through Toronto's main street on Saturday, March 7 for International Women's Day (IWD). The march and rally came at the end of a full week of cultural events celebrating IWD, one of which was a benefit for the women on strike who clean Canada's Post Offices.

The women striking the Canadian Post Office also marched. Together with a feminist singer they had created a song—which drew enthusiastic support from the march participants and the spectators who were out in numbers in the rare summer-like weather.

The theme, "Fighting Racism and Sexism Together," was reflected in the march and rally. There were Native Americans, Black and immigrant women's groups, contingents for solidarity with South African women and with Central America, and groups like my own—Nurses for Social Responsibility who are concerned with health care issues. Speakers at the rally expressed the theme in four specific areas: Native American women's self-determination, reproductive choice, affirmative action in employment of women, and housing and the homeless.

People also are opposed to Canada's new policy of closing its doors to Central American refugees. The very next day, on short notice, several church groups held a rally which drew 800 people. We resolved to write letters and take individual actions to make our opposition known.

All in all it has been an exciting week. IWD is very important to me.
—Participant, Toronto



For several months, ILGWU Local 89-22-1 has been picketing fashion designer Norma Kamali's stores and attempting to organize the mostly Asian and Hispanic immigrant women homeworkers, who make less than \$2 per hour. On Feb. 20, the New York State Department of Labor fined Kamali \$10,000 on ten counts of illegal homework. Kamali responded to the ILGWU efforts with vicious racist attacks against their Korean-American organizers.

—Information from *The New York Nichibei*

A coalition of ministers and community organizations has joined high school students in support of a controversial plan to establish 100 health clinics in Michigan schools in the next five years. Conservative legislators, clergy and anti-abortion groups are actively working against the clinics, which would deal with teen pregnancy, suicide, drug and alcohol abuse, venereal disease and general health issues. Nearly 90% of more than 5,000 students polled supported the clinics while 74% said they should provide birth control information and 49% felt they should distribute contraceptives.

In the Third World 1,400 women die every day in the process of carrying or delivering their children, and in Latin America and urban Africa half of maternal deaths are due to illegal butcher abortions. This "hidden tragedy" was the topic of a United Nations "Safe Motherhood" conference held in Nairobi, Kenya in February. Rather than women's freedom being seen as the solution, the World Bank pledged one million dollars for a "Safe Motherhood Fund."

Chanting "We are dangerous women and we will fight back," more than 200 people participated in a candlelight vigil, Feb. 25, at Michigan State University to protest an increased number of campus rapes. At least six women have been victims of assault in recent months, including one attack the very night of the demonstration.

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Meatpackers' solidarity in Cudahy strike

Madison, Wis.—Local P-40 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union is on strike against Patrick Cudahy in Cudahy, Wis. It is owned by Smithfield of Arlington, Va. They are making a profit, yet they want to lower wages. In fact the lowest-paid workers will face the greatest pay cut of \$2.95 an hour, and they represent over 50% of plant employees. Cudahy wants to give some 50 people out of 850 a 50-cent raise. Talk about divide and conquer, this is it.

P-40 is the one and only hog slaughtering operation left in Wisconsin. It was an old United Packinghouse Workers of America union before merging in 1968 with the Amalgamated Meatcutters. It has a proud heritage, as does P-9 in Austin, Minn. It is worth defending.

There is a boycott of Patrick Cudahy products. Local 538, the Oscar Mayer local in Madison, has organized a food caravan to Cudahy for March 7. —A muckraker

Cudahy strikers welcomed the food caravan:

Cudahy, Wis.—When you see a whole truckload of food coming from Madison it revives you. It's just a great thing, when you see all the support, food and money. It shows that people are tired and it's time to change the system.

The scabs are making \$5.75 per hour, but they have



Photo by Walter Finney

A human chain of strikers and supporters at the P-40 union hall unloads food brought by Oscar Mayer workers.

to pay for their own insurance, which makes it more like \$5.10 per hour. About 47 people go to Trinity Hospital every day to be treated with injuries from Patrick Cudahy. They had 15 ambulances going there last week, and we were told there were two amputations. They're trying to speed up the line and they have untrained people. That's when you have a lot of accidents.

—Two Cudahy workers

I have been in this plant for six years. There are 80 Spanish people here. Inside me I am angry when I see the scabs, but many of them are people who were sent here from welfare and told that they must get a job. What they want is for the American workers to cut wages so they receive as little as people in Mexico or other Third World countries. But we have to fight that.

—Mexican-American worker

From the first day on, the stores have been boycotting Cudahy stuff. They couldn't give it away, even in Milwaukee. Stores donate bread, donuts, etc. to the strikers every day. We are solid. Out of 850 workers, we've only had 35 cross the line, going into our third month.

On April 12 we are having a mass rally. We've invited Rev. Jesse Jackson to come and we invite all the working people of America to join us in the city of Cudahy. Everybody is welcome.

—Bargaining Committee member, Local P-40

Boycott Cudahy products—no matter what label, all are stamped U.S.D.A. EST. 28.

No good news at WBBM

Chicago, Ill.—News writers are on strike here at WBBM Channel 2 as a result of CBS trying to implement a "fire at will" policy, and technicians with the Electrical Workers (IBEW) have refused to cross our picket lines. The strike isn't over money; the negotiations at the bargaining table broke down before the question of money even came up. The issue here is the desire of Lawrence Tisch, CBS' new Chief Executive, to cut costs by getting rid of our jobs.

We're the ones who write the news, but we aren't the ones the public ever gets to see on TV. Tisch thinks he can "turn CBS around" financially by getting rid of a lot of us, but already WBBM has had to cancel some of the five-minute "newsbreak" programs in the morning because of the strike.

This effort to push a "fire at will" policy on us is part of a bigger picture. This type of concession is something that has been happening to the labor movement all over the country, ever since Reagan first got elected. What is different here is that the corporations are now going after the professionals.

We're part of the Writers Guild of America, and the writers here have always looked at themselves as middle-class. But now you can see that what was started with the concessions and give-backs in the manufacturing industry is being repeated here. As long as Reagan is running this country that is going to continue.

The support this week from the writers and most of the production workers has been pretty solid. I think the strike won't fold so soon because what is at issue is job security, and that isn't something you can just negotiate away.

—Striker, WBBM

Lab workers demonstrate

Editor's note: A dozen staff members of the New York Blood Center, after working a full night shift, demonstrated in front of their lab on March 6. Protest participants explain their demands below.

New York, N.Y.—We, the staff of the New York Blood Center, represented by Local 1199, Guild Division, are in need of a new contract! We've been working since July, 1986 without one. We voted to strike March 20 if we are not offered a satisfactory contract. All the workers involved with the blood work from Greater New York Blood Services' five centers are covered in these negotiations.

One test we do here is for the AIDS virus. The gloves we use are so lightweight that they split easily when we uncork the specimens. After a while the serum starts seeping into the glove. There are better gloves, more expensive, but they try to get the cheapest ones.

There's not a proper waste disposal system, so we have to pour the serum for the AIDS test into the sink where we wash our hands. We shouldn't have to negotiate over things that are health hazards. The fumes from the autoclave, where they heat the used blood to destroy the viruses, come right into the lab. We've told management this umpteen times. The last time it happened we walked out.

They've been increasing the work load by importing blood from Europe. They promised us four more technicians, but they've only hired two. Now they are trying to force people to work overtime in case there's a strike. Some people have been working 14 or 21 days straight. This is not only hazardous to our health, but to people receiving the blood from us.

—New York Blood Center technicians

Fred Thompson, 1900-1987

(continued from page 1)

million members, 100,000 of whom were Black. It was built on militant class struggle lines, industrial unionism 30 years ahead of the CIO. Its philosophy of "one big union" sought not merely to better conditions of labor and raise wages, but to control production.

Arrested in 1922 in California for "criminal syndicalism"—union organizing—Fred spent the next five years at San Quentin; then went on to organize auto workers in the Midwest; became general secretary-treasurer of the IWW; taught in the Work People's College of Duluth, Minn.; and became a soap-box orator anywhere he could find others to join him in a discussion about the fight for a new human society. That passion never left him.

He truly believed in a multiplicity of views and tendencies, and when Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom* was published in 1958, it was Fred Thompson who wrote the very first review—creating as his own subtitle for that work, "Relations of Worker to Job," and publishing it in the IWW paper, *Industrial Worker*. When the historic Charles H. Kerr company—the oldest socialist and labor publisher in the country, which had brought out the first complete English translation of Marx's *Capital*—faced closure in 1971, it was Fred Thompson who joined with several people from other tendencies and a few new youth activists and became a central figure in saving and revitalizing that important house.

None of this was "past history" to this unique labor fighter. He embraced all struggles for a new world as they arose—whether class, Black or women's battles. Most of all, he defended and identified with the youth, and with every tendency he saw opening up a new avenue to his goal.

It was completely characteristic of him that he became one of the very first to answer N&L's appeal for help in transforming our paper into a biweekly. He wrote us at once: "I wish that folks in various countries would arrange some system of correspondence that involved no commitment to any 'ism,' but summarized current struggles, especially where boycotts or other feasible action could help, and gave some scope for the exchange of ideas about the possible good use of this globe. Here's a contribution to your Appeal."

We honor the memory of Fred Thompson and his goal for the future that lives on in all those committed to creating a new, truly human world.

—Olga Domanski

Oscar Mayer bonus no gift

Los Angeles, Cal.—We've just voted in a new contract at Oscar Mayer—176 workers voted for it, 13 voted against, but half of the workers didn't vote.

The company gave a bonus of \$1,000 for every three years, but the contract had a clause saying that if the contract wasn't ratified by midnight March 1, we wouldn't get the bonus. The company enticed and manipulated people to accept the contract or forfeit the bonus. The union shouldn't have allowed the company to put that clause in the contract. They'll probably use this form as a precedent and next time they'll say, if you don't agree by this deadline, you'll lose...

We got a 48-cent raise. We still can't honor a picket line of another union or local at our plant unless the International sanctions the picket line. The union wouldn't even bring up the issue with the members. We shouldn't be forced to cross a picket line and have our jobs held hostage. That's not what unionism is about.

—Oscar Mayer worker

LA housing sickout

Los Angeles, Cal.—The rank-and-file employees of the Housing Authority of the city of Los Angeles held a successful one-day "sick-out" on March 9. Approximately 300 of the 500 clerical, technical, and maintenance workers stayed home. They have not had a pay raise in two-and-a-half years, and the cost of their medical insurance is up to \$100 per month.

Their contract does not expire until July, 1988, but negotiations on a July, 1986 wage and benefit reopener have been stalled since last August! The contract has a no-strike clause, so the rank-and-file got together on their own, without the union leadership, and held four mass meetings in the months preceding their decision to stage this work action. The tenants whom the Housing Authority serves were not hurt by the action, and most were very supportive.

"We believe it is only through this type of action that we will be able to get any decent offer on the bargaining table," several workers said. "We're fed up with management's cry of 'No money.' Some of us are in the same boat as the low-income families we service and are ourselves eligible for assisted housing."

—Labor activist

Marxist-Humanist Books

- Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution 234 pgs.
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Who We Are and What We Stand For

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcats against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signalled a new movement from practice which was itself a form of theory.

News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. A Black production worker, Charles Denby, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper. Raya Dunayevskaya, the Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees, is the author of *Marxism and Freedom, Philosophy and Revolution and Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*, which spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as American Civilization on Trial concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

News and Letters Committees, an organization of

Marxist-Humanists, stands for the abolition of capitalism, whether in its private property form as in the U.S., or its state property form as in Russia or China. We stand for the development of new human relations, what Marx first called a new Humanism.

We organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead." The world development of a half-century of Marxist-Humanism is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title, *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, Michigan.

In opposing this capitalistic, racist, sexist, exploitative society, we participate in all class and freedom struggles, nationally and internationally. As our Constitution states: "It is our aim...to promote the firmest unity among workers, Blacks and other minorities, women, youth and those intellectuals who have broken with the ruling bureaucracy of both capital and labor." We do not separate the mass activities from the activity of thinking.

Editorial

Racism on the campus

The Citadel in South Carolina, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst, the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, the State University of New York at Albany, these are just a few of the dozens of college campuses where racial incidents—ranging from verbal abuse, racist leaflets and graffiti, to outright physical attacks upon Black students—have taken place over the past several months.

This time the racism cannot be blamed on the so-called "ignorance" of a Southern rural county or a Northern whites-only neighborhood. It has to be seen for what it is—a cancer within the very innards of American society, including within its most prestigious universities.

The racism on campus has taken a multiplicity of forms. Most obvious have been the vulgar racist incidents which sometimes make the headlines. But in the 1980s, the forms have become much more diverse, beginning with the continuing decline in the enrollment of Black students on campus. Where one of the important impacts of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and early 1970s was an increase in the number of Black students on predominantly white campuses, today in the 1980s the percentage of Blacks on campus has dropped nearly to levels of the pre-Civil Rights days.

We have become witness to the gutting of many Black Studies programs and courses. Where the 1960s saw a whole push to make Black history, the Black experience, a part of the college curriculum, the late 1970s and 1980s have witnessed both an attack on these studies as not "academic" enough, and their slow disappearance from the university.

The campus in the 1960s and early 1970s had a history of being a very different America. It was frequently a place where the Civil Rights Movement found a home, recruited many of its ardent young white participants, and became itself a participant in movements to transform America. It was the campus youth who became one of the prime sources for showing a second America

which was determined to break with the ruling America, with its racism, with its war adventures in Vietnam.

In the mid-1980s we must not allow the campus to become the ground for a new racism. Despite the undeniable rise of racism, there is an important new movement of opposition among student youth. Thus, at Northern Illinois University some 2,000 rallied in opposition to a racist leaflet on campus. (See article, page 1.) At the University of Michigan, hundreds protested against racist remarks on the campus radio station and have formed a campus committee against racism. At literally hundreds of campuses across America there have been anti-apartheid activities in the past two years.

It is from the students that movements to combat today's racist climate can be forged. A movement to change America, especially its racism, needs a multi-dimensionality of forces, ones which extend beyond the campus. But the student youth, women and men, Black and white and Latino, can be a powerful catalyst for such change, particularly if they are willing to confront the racism right at home, right on the campus.

Reagan and Nicaragua

Despite the Iran-Contra revelations, Reagan has not budged one inch from his six-year campaign to destroy the Nicaraguan Revolution. While staff aides, military officers and terrorist operatives like North come and go at the White House, that constant of war on Nicaragua remains.

Thus, on Feb. 15 the United States staged the biggest military "exercise" since 1983 in Honduras. Seven hundred troops from the crack 82nd Airborne Division took off from Fort Bragg, N.C. and only four hours later parachuted into Honduras. As their officers bragged to reporters, they could have landed in Managua in only another hour of flight time. These constant "exercises," which also involve 872 Illinois National Guard soldiers, are nothing short of preparation for all-out war against Nicaragua.

Meanwhile the U.S.'s ongoing contra war means death and destruction for Nicaragua's people: "The contras came in shooting, and we had no soldiers to

defend us. They stole cattle and burned our houses," reported Dominga Solana, a 26-year-old Nicaraguan woman from the isolated Quisala cattle cooperative, which was recently attacked. During that same raid, Reagan's mercenaries killed Solana's mother and three other members of the cooperative.

Despite such continuing horrors, no fundamental opposition exists among the Democrats in the United States Congress. Instead of so much as questioning the contra massacres of hundreds upon hundred of women, children and men, they base their opposition—in the rare moment it even emerges—on whether the money allocated by Congress has been properly accounted for.

The year 1987 is a tremendously dangerous one for Nicaragua and its people. Whether via contras or outright invasion, or some other means, Reagan intends to pursue his policy of overthrowing the gains of Nicaragua's Revolution. What forms of genuine opposition can we develop here at home to help stay the hand of Reagan? The April 25 mobilization in Washington, D.C., can be one important point of departure for building a movement against Reagan's Central American war plans. All out for April 25!

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THE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENT — STRUGGLES, ORGANIZATION, IDEAS

Our country is very poor. We have drought again this year. It is very hard for us to raise enough money to subscribe to News & Letters, which we really need so we can hear what other women are doing. Can you find a donor to pay for our subscription? We will send you news about women here in agriculture, in health and in development. These three things are the major questions in our country.

Shabanie Mine Women's Club
Zimbabwe

As a member of Women's Action Forum, we have had the difficult task of tackling the issue of women's rights in a theocratic state and the resurgence of fundamentalism in all Muslim countries. We thank you for News & Letters and are sending you our publication, *Trinjan*. We are dealing with questions on defining feminism within the religious context and our next issue will carry a report on a Muslim Women's Conference last year about which we are continuing discussions. Please send material on women for our resource center, and your comments on our material. In sisterhood,

Simorgh Women's Resource Center
PO Box 3328, Gulberg-II,
Lahore, Pakistan

Editor's Note: From Zimbabwe, from Pakistan, from all over the globe (including the U.S.), N&L receives requests for subscriptions from readers to whom \$5 is an impossible sum. Can you help us send N&L to them?

Detroit's International Women's Day celebration March 8 drew close to 500 people. Dozens of women's organizations, social justice groups and individual artists had tables with literature and items for sale. The program included speakers from the Detroit Guatemala Committee and a visitor from the P-9 Support Group in Austin, Minn. However, News and Letters Committees was told we could not have a literature table because we are a "political" group. This calls the whole meaning of the event into question. It flies in the face of the very political origins of International Women's Day in 1911.

What feminist principle were the organizers practicing by so limiting the nature of the celebration? Worse even than the hypocrisy of making exceptions for their own tendencies (Labor Notes and the Women's International

League for Peace and Freedom had tables) is their attempt to strip International Women's Day of its militant, revolutionary content. How can we hope to fight Reaganism with that kind of stupidity?

Susan Van Gelder
Detroit

I recently met a U.S. feminist studying the turn-of-the-century Japanese Marxist movement and its relationship to Marx's 1844 Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts. She read the review of Raya Dunayevskaya's work by Adrienne Rich and asked if what Rich discusses is "for real?" Could an American feminist and Marxist philosopher be so original and yet hardly be discussed by the feminist movement in this country? When I also told her that Dunayevskaya had been the first to translate Marx's 1844 Essays into English in the 1950s she exclaimed, "My God, they have almost buried her."

Feminist
Chicago

In your Feb. 27 issue, Terry Moon says society "will do anything to prevent you from having an abortion" while on the same page T. Mamonova complains women have too many abortions in the Soviet Union because of "primitive" methods of birth control. That, however, is an improvement over no birth control at all and the denial of abortions, the reality faced by millions of working-class women in the U.S. The problem with the Soviet attitude towards women is their idealization of the family, which will disappear along with the state under socialism.

Subscriber
Bronx, N.Y.

The Feb. 27 N&L showed how fragile women's rights are—not only under capitalism, but so-called "socialism" as well. We know all too well the U.S. government's push to take back abortion rights; what was new was Mamonova's discussion of abortion in Russia. While the right to abortion in Russia is guaranteed, it is also the only form of birth control available and is beginning to deleteriously affect women's health. When the women complained, the government's response was to offer to ban abortion altogether!

As far as I'm concerned, not only

does this show how far Russia is from socialism, but it also demonstrates that women's right to control their own bodies has to be integral to the whole concept of revolution from the very beginning and can't be left to the whims and manipulations of post-revolutionary legislation.

Feminist
Oakland, Cal.

HIGH TECH AT WORK

You were right, in your article on working women, (N&L, March 13) to focus on the changing nature, the degradation, of the so-called "service" occupations. Automation has already done away with the days when clerical and retail sales workers had some autonomy and prestige on the job. Nursing and teaching are following suit. And now these jobs are becoming actually factory-like in the pursuit of the "secretary-less office."

Instructor
Salt Lake City

A friend who works in the printing trades doing layouts has seen what computers have done to that industry—and how the work can be farmed out to women at home. She brought it up in an issue of WAGE several years ago. Just as Marcotte recently wrote about the garment industry loaning or renting machines for women to use at home. I think we will see large clerically oriented businesses loaning or renting PCs and a modem so that clerical work can be done at home. That trend, plus the Right's emphasis on women being at home dovetail nicely for capitalism, so women workers will be as isolated as women homemakers.

Women's Liberationist
Bay Area, Cal.

HUMAN RIGHTS: NO BOUNDARY

The human rights issue has no national boundaries. You cannot talk about Siberia or Nicaragua without talking about conditions in the United States. People speak of 50 dead here or 100 dead there, and it becomes a quantitative matter. To me a human rights violation is anything that prevents a person from becoming, from growing.

Indian activist
Philadelphia

REVOLUTION AND ORGANIZATION

The eyewitness report on the Philippines (N&L, Feb. 27) was very moving in its recording of all the forces from women, to students, to peasants. The depiction of this historic moment was so much like what I experienced in Iran that it made me take another look at the question Marxist-Humanism constantly poses: "What happens after the revolution?" The critique Dunayevskaya has begun of Lenin's ambivalence is no abstract question. It is a crucial one when you begin to look at the challenges to the Philippine revolution. The counter-revolution emerges as concepts and ideas that speak "for" revolutions while new forms of organization are reaching out for a totality of theory and practice. That is the kind of thinking I believe is going on in the Philippines among those who are reaching out to the idea of Marxist-Humanism and to a "second America." The importance of a revolutionary analysis is to make those voices speak louder.

Iranian exile
San Francisco

Your review of "Partisans of Vilna" (N&L, March 13) caught the spirit and impact of a tremendously complex story—a difficult task, indeed, for so brief a review. The only point the review did not include that I felt was important was the harsh reality of all the contradictions that arose within the movement, all the tendencies that confronted each other. Like Van Gelder, I kept thinking of the youth I would urge to see it. But I also kept thinking of the impact it would have on Black revolutionaries—in fact, on all revolutionaries who know the "answer" is not a simplistic "unite and fight" slogan.

Observer
Chicago

I think N&L is the most politically correct of all the leftist groups I've seen. I'm impressed by your wisdom in organizing as committees rather than with a centralized power structure (which would be vulnerable to corruption after the revolution).

Computer analyst
Ann Arbor, Mich.

Read

Theory/Practice

Two of a kind: Reagan and Gorbachev and their bi-polar world

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Chairwoman, National Editorial Board

No sooner did the issuance of the Tower Report finally compel Reagan to admit that all the secret goings-on in the Iran arms-for-hostages affair (not to mention the "disappearance" of millions from those sales) happened "on my watch," than out of the blue came Gorbachev to the rescue. He was waving the red flag of arms control as if it were stars and stripes forever.

While not exactly identical twins, these two-of-a-kind nuclear superpowers in their bi-polar world pair up at historic turning points, once it looks like someone other than they—like the people—are determined to take their fate in their own hands and decide when, indeed if, there is to be any armed confrontation between these two Behemoths. That was so when Brezhnev saved Nixon in 1972, when the U.S. was raining bombs on Hanoi and mining Haiphong Harbor, saving Nixon from the wrath of the U.S. masses as the terrific Vietnam anti-war movement was reaching its height.

What is now at stake is not the fate of a third country. What is now at stake is nothing short of the very survival of humanity in Ronald Reagan's helter-skelter nuclear race to Star Wars and the nuclear holocaust it would cause.

VIEW FROM RUSSIA

It isn't that Gorbachev, like Reagan, isn't also out to gain nuclear superiority. This becomes clearer when one sees that it was Sakharov who suggested "decoupling" the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) from arms control. This nuclear physicist, who helped create the H-bomb for Russia and later became a "human rights activist," has returned to Moscow from exile in Gorky to continue his scientific work, especially doing "further research" into Star Wars.

It is idiotic to act as the Reagan Administration is acting, which is that because they held out and were so tough, Russia has been "brought" to the negotiating table. Quite the contrary. The Russians are great believers in Plan. Every single move at the Iceland non-Summit was most meticulously planned for. First, whereas

Reagan came completely unprepared for that extra all-night session, Gorbachev read from a prepared collective statement of the Politburo, which made it clear that it was a package deal, no item of which could be separated from the epicenter, which is the non-deployment of Star Wars.

It is true that all things fell apart at that point. But it is not true that the Russians didn't get a good part of what they came for, specifically these two achievements: 1) holding out to the world the vision of a nuclear-free world in their lifetime; 2) cutting Reagan down to size in place of his "victory" at the Geneva Summit.

The new General Secretary at the helm in Russia knew how to turn even so great and global a disaster as Chernobyl into something we could "all" learn lessons from. After first trying to stonewall that disaster, though its radiation had already polluted Sweden and much of Europe, Russia appeared at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna and accepted an international mechanism on nuclear safety. Gorbachev at one and the same time declared that Russia, like all, had learned a great deal from Chernobyl, but stretched out a hand to Europe, trying to uncouple it from the U.S. He declared, "We must take steps away from the nuclear abyss...we were guided by the motive of freeing the European peoples from nuclear catastrophe..." Could anyone at that point repeat the unforgiving critique of Russia for stonewalling on Chernobyl, especially Reagan's trying to use that as "proof" that Russia is an "evil empire" that cares neither for its people nor those in the way of wherever Chernobyl's nuclear wind may blow?

WHERE IS WEST EUROPE?

What is necessary is to situate the significance of the two-of-a-kind designation of such national opposites as Reagan and Gorbachev in the concrete move (again for very different reasons) to decouple themselves from West Europe. That is exactly what is "new" about the proposal to remove Intermediate Ballistic Missiles from

Europe.

Kissinger, the erudite Nixonite and Pax Americana advocate, was so mad at Europe's distancing itself from the U.S. in both resisting its wish to install new nuclear missiles in Europe as well as not going in for as deep an increase in conventional military forces as the U.S. requested, that he suggested his own type of decoupling—removing many of the U.S. troops from Europe, giving Europe no U. S. "defense shield." His arrogant writing West Europe off the map was in the same package as proposing that a European become the Supreme Allied Commander of NATO, if West Europe agrees to undergo more militarization.

Gorbachev is doing the absolute opposite. Ever since he became General Secretary on March 11, 1985, he has increased Russia's focus on Western Europe as well as the United States, trying to draw a division between Europe and the U.S. His reorganization of the Politburo was not just a replacement of the "aged" and drawing in new blood, but meant a total concentration on the U.S. That is to say, the "reforms" and a striving for technological efficiency were not posed outside the context of world policy. As he put it in his first report to the 27th Congress of the Party on Feb. 26, 1986*, Russia, and indeed the whole world, had reached the turning point: "It is not only in internal affairs that the turning point has been reached. It characterizes external affairs as well."

THE EPICENTER IS THE U.S.

The concentration on the U.S. showed that it was more than a question of replacing the sour-faced Gromyko with the smiling Gorbachev and Foreign Secretary Shevardnadze. Gorbachev also changed the whole character of what the Russians now call the "International Department." Thus, in addition to Dobrynin (the former Russian ambassador to the U.S.) being put as head of the International Department, he brought with

(continued on page 6)

*Quoted in Dimitri K. Simes, "Gorbachev: A New Foreign Policy?" in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 65, No. 3, 1987, p. 477.

s' Views

WORKERS 'CHANGING THINGS'

To many people, labor is a thing of the past. They say we are being "phased out." They say our day was before World War II, or in the depression. I like N&L's labor coverage; you let workers speak to each other directly. And if you listen to what workers are saying, you see that we believe that our day is still to come. We aren't waiting for the union leaders to change things because the conditions are too terrible to wait. We are acting now. Just look at all the strikes and revolts that are reported in N&L. You don't see them in other newspapers...

Production worker
New York

Workers at our plant have suffered more than the usual number of injuries, some quite serious, since the first of the year. While that fact would seem to call for an investigation into causes, our plant manager has made it very clear that he blames the accidents on our inattentiveness to "normal" hazards. "Nothing has changed in your work environment," he declared. It's certainly true that nothing has changed for the better.

Woman worker
Philadelphia

We don't get cost-of-living at Coronet Parts. They say the statistics are at a standstill. They should try going to a grocery store! For the \$148 I take home, friends ask me why do I keep working. Do they want me to do something illegal? I'm not going to do time! But working at Coronet is just like doing time—hard labor.

Striker
Brooklyn, N.Y.

A Kaiser Hospital worker here, who was angry at his union leaders' attitude toward their (Local 29) contract negotiations, said he was inspired by the Latin Americans in this country, especially the women in Watsonville. The women won their strike against the Watsonville Canning Co. after being out for over a year and sticking together in the face of a half-hearted union, the company and

government authorities, including the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The women took a cut in wages but all scabs were fired.

It was the depth of their solidarity and their persistence that this worker felt was a new point of departure for the struggle needed at home to stop Reaganism.

Activist
Oakland, Cal.

The articles in N&L on what is really going on in China are very important. I keep remembering how the president of GM went to China in 1979 and told them they'd have to get the Chinese workers "under control" before GM would invest. GM acts the same way in South Africa. We workers have a common enemy.

Retired auto worker
Pico Rivera, Cal.

SUPPORT FROM SOUTH AFRICA

Due to the conditions prevailing in our country, we are unable to conduct all our activities. South Africa is moving toward a police state where every motion will be under scrutiny. We have not lost hope, but we do not want to victimize ourselves without looking for possible avenues where our youth can grasp a philosophy of liberation and be able to spread it... Since you are now biweekly, we hope to support N&L more than last year in spite of the prevailing emergency conditions.

Correspondent
South Africa

FIGHTING RACISM

I like your idea of humanism. It's my responsibility as a Black woman and as a Hispanic to be involved with changing this society. It's important to talk about racism. Just beginning a discussion on these issues is doing something.

In your pamphlet *American Civilization on Trial* you discuss total freedom. The idea of total freedom is too big. But in the struggle, people in the 1800s were saying stop slavery. In the 1960s they were saying let us have the consti-

tutional rights we are entitled to. Now in the 1980s we are saying we want to be treated as full human beings.

Honduran student
New York

Have the Chicago Tribune strikers learned something in the 19 months we've been out of work? I think so. Some guys back in 1980 voted for Reagan, saying, well he'll go after the Blacks. Before they knew it, Reagan went against PATCO and all these give-backs started. I think deep down a lot of guys feel ashamed that their racism cut their own throats. And these concessions are continuing all over the place. I don't know if a revolution in this country can ever be non-violent, but it will sure come if they keep trying to push every worker into poverty.

30 years a typesetter
Chicago

At Univ. of Illinois at Chicago (UIC) Edward Vrdolyak, the notorious racist who is running for mayor against Harold Washington, got a packed crowd for his audience. That tells a very sad story about UIC. But even those of us who oppose racism don't know much about what the Black struggles have represented in this country. I certainly didn't know that Marx had talked about Black struggles in the U.S. I look forward to reading Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart*.

Irish-American student
Chicago

Charles Denby's *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* is a great book. I grew up in Detroit and my father worked in the auto plants, yet when I was growing up I never really questioned him or knew what his life at work was like. But when I was reading Denby's story, all about the unsafe working conditions in the plant, I kept thinking about my father. *Indignant Heart* is the kind of book that so many people could identify with. Denby shows that Marxism isn't Communism like in Russia, or some monster to be afraid of, but human beings who want to be free.

Black worker/student
Los Angeles

Gwen Patton, a leading spirit in the movement for racial and economic justice in the South, was fired from her job as teacher at Alabama State Uni-

versity because she challenged the forces of political reaction in Montgomery, some of which are represented on the university's Board of Trustees. While she is fighting her case through the courts, she wants to devote her energies to organizing. But it takes money to keep an organizer alive. The National Committee for Independent Political Action is hoping to raise enough to hire Gwen as a southern organizer for a year. (Dave Dellinger, Anne Braden, Carollia Scott, Arthur Kinoy, Leslie Cagan and Jim Haughton are our Co-chairs.) Readers who can help or who want further information on our work and Gwen's credentials can write:

NCIPA
290 Lenox Ave.
N.Y., N.Y. 10027

DUPRE'S CRITIQUE

It seemed to me that Louis Dupre was expressing some sharp disagreement with the work of Dunayevskaya in his review of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (N&L, Feb. 13). I thought of it this way: there was a famous geologist in the 18th century who first argued that the continents are in constant, turbulent motion, but no one listened to him because he couldn't explain the force that moved continents across the earth's crust. Likewise, Hegel made a great leap in philosophy in showing that freedom is the aim of history, but he couldn't pinpoint the force that would prove it. Marx did prove it when he said that force was the masses who want freedom. Dupre is disagreeing with Dunayevskaya for keeping Hegel and Marx as one.

Environmentalist
Chicago

Editor's Note: For another discussion of Dupre's contribution, see p.7.

DUNAYEVSKAYA AT DEKALB

Your readers in the Chicago area will be interested in knowing that Raya Dunayevskaya will be speaking at Northern Illinois University on April 13 at 7 p.m. in Sandburg Auditorium on "Youth of the 1960s, Youth of the 1980s and the Idea of Freedom." The lecture is being sponsored by the Campus Activities Board, the John Lennon Society, and the Departments of History, Philosophy and Sociology.

Professor
DeKalb, Ill.



Critique of Maoism as road to Black revolt

News & Letters' ongoing (and current) analysis of China's development has provided a theoretical base for my 1970s observations when I served as study-group advisor for the National Association of Black Students (NABS).

Maoism had caught on like wildfire among Black youth. The Peking Review was required reading and I did not object to subscribing nor reading it. I did, however, register strong criticisms of Maoism as the road to true liberation for the model for the Black Liberation Movement to emulate.

My criticisms were rooted in my practical experiences as a freedom fighter in the South during the 1960s. To wit:

1. Imperialism (racism in the South) was not a "paper tiger" you could simply break through when the Vietnamese were bombed and napalmed to death

Theory/Practice

(continued from page 5)

him two more specialists from the Russian embassy in the U.S. to Russia. The ambassador to Canada, Yakovlev, and other "America watchers" were also brought back to Moscow.

Gorbachev also has no intention of giving up a foothold in Latin America, in order to make the whole Third World see Russia as the alternative to U.S. imperialism.

Instead, Gorbachev is out to make arms control, no matter how limited, appear as the decisive issue of all world political problems. This will give him the chance to continue with his "economic reforms"—that is, make the masses bear the burden of an ever-continuing rise in "labor productivity" by working harder and harder with no change in the exploitative labor relationships or wages or conditions of living.

To attempt, at this time, to give credence to Gorbachev's claim of having a relationship to Lenin's historic legitimacy of 1917 and Lenin's demand that Stalin be removed as General Secretary, is every bit as onerous as the fantastic Reagan lies about the "evil empire." Don't forget that when all is said and done, there has been no change in either the class nature of Russia since Stalin transformed it from a worker's state into a state-capitalist society in the 1930s, or in Russia's imperialist total control over East Europe, which it gained with World War II.

What the incredible loss of 20 million human beings that the fascist onslaught and superior military might of Nazi Germany drove home to the Russian rulers was that they must never be a basket case in either the economy or in militarization. The continuity of the class nature that Stalin established did not fundamentally change once Khrushchev finally decided on de-Stalinization. The strive for first-edness can be seen in what was called the "hare-brained scheme" of putting nuclear installations into Cuba. It is a fact, however, that our present super-wise computer specialists must remember, that it was not the U.S. but Russia that sent the first satellite, Sputnik, into space. Gorbachev's present rescue of Reagan is an attempt to save degenerate capitalism's continued existence by diverting all questions to the one of narrow arms control.

REAGAN'S IMPERIAL PRESIDENCY—ITS PRIVATIZATION

Ronald Reagan is continuing on his retrogressionist path, being a strike-breaker and racist as well as trying to roll back the whole range of women's liberation activities, whether on abortion or the equality of wages between men and women or making pauperization not just a race question but one also of the feminization of poverty.

The Iran-contra scandal reveals what privatization means to Reagan:

- 1) The disappearance of a good chunk of the national wealth (the state treasury)—the people's money—into Swiss bank accounts, and then sent to mercenaries in Nicaragua attempting to overthrow a legitimate government.

- 2) The "creation" of a "moderate" wing in Iran, when they were actually talking to Khomeini's representatives, signalled a change in the balance of power in the Middle East, perverting the stated policy on the Iran-Iraq War.

- 3) Another private person turned out to be the Secretary of State appealing to the richest man in the world, the Sultan of Brunei, for \$10 million for a private contribution for one of the factions of the contras.

- 4) The few American fat-cats who, when nudged by the President, contributed "privately" for this "anti-Communist" fascist purpose, are the very merchants of death who have helped to create the astronomical deficits that have transformed the U.S. from the greatest creditor nation to the largest debtor nation.

- 5) Homelessness and pauperization of the masses has not characterized the U.S. this badly since the Depression, when privatization had to be reigned in for capitalism to save its own skin.

As we see, the Iran-contra scandal is not an aberration. It is the whole six years of this imperial presidency. The counter-revolution Reagan initiated and continues, and which he intends to follow through on in his final two years, reveals that, on the same level as his obsession with Star Wars, is his obsession with Latin America attempting to go its own way. Which is why Reagan is driven to call Nicaragua a Russian "surrogate." To this we will return in the next issue.

—March 14, 1987

(homes were bombed and people were murdered during the Civil Rights Movement). The slogan could serve as a morale booster, perhaps, for freedom fighters, but it took conscious planning, with full understanding of the implacable forces imperialism and racism could wreak, to achieve victory. No revolutionary plan should have built into it a deliberate program to sacrifice the lives of freedom fighters. To become a martyr should be an individual decision. "Imperialism as a paper tiger" was a deceptive, suicidal slogan.

2. Then there was the "Cultural Revolution," which took the course of smashing all that was old. I simply could not even imagine smashing my grand- and great-grand-parents' artifacts, letters, memorabilia. I concluded in the 1970s that this was utter disrespect for the elders and absolute nihilism, iconoclasm. Revolutionaries have to be analytical about the past, and all peoples' pasts have to be preserved to serve as a planning base for the present and future. Nothing of the peoples' cultures should be destroyed but rather preserved for continuity to show the zig-zag and lessons in the effort to continue on the road to freedom.

3. Contradictions will always be antagonistically irreconcilable. There may be a breathing-grace period, but contradictions will eventually give natural rise to conflict until the parties involved will agree on merits (process, governance, system, ideology) which will truly uplift humanity. The methods to achieve agreement will take various forms, including revolutionary armed struggle.

4. When I saw TV programs, a result of Nixon-Mao detente, depicting the "Great Leap Forward" with Chinese people toting a brick from one to another and manually plowing a field with a mule, I was reminded of slavery times. It struck me as a medieval people thrust into contemporary times. If freedom meant that I had to return to serfdom, then let me stay oppressed!

I understood why many Blacks emotionally identified with Maoism. The identity of their hardships with the Chinese hardships was close to home and all-consuming. The paradox is that Blacks' hardships were/are under capitalism while the Chinese's hardships were/are flaunted as a required component to build socialism. This is an antagonistic contradiction. Perhaps the reality is that China was on the road to building state-capitalism and the people's suffering is a necessary component for this development.

Thank you for providing the theoretical framework for me to analyze my practical observations. As I stated earlier, the struggle for freedom is a zig-zag, but I'm confident that all peoples will continue the legacy to stride toward freedom—it's really a natural development despite the obstacles. —Yours in the Struggle, Gwendolyn M. Patton



Black Britain vs. police

Oxford, England—The death of Clinton McCurbin, a 23-year-old Black man, in Wolverhampton last month was far from accidental. McCurbin, who was alleged to have tried to use a stolen credit card, was seized by two policemen in "Next," a trendy clothing boutique. Minutes later he was dead. Witnesses described how the two police had pinned him to the floor, holding him tightly by the neck.

As the news spread, a crowd of local youth gathered, and fights broke out with the police, who tried to cover up their action by claiming that McCurbin died of a heart attack brought on by drug abuse. A subsequent post mortem revealed no trace of drugs and established that the cause of death was "asphyxia consistent with restraint during a violent struggle." In a word, strangulation. So far no charges have been brought against the two police killers—a chilling indication of their immunity and the low value put on Black life in this racist society. Some 2,000 people took part in a protest march in Wolverhampton on March 7.

—R. Bunting

Racism in Chattanooga

'Before eyes of the nation'

Chattanooga, Tenn.—"We need a mass march against police brutality and Ku Klux Klan terrorism, we must put Chattanooga, Tennessee before the eyes of the nation, just as was done with Forsyth County, Georgia." That is how Lorenzo Ervin of the Myles Horton Organization and other Black activists at a recent mass meeting described the need for a national civil rights protest to dramatize the deaths of 22 persons by police shootings, and eight others who died in police custody or in area jails since 1978.

It is clear to the Black community and progressive whites that the Chattanooga political power structure is engaged in covering up these deaths and other racist acts of terrorism, which have included bombings by the Ku Klux Klan of the homes of the former leader of the NAACP, James Mapp, who had been carrying on a 27-year-old lawsuit against the racially segregated Chattanooga schools system, and another local civil rights leader, the Rev. Herbert H. Wright of the Action Coordinating Council, who barely escaped when his house was blown apart. In 1980 Klansmen ambushed and shot four elderly Black women in the back from a speeding car. When arrested and jailed, one of these Klansmen assaulted a Black youth with a knife. In fact Chattanooga is listed as the Southern city with the second highest number of racist bombings (next to the city of Birmingham, Alabama) and violent incidents against Blacks during the civil rights period.

All of these incidents are listed as "unsolved crimes," and nobody has ever been prosecuted for the bombings and beatings by police. In the court case of the 1980 Klan shootings, the Klansmen were acquitted by an all-white jury or given a 30-day sentence! That is Chattanooga "justice."

Black people are fed up with these oppressive conditions and are organizing to overthrow this racist, corrupt political system. They are especially incensed over the police brutality and white racist violence which has been occurring with such regularity. They held a protest march of 350-500 people on Feb. 7, 1987, over the numerous recent jail deaths that happened during the week of Feb. 1.

Although the Chattanooga Black community is struggling against this oppression, they need help to expose these conditions to the world. Civil rights activists and anti-racist organizers from all over the country should descend upon this Klan hotbed to join us and let the world know what we have had to suffer, and will not suffer quietly anymore. Please come and tell others to do so: Have your organization sponsor buses to leave your community. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was killed 19 years ago in Memphis, Tennessee, and his death has been a constant source of shame to our state. Now another Tennessee city says "we will pick up his fallen banner and make his ideas a living thing." We want this city to serve as the birthplace of a new freedom movement for the Black and poor. This is why we have picked April 4 to have this national protest against racist and police violence.

All out for April 4th, 1987.

A mass march on Chattanooga, Tennessee!

—Ad Hoc Organizing Committee for
A Mass March On Chattanooga
904 E. Sheridan Court
Chattanooga, TN. 37404

Black World

(continued from page 1)

I remember once, under the Byrne Administration, we wanted to go into City Hall and the police stopped us at the door. We asked if the Mayor would see a delegation. The policeman came back and told us that the Mayor told him that he wasn't to allow us into City Hall. Under Washington we have monthly meetings with different city agencies. We have never had that since I came here in 1945.

When Governor Thompson was elected he immediately wanted to raise taxes, after saying that he wouldn't. Thompson says if people want better services, they have to pay for them. But when Washington said that, they jumped on him. He told people up front that he would have to raise taxes; he didn't fool the people. After all, he inherited a \$146 million debt from the Byrne Administration.

Give Washington credit for what he did accomplish with the opposition he has faced in the City Council. I've been here under other mayors, before Daley, and there were no new streets coming through here, until now.

In his second term, I would expect that the Mayor would continue to do what he started, without the problems he had before. Some of the problems will continue because as local government changed for the better, the federal government under Reagan changed for the worse. When we went to HUD (Housing and Urban Development), we found out how Reaganized it had become. Funds have been cut back. That's the way it was locally under former mayors Bilandic and Byrne. It has really required turning over the local political power structure.

The first time we went down to City Hall after Washington was elected, it was uncanny—we didn't know what to do because we were actually greeted. For four years now, the Mayor's Task Force on Utility Shut-Offs, which we helped create, has been in existence and been very responsive. We still demonstrate, however.

Few actually believe that the Washington administration will ever truly come to reflect the grass-roots social forces within the Black community that put it in power. Nevertheless, the Black community's current determination to overturn the political racism that obstructed Washington's first term and so sharpened Chicago's racial contradictions, merely foreshadows the social struggle to come.

**Direct from South Africa
Freedom Journal**

Editor's note: To show the origins and development of the ongoing revolutionary struggles of Black youth in South Africa, we print below excerpts of a News & Letters interview with a revolutionary who has been active there since the 1976 Soweto Uprising.

I started taking interest in politics in 1973, when I was 11. The important thing for me was the ongoing revolution in Zimbabwe. We used to turn to Radio Freedom, Radio Maputo, Radio Zambia, to hear some speeches made by our own brothers in exile. It was when the armed struggle was occurring, and the youth there were actively participating in the struggle for national liberation.

We were aware that people like Nelson Mandela and others on Robben Island had been arrested in the early 1960s. Those arrests instilled a fear among lots of the youth.

The other aspect was that parents were objecting to the youth fully participating in anything which might tend to be political. However, in my neighborhood, we used to sit with old-timers; they used to tell us stories, and eventually we got to discussing the situation in Rhodesia.

The turning point came when the uprisings in 1976 brought about a change in the outlook of the situation in regard to the youth. At first the uprisings were only against Afrikaans being introduced as the language of instruction in our schools. But it did not end there, because at a later stage the youth decided to become more fully active and put more pressure on the government. After that, we came into a third phase that was for total liberation.

After the June 16 mass demonstration there were other demonstrations, such as asking workers not to go to work. If people were harassed in one area by the police they would move to another area. Police used to go to raid the school, using tear gas in the classrooms and dogs on the school children. In my school women were more active than men. Women played a very important role and they are still playing a very important role.

SOWETO YOUTH ORGANIZE

In August, 1976, I was invited by my schoolmates to serve in what was then the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC). Formed after the June 16 uprising, it was a student representative body, responsible for coordinating demonstrations and boycotts, giving direction to the students throughout Soweto and other places and looking into the affairs of the students.

A Soweto youth's journey to revolution

It was a school with students from 6 to 19 years of age. Those involved were mainly 13 to 19. At our meetings we discussed the ongoing problems faced by the students of Soweto. We discussed problems inside the school, such as teachers who were not teaching us in a proper way.

During the year when the SSRC was in existence we were attending school, but boycotting classes. In some cases we would go to school and the police would say either go to class or go home. In all cases we decided to go home, because to go to class would betray the sentiments of the other students throughout Soweto. The whole school boycotted.

After the SSRC was banned we formed the Soweto Students League. This was February 1978. In 1979, 11 of the SSRC were tried in a famous case, charged with sedition.

The Soweto Student League planned a mass student boycott throughout the country, including the so-called homelands. The first person to be arrested was the president; two weeks later our secretary-general was detained. About three weeks later I and others were detained. I and five colleagues were maliciously charged with sabotage. After eight months detention and trial, in September 1979, at the age of 17, I was sentenced to five years on Robben Island.

In prison we discussed a lot of issues: how we saw the situation inside the country; the relationship inside the country to the outside world; what we

hoped to achieve; what it will take to get our liberation.

Steve Biko was very popular, and is still very popular amongst the youth and the citizens. I was exposed to his ideas in 1978, before I went to prison, through some friends of mine who were members of the South African Student Movement (SASM). I fully identify with these ideas, they are the only ideas which will lead the Black nation to our ultimate goal.

WORKER-STUDENT SOLIDARITY

If workers are on strike it is the responsibility of the students to support that strike. The AZAPO (Azanian Peoples Organization) student and youth organizations have been active in picketing at the OK stores, a chain of supermarkets which had thousands on strike at branches throughout the country.

When NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) was on strike, members of youth organizations were out assisting with the strike ballots. The relationships between trade unions and student organizations is very healthy. That is why this year my organization decided to use the theme: Black Worker-Student Solidarity.

The new generation that has become active at this moment and those who are part of my generation are very progressive. They have absorbed the past ten years very thoughtfully and seriously. This past year we celebrated a decade of resistance. It was initiated by our student movement.



Students in Capetown, South Africa, march on National Detainees Day (March 12).

A commentary on Louis Dupre's 'The Structural Dialectic'

by Eugene Walker

In reading Louis Dupre's review of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (N&L, Feb. 13) I was struck with his pinpointing the sharp difference between Dunayevskaya's concept of the dialectic in Hegel and Marx, where she sees both a Great Divide and a revolutionary continuity between the two, and his own view that argues that Marx's reinterpretation of Hegel had not deepened or preserved the Hegelian dialectic, and was thus not continuous with Hegel's thought.

He made me re-examine his Marx's Social Critique of Culture, particularly chapter three on "The Structural Dialectic." In turning to Marx, Dupre begins with a description of how Marx "understood the practical power of this dialectical realism" and thus "objected to Hegel's conception of the real in the form of pure thought." This disagreement is followed through successive stages of Marx's development, from the doctoral dissertation to Capital itself.

FROM DOCTORAL DISSERTATION TO CAPITAL

I appreciated his commentary on Marx's doctoral dissertation because of the concreteness with which he pinpoints his view of Marx's dialectic at each stage. For the doctoral dissertation and Marx's "Introduction to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," Dupre comments: "According to this early, critical conception, ideas exist prior to social reality and determine it according to their own patterns of rationality." The philosophical, he adds, "turns into a critical power as soon as a new generation compares it to the existing reality."

Dupre's commentary on what he terms the second phase of Marx's development—the period "marked by Ludwig Feuerbach's anthropological reinterpretation of Hegel's dialectic"—is illuminating in showing how Marx saw the inadequacy of Feuerbach's critique of Hegel, in demonstrating Marx's difference from Feuerbach. Both in this chapter and in an earlier commentary Dupre presents the difference; "Almost imperceptibly, Marx had transformed Feuerbach's abstract anthropology into a concrete one of needs and production. He had understood the social inadequacy of Feuerbach's theory from the start—Marx clearly moves beyond Feuerbach's critique of religious idealism."

Dupre catches the centrality of labor in the crucial Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts: "The most significant feature of the Paris Manuscripts, the novelty of which we might easily overlook because of its familiarity today, is the idea that man realizes himself through his work." But Dupre wishes to reduce those Manuscripts to an "anthropological critique": "Until 1845 Marx had used dialectic primarily as a method for an

anthropological critique of capitalist society."

Dupre's brief section on "The Dialectic of Economic Concepts" is of interest both for his discussion of Marx's critique of Proudhon and for his commentary on Marx's introduction to Critique of Political Economy. Dupre helps us grasp Marx's critique of Proudhon's economic categories and his critique of the mechanical way Proudhon tried to present Hegelian categories. But what I missed were some references to Marx's beautiful writings within *Poverty of Philosophy* on this new subject of revolution, the proletariat.

On Marx's famous introduction to the *Critique of Political Economy*, Dupre used an expression about Marx's relation to Hegel that I found very thought provoking: "On the cognitive level he (Marx) accepts the notion of the self-concretizing universal." That is a wonderful expression—self-concretizing universal. It seems another way of expressing the concept of the Self-Determination of the Idea in Hegel.

Dupre's discussion of Capital within the structural dialectic is entitled, "The Historical Principle Radicalized: Capital." Here much of the presentation is valuable, especially the discussion in relation to Hegel and to the historical character of the economic concepts: "Explicit references to Hegel have sharply decreased. But the impact of Hegel's dialectic of history has increased." And again: "Value is a universal economic category only within the capitalist economic system."

MISSING: CAPITAL'S HUMANISM

But the real key to Dupre's discussion of "The Structural Dialectic" in relation to Capital lies in what is not there. There is no discussion of what becomes so crucial to Dunayevskaya's discussion of the structure of Capital in her *Marxism and Freedom*: the sections on

"The Working Day" and on the "Fetishism of Commodities." Dupre does have a discussion of the fetishism, but not in relation to the dialectic structure, rather in relation to culture.

Thus Dupre fails to decisively present the revolutionary thread of humanism in his discussion in a way that allows the reader to begin to know how totally new and different is Marx's new continent of thought and of revolution.

This is what then brings us to the difficulties of Dupre's final two sections of this chapter on "Dialectical Contradictions Redefined" and on "The Ambiguous Legacy: The Three Laws of Dialectic." Here Dupre wishes to trace what happens to the dialectic after Marx. Though critiquing many of those who claimed to be the followers of Marx, he nonetheless doesn't show in sharp form the tremendous gap between Marx's writings and theirs. Thus he fails to grasp Marx's project in its fullness, in its total revolutionary subjectivity and can state:

"Clearly the dialectic of Capital lacks the moving agent of Hegel's philosophy: a Spirit which by intrinsic necessity negates itself and, then, by the same necessity negates its negation in a new affirmation."

But isn't it precisely the opposite? What Marx called "the lie in his (Hegel's) principle" was that his Spirit remained a revolutionary but abstract one, because, though freedom was its aim and essence, it was the freedom of the Idea, as if that idea remained independent of concrete corporeal human beings. Because Dupre does not see that, his whole critique of those who come after Marx becomes posed as the ambiguous legacy of Marx, rather than the non-continuity with Marx, that comes, not from Marx's legacy, but from the thought and practice of the post-Marx-Marxists.

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Senegal students

Over 15,000 high school and college students have just ended a five-week strike in Dakar, which they began on Jan. 22. They had been demanding timely payment of their scholarship money, removal of police from the University of Dakar, the resignation of the top university administrator and the corrupt cafeteria director, and an accounting by the government of dead and wounded students.

The strikers won most of their demands except for the firing of the head of the university, but paid a very heavy price: at least one student dead and over 50 students seriously wounded as a result of police attacks. Police occupied the 15,000-student University of Dakar campus from the very first day of the strike, and immediately began beating up students, chasing them into their dormitories, tear-gassing the dorms and then ransacking them of any valuables. The dead student was killed while fleeing tear gas by jumping out a third-floor window.

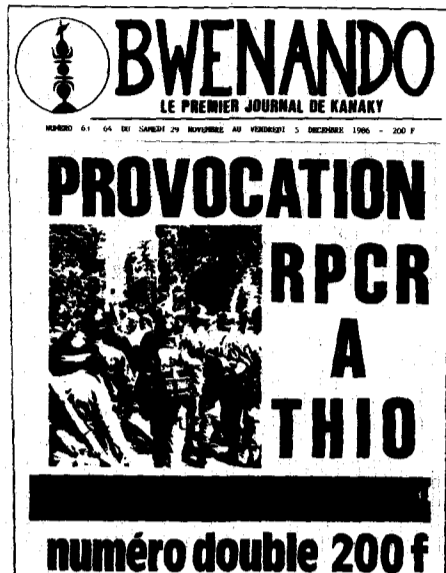
The strike, which began over the scholarship delays, by the end became a broader confrontation by a new generation of youth with the Abdou Diouf regime. Diouf succeeded world-renowned Negritude theorist Leopold Senghor as President in 1981, and he has continued Senghor's generally pro-French and capitalist-oriented policies. These had been promulgated by Senghor in the 1960s under a veneer of "African Socialism," which, once in power, set up a single-party state ruled by an African bourgeoisie. Diouf's so-called New Industrial Policy has removed even that veneer of socialism by openly espousing Reaganomics, leading to worker and now student unrest. Most of the small Left-oriented opposition parties have also supported the students and the workers against Diouf.

New Caledonia farce

On March 3, foreign ministers from thirteen South Pacific countries passed a resolution denouncing France's fraudulent referendum on the status of its colony, New Caledonia, planned for

July 1987. France's rightist Chirac government knows very well that the indigenous Kanak people today constitute only 37% of the population of their own land, and thus France plans on "winning" a vote for its continued imperialist presence there through the support of French settlers and pro-French immigrants.

Such an electoral farce would perpetuate French rule, begun by invasion, massacre and confiscation of Kanak land in 1853. It would deny self-determination to the Kanak nation and is



The Dec. 5 issue of *Bwenando* reports on the situation in New Caledonia and contains beautiful photos of sculpture by Kanak youth. *Bwenando* is available at the News and Letters library in Chicago.

sure to be boycotted by them, as was a similar 1984 vote. In December the UN also passed a pro-independence resolution.

The true goal of Chirac is to keep New Caledonia as a French political and military base for the whole Pacific region, where France regularly tests nuclear weapons. The region has declared itself a nuclear-free zone, but both France and the U.S. refuse to go along.

Chirac and his supporters among the settlers want to crush the pro-independence Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS) completely, as seen

in a whole series of events last fall: Oct. 19, a mysterious fire damages FLNKS offices; Nov. 16, the home of FLNKS leader Yeiwene Yeiwene is raked by gunfire; Nov. 17, the printshop of the FLNKS biweekly French-language paper *Bwenando* is severely damaged in another fire. Its revolutionary journalism has not however been silenced. Meanwhile, French soldiers patrol the rural areas, where Kanaks predominate.

The U.S. press has been silent on these events. We urge the international movement to extend their political and financial support to the Kanak struggle. To get in touch with the FLNKS, write: *Bwenando*, B.P. 1671, Noumea, New Caledonia.

India report

The Government anti-poverty programmes are being complemented by appropriate pro-poverty programmes. The export of rice and wheat was already part of official policy; now, "inferior" grains which only the poor generally consume, such as jowar, bajra, ragi, are also going to be exported.

Earning foreign exchange has the highest priority, so why not earn some extra exchange by exporting the food of the poor too? The nation has become self-sufficient in food grains. There are around 32 million tons of grain currently in stock with the Food Corporation of India, so is there any reason for our not exporting grain?

Close to one-half of the national population go hungry each night. We have excess stock in grain only because the poor cannot afford the price. If you begin to export grain, grain prices will rise in the country and the poor will be even less able to buy them.

Poverty and anti-poverty programmes march hand-in-hand in a dynamic equilibrium. What we sell overseas we could have used to feed our poor. The anti-poverty programmes are not intended to eradicate poverty but to ensure that the poor stay in line. And in case they tend to misbehave, have no fear, one can always push up the export of inferior grain and then push up the price. That will teach the poor a lesson.

—Correspondent, India

East Europe resistance

In Hungary, 2,000 people, many of them young, marched in downtown Budapest March 15 to commemorate the anniversary of the 1848 rebellion against Austria's rule. At the same time, the marchers, recalling the 1956 Revolution, called for an end to repression and for the withdrawal of Russian troops. Meanwhile, signers of an international appeal last October (see Nov. 1986 N&L) have been singled out for official harassment. The appeal, marking the 30th anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution and calling for democracy and peace in Europe, was signed by dissidents from Hungary and four other East European countries.

In Yugoslavia, the group Solidarity Fund has stirred the government's opposition by circulating a draft proposal to gain legal recognition and coordinate resistance to "ideological, political, economic and any other kind of repression." The group was formed last May to help Dusan Bogavac, an editor of the weekly magazine *Komunist* who was fired after accepting articles critical of the government.

Since then over 600 Yugoslavs, many of them journalists, writers and other intellectuals, have signed statements of support for Solidarity Fund, whose name was inspired by the Polish Solidarity movement. The ruling League of Communists, denouncing "imitations of foreign models," threatened that "if anyone organizes political activity, they may be confronted with legal procedures."

In Czechoslovakia, 150 protesters, mostly under 25, held a vigil featuring syncopated handclapping during the trial of five leaders of the Jazz Section. The five were sentenced on March 10 to terms from four years of probation to 16 months in jail for continuing to publish newsletters and books after the government declared the group illegal in 1984.

The preceding week, Ervin Motl, a young Czechoslovak worker, was sentenced to three years in prison for reading forbidden literature, listening to foreign radio broadcasts and discussing conditions at the factory where he worked.

West Europe's masses pose new alternatives to crises

(continued from page 1)

tral demands is to reverse the "incomes policy," a wage freeze instituted in October 1985. Since then, utility prices, rents, and other basics have gone up, and inflation has remained close to 20%.

Greek youth have also been active in the protests. Students from over 100 high schools demonstrated in December against government policies they said were aimed at increasing competition and specialization in education and which would result in fewer university students and more unemployed youth.

IRELAND: MASSIVE UNEMPLOYMENT

In Ireland, many of the jobless youth have been forced to take a different course. They are joining the out-migration of 30,000 people a year, approaching the level of the late 1950s recession. Nearly half of Ireland's population is under 25. They see no end in sight to unemployment (20%) and economic decline. Heavy government borrowing and foreign investment have failed to produce any recovery in the 1980s. Nearly a third of the people must depend on some form of public welfare to live.

The Fianna Gael-Labor Party coalition government collapsed in January when former Prime Minister Garrett FitzGerald announced plans to make further government spending cuts. In the February elections, the economic crisis dominated all other questions, particularly Northern Ireland and FitzGerald's signing of the Anglo-Irish accord of 1985, as well as the social questions of the right to contraception, abortion, and divorce. Sinn Fein ended a 66-year boycott of parliament but won no seats. The inconclusive electoral victory of Charles Haughey and Fianna Fail underlines the inability of any of the political parties to meet Ireland's crisis.

The political and economic problems in West Europe are not limited to Spain, Greece or Ireland. In West Germany and France, the new year began with a decline in growth and increase in unemployment. Italy recently surpassed Britain to become West Europe's third industrial power, but that only serves to underline how total the decline in Britain has been. Italy, too, experienced a recent sharp drop in industrial output and its three-year-old government coalition just collapsed.

But West Europe's current crises cannot be separated

from its entrapment within the superpower vortex of the U.S. and Russia. Mikhail Gorbachev's carefully-prepared and timed offer for a mutual removal of medium-range missiles from Europe is the latest step in a campaign to take advantage of West Europe's opposition to Reagan's Rambo policies. The offer follows the Russian moratorium on nuclear testing (which ended in January), and the release of some political prisoners. (See "Theory/Practice," p. 5).

SUPERPOWER VORTEX VS. NEW ALTERNATIVES

In seeming contrast, West Europe has had to face Reagan's arrogant plans to go ahead with Star Wars testing and deployment, and to tear up the ABM treaty without any consultation. The rulers reject a total U.S. nuclear pullout from West Europe, but they must also answer to the overwhelming opposition within each of their countries to nuclear weapons and bases.

That opposition did not stop the U.S. from beginning to install Cruise and Pershing missiles in 1983. These are the missiles that Gorbachev's deal would remove. But the Chernobyl nuclear reactor disaster showed less than a year ago that Russia's nuclear policies stem from the same class basis as the U.S.' policies. It is a cloud which still hangs over Europe. Whether the European anti-nuke movement can develop a genuine alternative

vision which opposes Russian state-capitalism, trying to appear as the "peace maker," along with the U.S. and its own rulers is a challenge which remains to be answered.

In a number of European countries there have been new demonstrations against the U.S. nuclear and military presence. On March 1, several thousand protesters formed a human chain around the U.S. air base at Torrejon, Spain. But it has been the youth demonstrations which have most shaken the Socialists, from Gonzalez on down. Many of them had been leaders and fighters against Franco in their youth. Now the youth of the 1980s are opposing them for not being "socialist." The youth are one of the new alternatives to the superpower vortex that has stifled any solutions to Europe's crisis in the post World War II world.

One Spanish cabinet member complained that it was difficult to negotiate with the students because they were a "state of mind." In fact, the students raised very concrete demands as well as far-reaching questions about where Spain is going. In the words of one student, "Once we finish our studies, we young people don't see a clear way out for the future." The alienation and revolt experienced by the youth, and increasingly by workers, has already put its stamp on West Europe this year.

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