

The real addicts of society



by Felix Martin, Labor Editor

A retired worker at the union hall the other day was telling me about his son who had become an alcohol and drug addict. His son was in the hospital trying to self-develop to overcome this horrible capitalist disease brought on by this system and how we produce to meet our needs to live.

My friend said, "Before my son began to take drugs and drink so heavily, he asked 'Dad, what else does this rotten system offer but to go to work each day—if you have a job? I'm working, but I can't buy what my family needs. I make good money, compared to other workers, but it doesn't give me in life what I feel I should be enjoying.'" My friend said to me, "I didn't know how to answer my son."

I started to tell my friend about myself, how—like every worker—my working life was hell right here on earth. But instead of it transforming me into an alcohol and drug addict, it transformed me into a revolutionary to destroy the system that is destroying us.

I remembered the speed-up and overtime in the plant, and following that would come the layoffs: this system either works a worker to death or puts the worker on the street without a job and no way to produce a living for his or her family. I remembered going to the union hall after a layoff and how a large number of workers would be affected by drinking and drugs.

THE DISEASE OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism is an addict itself. It eats up workers' lives, and always wants more of our unpaid labor power. Like an addict, our news media and government bureaucrats and politicians point to other segments of the society as the "cause" of the drug problem: the ghettos, the gangs, the street dealers.

Like an addict, they point to other countries, Mexico, (continued on page 3)

Black World

Jamaica after Gilbert



by Lou Turner

On the eastern side of Jamaica, Gilbert made landfall with winds gusting up to 130 miles per hour. The roofs of four of every five houses were blown away, many homes blown entirely from their foundations. Over the whole island upwards of 500,000 people were left homeless. When Hurricane Gilbert left Jamaica, 45 people had lost their lives.

A market woman described the lot of the workers in the hardest hit agricultural area: "There's no more work here now. The breeze blew down everything, so everything has to be planted again. Then we have to wait for it to grow. Right now there is no work, nothing to sell and nothing for us to eat." A clothing store worker in Kingston sighed—"No money, no bed, no house, no nothing."

"The Breeze"—that's how local Jamaicans refer to the most devastating hurricane of the century to have blown through the Caribbean, uprooting everything in its path. And in its path lay Jamaica.

CAPITALIST RAVAGES

The island has also lain across the path of another disaster, that of capitalism. The ravages of the latter are inextricably bound up in the effects of the natural disasters that periodically hit Jamaica. During two days in June, 1986, some 60 inches of flood rains fell, causing \$400 million dollars in damages, affecting 40,000 Jamaicans, and leaving 49 dead. That, however, didn't prevent the U.S. from cutting back significantly on its quota of sugar imports from Jamaica, as the bauxite industry, which had provided two-thirds of the island's gross national product, continued to decline with a 50% loss of income.

With the unemployment rate over 25%, and inflation at 30%, an unconscionable 21% oil price increase was imposed in 1985 to offset a 50% devaluation of the Jamaican dollar. The following year saw tuition increases for university education soar as high as 40%. The oil price increase brought a spontaneous three-day general strike from labor, and stu-

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Burmese masses struggle to uproot ruling military regime



Students, women and men, have been at the forefront of the drive to overthrow Burmese one-party state.

by Kevin A. Barry

In 1988 the Burmese masses began to take back their country, shaking the single-party regime of Ne Win that has ruled since 1962. A new, grassroots, spontaneous revolt—one which has taken by surprise not only the rulers, but also the organized opposition, as well as outside powers, great and small—has arisen.

But the movement has been unable as of yet to actually overthrow the ruling clique and events have taken an ominous turn. Since Sept. 18, government by massacre has replaced earlier attempts to get the Burmese masses to agree to elections organized by their rulers. Since Sept. 18, when Gen. Saw Maung, a protégé of Gen. Ne Win, took over, gunfire has rattled the streets of the capital, Rangoon. The New York Times (Sept. 23) calls this newest army crackdown "more intense" than the one in August, which killed at least 3,000 people.

MASSACRES AND NEW CIVIL WAR

In response to the Sept. 18 crackdown, 22-year-old All Burma Student Union leader Min Ko Nainga hurled an open revolutionary challenge to the military rulers: "Alert for the last-ditch fight. We warn the group that calls itself the government to seek their last meal." Student activists have gone underground while battles rage through the cities. Crowds armed with firebombs, slingshots and jinglees (poisoned bicycle spokes) confront troops with machine guns. South Okkalapa, a working class district of Rangoon, which has been run by grassroots committees since August, is surrounded by the army. Virtually all workers, including government employees, remain on strike, even though the army is attacking their strike centers.

Just before the Sept. 18 crackdown, small but significant numbers of troops had begun to go over to the

people. The day before, as 500,000 marched in Rangoon, 24 soldiers guarding the Ministry of Trade surrendered to crowds, giving up their weapons. Crowds also started to march on the Ministry of Defense, only to be dissuaded by the liberal opposition leader, retired Gen. Aung Gyi.

1987-88: THE CRISIS BUILDS

The Burmese revolt is deeply rooted in the history and culture of the land. As in the 1930s and 1940s, when the battle was for independence from Britain, student youth are in the lead. Fearing exactly such a development, one of Gen. Ne Win's first acts after taking power in 1962 was to dynamite the All Burma Student Union (ABSU) headquarters at Rangoon University, and to ban that organization. Today, the former headquarters is a desolate, weed-infested field, but it was that place where students met on Aug. 28, 1988, 100,000 strong, to re-establish the ABSU.

The current crisis began in 1987 when Ne Win, under pressure from Japanese creditors, publicly acknowledged food shortages, and moved to revamp the currency. Students protested his rule in September 1987 for the first time since 1974, and he immediately cracked down, closing the universities for a time.

By March, 1988, new protests broke out, after students at Rangoon University were attacked near the campus by goons from the youth group of the ruling Burma Socialist Program Party (BSPP). Joined by unemployed youths, thousands of students marched against the BSPP. The army was sent in, and 3,000 were arrested. Many were killed outright, while 200 suffocated in a police van, with a total death toll of 283.

As soon as the universities reopened in June, students released from jail carried back tales of torture and rape

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Coming next issue

Raya Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes

The 1988 Labor Day weekend Convention of News and Letters Committees voted to publish Raya Dunayevskaya's May 12 and May 20, 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, the "Philosophic Moment" of Marxist-Humanism.



Raya in the 1950s

"The 1953 Letters have truly been the rich soil from which all of Marxist-Humanist originality has sprung."
—1988-89 Marxist-Humanist Perspectives

Woman as Reason

by Terry Moon

The serious review of Raya Dunayevskaya's books, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution (RLWLMPR)* and *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*, by the feminist Hegelian scholar Susan Easton, which first appeared in the *Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain**, is both comprehensive in singling out key aspects in Dunayevskaya's works, and raises important questions in its critique. Easton appreciates that "Dunayevskaya does seek to transcend the gulf between philosophy and social reality" and that "her active involvement in politics entails a familiarity with struggles world wide that is missing from many contemporary works of feminist theory."

Easton's most serious critique is her charge that in *RLWLMPR* "the philosophical discussions are truncated." She also doesn't see the three sections in *RLWLMPR* as a whole. Rather, to Easton "ideas are scattered across different sections of the book..."

Thus Easton's review has raised the important question of what is the philosophic thread running through *RLWLMPR* and how does that connect its three sections? What is involved in the whole question of what is philosophy and what is its relationship to movements for freedom?

To delve into these questions, let's look at what Dunayevskaya sees, in her "Introduction" to *RLWLMPR*, as the red thread uniting the three parts of her book: "the transformation of reality remains the warp and woof of the Marxian dialectic. This dialectic principle will show itself, I hope, to be the unifying force for all three parts of the book..." on Luxemburg, on women's liberation, and on Marx.

THE URGENCY TO MOVE TO MARX

Indeed when one reads this work, what one experiences, or at least what I experienced, was an urgency to move into Part Three of the book, to the study of Marx himself. This does not mean that philosophy is missing from Parts One and Two. Thus in Part One what I experienced was seeing each moment of Rosa Luxemburg's development—her greatness as well as where she didn't make it—within the context of Marx's philosophy of revolution.

Part Two of *RLWLMPR*, "The Women's Liberation Movement as Revolutionary Force and Reason," reveals what it means that Dunayevskaya was able to single out a new category, in this case Woman as Reason. Dunayevskaya singles out what is new and great about the Women's Liberation Movement, that women's liberation is not just resistance to patriarchy but in fact raised "the two pivotal questions of the day... the totality and the depth of the necessary uprooting of this exploitative, sexist, racist society" and "the dual rhythm of revolution: not just the overthrow of the old, but the creation of the new..."

Here we see another dimension of philosophy: Dunayevskaya's recreation of the Marxian/Hegelian dialectic in the creation of the category of "The Women's Liberation Movement as Revolutionary Force and Reason" thus revealing a new relationship between philosophy and reality.

But it is precisely because Dunayevskaya has shown us what was so tremendous in the movement that what hits you like a ton of bricks at the end—and what compels you to Part Three on Karl Marx—is the fact that despite all this decade of development, women's liberation didn't make it and in the 1980s has reached an impasse.

MARX'S WORKS AS A TOTALITY

In her review, Susan Easton writes that Dunayevskaya has "exaggerated the rejection of Marxism by contemporary feminists," claiming that some have been "building on concepts drawn from Marx's theory of history and his analysis of the relations of production." But one of Dunayevskaya's critiques of today's feminist theorists is precisely that they only take a part of Marx, a "concept," which ends up being a rejection of the totality of Marx's philosophy of revolution. And while no feminist theorist is mentioned by name in Part Three of *RLWLMPR*, that part on Karl Marx is the one that answers all of them.

Part Three is not separate from a critique of today's feminist theorists because Dunayevskaya does what no post-Marx Marxist has ever done. She views Marx's works as a totality—from his 1844 *Economic Philosophic Manuscripts* to his 1880-1881 *Ethnological Notebooks* It is her view of these 40 years as a

Union women tortured in Korea

While the South Korean government spent billions of dollars to "look good" during the Olympics, Korean women workers were being attacked, beaten and tortured by company goons for organizing a union. At TC Electronics (producer of products for Radio Shack) women were locked in rooms, beaten on their breasts and genitals, hung upside down and forced to ingest water for over two hours. After similar incidents at another factory in Masan, police arrested union leaders rather than the thugs. After a weeks-long sit-in of 1,500 people at Tandy Corp. in Masan protesting the anti-union violence, one attacker was arrested.

—Information from *Bi-Weekly Report*

Philosophic thread in Dunayevskaya's works

Philosophy of Revolution against which she measures the greatest revolutionaries as well as feminist theorists. As she writes in Part Three: "There is but one dialectical conceptual framework, an indivisible whole which does not divide economics and politics from Subject: masses in motion—a living, feeling, thinking, acting whole."

Philosophy permeates the whole of Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution*; far from that discussion being "truncated," it is developed throughout. But if the "dialectic principle" is "the transformation of reality"—and that is what we are interested in—then the discussion has just begun. After all, we are still living in this horrible world. I'm grateful that Susan Easton has raised these questions in such a serious way and I hope this much needed discussion will continue.

* For a copy of Susan Easton's review, published in the August-September, 1988, *News & Letters*, send 50 cents to *News and Letters*.

Palestinian women: free our homeland, ourselves



Photo by Jez Coulson from *Outwrite*

Young Palestinian woman giving victory sign in the Israeli-occupied Gaza Strip.

Editor's note: Below are excerpts from a presentation given by Najwa Jardali of the Palestinian Federation of the Women's Action Committees from the translation from Arabic made during her speech on Sept. 23 to the Palestine Aid Society in La Mirada, Cal.

The *Intifada* (uprising) has changed and developed the role of women in the West Bank and Gaza and in the organizations. Before the *Intifada*, our thinking was just to increase the role of women in the occupied territories; our role was to protect our husbands who are active in the movement and to unify women's organizations. Now we see we have two roles: the liberation of our homeland and the liberation of ourselves as women.

Women had a large role in the Algerian Revolution but after the revolution their role disappeared. That cannot and will not happen in Palestine.

The role of women has changed in the economic sphere. Women have led the boycotting of Israeli products; we have fought for the rights of working women—for pregnancy leave and for pay raises.

Women are boycotting factories in the settlements, refusing to work there or allow delivery of materials. Women have helped to create the economic organization in food production—growing our own food—and manufacturing clothing.

However, our role is not alone to do traditional women's work, such as sewing, but to have a role in the organization and administration of production, and in all spheres of life.

Before, there was no first aid or medical care throughout most of the West Bank and Gaza; now women have taken a leading role in the care of the sick and injured in popular medical committees in every town and village.

We have succeeded in cancelling the traditional big dowry payments, getting it reduced from about \$15,000 to \$1,000. The lowering of the dowry doesn't mean women are cheap but that marriage is simpler and values will change.

Of the over 400 Palestinians killed by Israeli settlers and security forces since the beginning of the *Intifada*, 51 have been women; over 200 women are currently in prison. Before, fathers would speak proudly of their sons who were in jail; now they also speak proudly of their jailed daughters.

One 65-year-old woman has spent five months in jail because she supposedly passed information to her sons about the security forces. On one day alone, March 8—International Women's Day—12 women suffered miscarriages due to beatings they received from the army.

The *Intifada* has taught us that women are not given our freedom—we must take it.

Homecare workers organize in L.A.

Editor's note: In Los Angeles County the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) has begun a union organizing drive among homecare workers, mainly Black and Latina women, who provide individual home and health care services to indigent elderly and disabled people certified as eligible for the program by the County Department of Public Social Services. The County sets the wages and hours and paychecks are issued by the state. Below are excerpts from a N&L interview with union organizer, Kirk Adams, and several homecare workers.

Kirk Adams: There are 50,000 homecare workers in Los Angeles County taking care of about 60,000 clients. It is a system based upon poor people taking care of poor people. There is no training for the workers, yet they are faced with clients with serious illnesses, like Alzheimer's or AIDS.

They were working for \$3.72/hour (and not covered by minimum wage laws), with no health insurance, no vacation, no sick days.

The county maintains that the individual clients are the employers, but under pressure from our organizing drive, they have agreed to sit down and negotiate with us. They've acted on the issue of late paychecks, and have agreed to include the workers under minimum wage law (now \$4.25 in California), to fund a registry to be run by us, and to provide training.

But a key demand of ours for a health and welfare fund is now stalled at the state level. Oct. 1 was the deadline and if the governor doesn't come through, we may go back to the streets.

When we began organizing in September 1987, we made contacts through nursing homes and workers. News spread by word of mouth. In neighborhoods like Watts or Compton, we'd leaflet at a supermarket and get 100 homecare workers to a meeting. Within three months, we had found 12,000 workers who signed union authorization cards. It's the biggest organization drive in this county in the last 15 years.

Before this most did not realize that there were thousands of others doing this work. Then 20 or 40 or 100 homecare workers were together in a room—and it would explode...

Albertine, Susana, Anne and Genevieve: It was unbelievable; it was like a miracle. Where did all these other homecare workers come from?

This organizing is what we need, for ourselves and for our clients. It's difficult work. We are nurse, doctor, psychiatrist, secretary, chauffeur, family to our clients. Sometimes we're their only contact with the outside world. We are their legs, arms, eyes and ears. We need a lot of patience, because our clients are frustrated and angry with the world. The registry is so important because otherwise our client is left alone if we are sick or have an emergency.

Most of us are women, over 45 years old. This is a very bad age for a woman; you're too young to draw social security, but if you don't have a job, no one wants to hire you. There are young people coming into the field because it is permanent work. But we need to organize, for wages, benefits, training. There is no job description for what we do. The county does a lot of harm to the clients when they suddenly cut back their—and our—hours. By organizing, we help our clients as well as ourselves.

The organizing and meeting other homecare workers—yes! It has changed us a lot! We feel real good. We're learning that we all have problems and we've got to get together to make some changes.

NY Univ. workers strike

New York, N.Y.—The clerical and technical workers in the American Federation of Teachers, Local 3882, had been working all year without a contract at New York University (NYU). When it came to the strike vote, it was unanimous. It's basically about principles—do not impose on us, talk to us. We have a union for that.

We are back to work after being on strike for three weeks beginning Aug. 29. We made some gains, but not major gains. NYU was playing hardball. We got a 5.5% increase, or \$20 a week for those with a lower grade salary. I'm glad they got more. The pension was increased by 21%. Before the strike, one worker got a pension of \$55 after 20 years. That's less than unemployment!

But we didn't receive anything like pay equity. Our two major demands were a union or agency shop and an 8% pay increase. The pay equity we're demanding has to do with the fact that our union is 70% women, and 50% Black and Hispanic. We make \$2,000 less than the mostly white male security guards, elevator operators, maintenance people and porters represented by other unions.

Where I work a few people have stayed a long time, but a lot of people are in and out. To work here is to live from paycheck to paycheck, it's just subsisting. The prestige doesn't pay the rent in the South Bronx!

We went on strike because we want to change the fact that one-third of the staff leaves every year, and half of the new-hires leave within their first year. It's true of clerical workers across the board. Turnover is so high because of burnout and the way computers dehumanize work.

The majority of students didn't think they were a part of us, but we did have a lot of student support. Six thousand students signed a petition to demand that President Brademas negotiate, and a few hundred joined us for rallies.

—NYU clerical and technical workers

1988 strikers raise new questions

by John Marcotte

A striking New York University (NYU) mailroom worker told me, "The real meaning of this strike is we are trying to show NYU, after all the time they have been dictating their will, now is the time workers will have a say in what we want. It's not the money really, it's to show our strength." (See NYU strike story, p. 2) I remembered the strike at the Ideal Bedspread factory a couple of years back where there was the same feeling despite the hardship of minimum wage workers being out on the picketline with no strike benefits. After the strike was over, a young worker said how she was sorry that she "missed the picketline." Somehow, it was different being on the picketline with people she had worked next to for years.

Another thing the NYU striker told me was why, in an open shop, he joined the union: "What everyone should understand is, don't wait for the union president to fight for you. I didn't join the union because I believe in the union president—I joined because I believe all together we can make the difference." He sees the union as self-organization of the workers, which is the exact opposite of that of the union "leaders."

One other issue this worker singled out as what the strike was about was the lack of "job descriptions," which he said means having to "do any job any time they want" and "you end up doing more work." This is no minor point. To me what is involved is the most basic question of all, labor productivity.

WORKERS' SELF-ORGANIZATION

This desire to have a say in production, to express our humanity in a rejection of management's "right" to dictate and in new relations with fellow workers through our own self-organization, is an expression to me of the other side of the oppression of labor under capitalism. It is an expression of workers as Reason, as well as muscle, as form of revolt from below which is the new beginnings in thought and in action that will determine where we go from here, both as a labor

GM workers picket UAW

Oklahoma City, OK—On September 26 and 27, the UAW Local 1999 Oklahoma City union hall was picketed by laid-off workers who are all dues-paying members. This is the leaflet that was left on a workbench in the GM plant:

DOUBLE SHIFTS, SAY NO!

Your brothers and sisters are laid off. If you will all refuse to work a double shift, the company will not be able to run the plant. They will be forced to bring back your laid-off brothers and sisters.

The union was formed because of abuses placed on workers. Now we as a union are allowing that to happen some 50 years later all over again. We have to be one for all and all for one.

HELP US! JUST SAY NO! NO MORE DOUBLE SHIFTS!

Your laid-off brothers and sisters, Local 1999.

I'm impressed with what the leaflet says. Workers do have knowledge and GM should be scared as hell, and the union better listen to their workers. They should realize workers do have brains instead of just a body. I also hope that this leaflet can be told to workers around the world to see what this handful of Reagan's rejects and GM's forgotten have to say.

What's happening is that there is not a job bank composed of these laid-off workers. The job bank was a part of the 1984 and 1987 contracts that implied job security. But after reading the leaflet, it told me that these GM workers are finally realizing why the union was formed and that the present-day union isn't what it claims to be.

The union also received permission from the International for a strike vote because of too many grievances. But because the union bureaucrats want to give the company a chance to make amends on the grievance problems, no vote was taken. Also, the company is giving all kinds of overtime until December. This way GM can continue to stockpile cars, and then who gives a damn about the workers? Or they'll call a strike vote before the holidays, and how many workers will strike then?
—Working woman

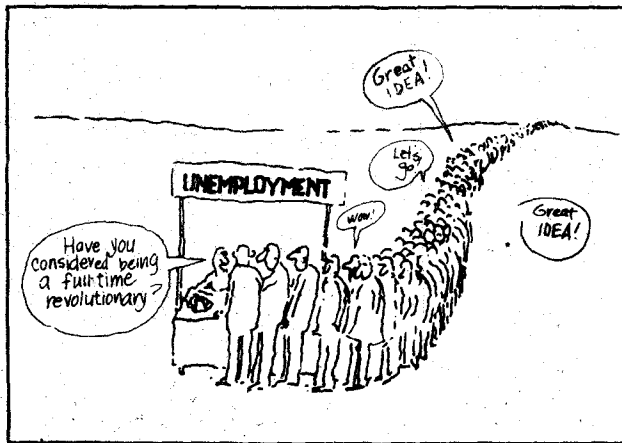
movement and as a new society.

The fact that all these questions are present in a "simple" strike at any given job in 1988 says something about the maturity of the age. Ever since 1950, when workers fighting against the new stage of production, Automation, raised the new question—"What kind of labor should man/woman do? Why the separation between mental and manual labor?"—that questioning has marked workers' struggles more and more.

QUESTIONS OF SURVIVAL

Where in the beginning it became a question, not of wages, but of working conditions, in 1988 it is now both at the same time. With the past eight years of union-busting, concessions, and frozen minimum wage, the issue of wages is now a question of survival. Where even the bourgeoisie had to recognize the "blue-collar blues" in young workers' revolts in the 1970s, now they talk of the "blue-collar squeeze," referring to the fact that young blue-collar workers earn 16% less in real wages than in 1973 with no prospect for improvement.

Even in white-collar jobs like those at NYU, the Automation of the office and mailroom with computers is moving fast, both worsening conditions of labor and throwing many out of work, as it did in mining, auto, and steel in past decades. At the same time, the resistance to this dehumanized process of work brings out these deep questions which challenge the very basis of this society.



Mazda-UAW schemes

Flat Rock, Mich—The Mazda Company has come up with something at their plant in the Detroit area that they call the "support member pool."

If you will become a member of this pool, and they have an elaborate system of testing to see if you're worthy of this, you must work whenever you're called—any shift, any job. You are guaranteed no minimum hours of work. You receive no benefits.

You are a union member. That means you pay dues and initiation fees. You receive what both the union and the company call "the same protection as probationary employees receive," and as we know, that means none. None of the time you spend working in the "support member pool" will count toward company seniority if you ever receive full-time employment.

I have heard that once this gets started no one will ever again be hired by this company who isn't hired out of this pool. This plant employs 2,000 people, and I've heard estimates as high as 40,000 applicants to work in that pool.

This is part of a contract that was signed by Mazda and the UAW before a single worker was hired. Nobody to my knowledge has ever ratified this contract. While this isn't a surprise, it is still a shock to see this most ominous turn in the development of capitalism.

—Steve Fletcher

Eckrich: safety is a game

Chicago, Ill.—Everybody should know that, according to Bureau of Labor Statistics data, meatpacking is the most dangerous industry in America. Meat comes into our plant, Eckrich #6, already ground, so we don't work with knives and saws as workers do in plants with the highest accident rates. But workers here do catch their hands in machines and conveyors, hurt their backs pushing racks of meat, and fall on slippery floors. The most dangerous job is probably sanitation, because they're working with all those chemicals and hot water.

The company has a game called "safety bingo," where they post numbers every day, and you win by filling in certain shapes on your card. You have to be there to use the numbers for that day, so the game is really about attendance, not safety. Another game involves the safety slogans posted every two weeks. If your clock number is drawn and you can repeat the slogan, you win \$10 on the spot.

Then there's the question of long-term health effects. Smoke from the oven and ammonia from the Krack cooling units—and I wonder what else—are in the air. There is no ventilation, and people feel dizzy, nauseous or have headaches that last all day. The temperature in the plant is 34°. People catch colds and can't get rid of them. My hands get so cold that they hurt. What problems will this mean when I'm older?

Industrial relations calls sick or injured people every week asking, "How is it coming?" and "Well, is it going to heal or what?" So even if the job's dangerous, if you don't have any money, that's the only thing you have to go back to. Just to earn a living you have to risk your life and your health.
—Eckrich workers

Toys-R-Us pushes for more work at low pay

Newark, N.J.—Toys-R-Us has a new policy that the minute we punch in, they want us out on the floor. They want every minute of our time or they'll write us up or fire us.

But the really scary thing is the new computerized clock they are going to put in. It sounds like the way some telephone operators and secretaries are monitored with the computer. This clock will be tied in to the boss's main computer, and at a moment's glance he will be able to see who's supposed to be where in any section of the store.

They've already started to rigidly enforce our schedules for lunches and breaks. This way they can predict where you should be, and they can program the computer to follow your every move. At this busy time of the Christmas season, the most strenuous part of the year, we need more breaks, not less. But they've cut our 15 minute break to ten minutes, and it's really only nine minutes so we can be back at our posts.

It used to be that at the point of production in the factory, they would push you every minute of the time, but the service sector was always given a lighter touch. When it was busy, you worked your backside off, but in quiet moments you had a little time. But these ways of pushing people are creeping into the service sector from the factory.

To me this sheds light on what Marx was saying in the "Working Day" chapter of *Capital* about the domination of the clock in the factories. Even though that chapter was written in 1866, there is such a view of 1988 in there! Even some of the justifications the capitalists are quoted as using then to justify child labor at night sound like the arguments today on why they can't raise the minimum wage.

The argument now is that minimum-wage service sector jobs are a stepping stone to better jobs, and that raising the minimum wage would cut down on the number of youth that could work. But I started out at minimum wage and it's so far from a stepping stone, it's ridiculous! I've been there four years, and I'm making barely over minimum wage.

Marx was repudiating the capitalists' argument that they had to have child labor at night, because if they didn't, the jobs would cost more money because the adults would need more. Both arguments make it seem like it's okay to treat youth so badly.

It's not a question of whether youth or adults do these jobs, or whether they have a new way of counting your hours through computerization. It's always a matter of getting the most work for the minimum wage. It was that way in 1866 when Marx wrote that chapter, and it is even more so today.
—David Anderson

Workshop Talks

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Colombia, Bolivia, Reagan's CIA friend General Noriega in Panama, and blame them. Then the government passes more laws, like throwing the drug addicts in jail; stop the drugs at the border; head them off at the pass.

Meanwhile, the disease of capitalism keeps on destroying and mutilating all life in sight.

I said to my friend: "I hope with my heart and soul that your son can make it in that treatment program, to overcome what this system drove him to become. But I still ask myself: What will he face when he gets out of the hospital? The same monster, the same disease that put him there in the first place."

The way I see it, capitalism has produced a nation of addicts, alcoholics, workaholics, overeaters, sexaholics, gamblers, because this whole system, starting from the way we produce to meet our needs, fragments the whole human being, separates thinkers and doers, tears us up into small pieces, our hands separated from our minds, our minds separated from our feelings—nothing is the whole human being.

TOTAL UPROOTING IS NEEDED

The opposite of this is what Karl Marx projected in his philosophy which he called "a new Humanism." In 1844, Marx wrote of how all our human senses under capitalism are reduced to the sense of possession, what Marx called a "to have" instead of a "to be":

"Each of [our] human relations to the world—seeing, hearing, smell, taste, feeling, thought, perception, experience, wishing activity, loving... in place of all the physical and spiritual senses, there is the sense of possession, which is the simple alienation of all these senses."

But for "the wealth of human needs to take the place of the wealth and poverty of political economy," a total uprooting is needed.

And that has never been more needed than right now. In the pages of *News & Letters* each month you can read workers speaking for themselves about speed-up and job injuries, layoffs and robots replacing human beings. We need to uproot this sick society where workers are killed on and off the job each day, while the government is addicted to hundreds of billions of dollars in spending for armaments and death.

We need to uproot this capitalist system, and create what Marx wrote of, "a situation where man does not reproduce himself in any determined form, but produces his totality; where he does not seek to remain something formed by the past, but is in the absolute movement of becoming."

News & Letters

Vol. 33 No. 8

October, 1988

News & Letters (ISSN 0028-8969) is published 10 times a year, monthly, except bi-monthly January-February and August-September for \$2.50 a year (bulk order of five or more — 15¢) by *News & Letters*, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605. Telephone (312) 663-0839. Second Class Postage paid at Chicago, Illinois. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *News & Letters*, 59 East Van Buren, Rm. 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

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From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

The following writing is excerpted from "Not by Practice Alone: The Movement from Theory," Part III of *Marxist-Humanist Perspectives, 1984-85*, written for the 1984 Convention of News and Letters Committees.

The Absolute Method—The Unchained Dialectic

The body of ideas comprising Marxist-Humanism is rooted in the new post-war movements both from practice and from theory. *Marxism and Freedom*, structured on the movement from practice, and *Philosophy and Revolution*, tracing the movement from theory, were not only worked out while deeply participating in all movements of the new age of revolutions, be it the 1950s or 1960s and 1970s, but were equally rooted in the past, i.e. history. In a word, the period was the whole expanse of the modern world that began with the industrial revolution—indeed, we called the very first part of *Marxism and Freedom* the Age of Revolutions—industrial, political, economic, intellectual.

East Germany, June 17, 1953



On June 17, 1953, the workers in the East German satellite took matters into their own hands on the question of speed-up. They moved speedily, confidently, courageously and in an unprecedented manner to undermine the puppet state.

With *Philosophy and Revolution*, we had a new situation. It is not alone all the new passions and forces of the 1960s with which the book ends, but the fact that the philosophic predominates over the historic, the theory over the practice; indeed, the very fact that the structure is the exact opposite of what *Marxism and Freedom* was—that is, not the movement from practice, but the movement from theory—gave the whole question of Hegelian dialectics "in and for itself" a totally new meaning, in the sense that it demanded detailing not only the movement from practice but that from theory. That movement from theory becomes the uniqueness of Marxist-Humanist philosophy and our original contribution to Marx's Marxism. That happens to be exactly where Marx left off in his critique of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*, once he discovered his new continent of thought and of revolution. The totality of the crises of our age compelled us to rediscover the rest of the *Philosophy of Mind*, especially the final three paragraphs, where, suddenly, as Hegel reached what was supposed to be the final syllogism, the sequence is broken. What would have been Nature-Logic-Mind, which would have meant Logic was the mediation, is Logic replaced with the Self-Thinking Idea. But even when the absolutely Universal becomes mediation, it is no beyond, no abstraction, but it is concrete and everywhere, and Absolute Method which is simultaneously objective and subjective. Such a vision, precisely, is what has made Hegel a contemporary of the 1960s and 1970s. And it is such a method that Marx worked at in his final decade, as he worked out a new relationship of the pre-capitalist societies to his age. "Why Hegel? Why Now?" is exactly what gave *Philosophy and Revolution*: From Hegel to Sartre, and From Marx to Mao, its structure.

Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* did more than merely permit us to refer to our major theoretical works as the "trilogy of revolution." With the availability of Marx's *Ethnological Notebooks* and, in general, "new moments" Marx discovered in his last decade making it possible finally to view Marx's Marxism as a totality, it was clear also that our own contributions to Marx's Marxism helped articulate Marxism for our age. Surely, the trail to the 1980s that Marx left us in the new moments in his last decade is not something one "picks up" en route to somewhere else. It requires labor, hard labor, to work out, and the work is never done until, once and for all, we're done with capitalism and have achieved new human relations. The dialectics of revolution keep re-emerging in ever newer appearances, as new forces and new passions are born anew. And yet the dialectic principle of second negativity never changes. Take the trail

to the 1980s that Marx left us from the 1880s.

We have been tracing this ever since Marx first uttered the phrase, when he broke with capitalism in 1843, and worked at its special significance when he reiterated "revolution in permanence" in the 1850 Address to the Communist League, after the 1848-49 revolutions were defeated. He wrote it to his organization, the first time he had an organization—the Communist League.

WHAT MAKES 1875 so crucial a year in Marx's life is that, at one and the same time, he completed the definitive French edition of *Capital*, Vol. I, and the *Critique of the Gotha Program*, and that these two set the methodological foundation for absorbing all the new he began seeing in anthropological empiric studies. That illuminated for him what had been only a "vision" of the Man/Woman relationship he had developed when he first discovered his continent of thought and of revolution. Human development was, indeed, an "absolute movement of becoming."

This is what makes imperative that, to work out the new relationship of practice to theory, and theory to practice, we do not stop with Hegel's Absolutes—Knowledge, Idea, Mind—but recreate, as did Marx, Absolute Method—the unchained dialectic. In challenging post-Marx Marxists, we are articulating Marx's Marxism for our age.

The Absolute Method works out a correct Notion (Concept) from the very start, even "just" the immediate, or "just" organization, seeing everything in that conceptual fabric. The point is that EACH—both the concrete and the universal; both the organizational and the philosophic-theoretical—moves. There is one dialectic for the objective and the subjective...

On The Threshold, 1950-53: The Relationship of Abstract/Concrete

Now that we have briefly traced the body of ideas worked out by Marxist-Humanism from the mid-1950s to the present, a look back at the transition period, 1950-53, will help illuminate that historic movement from practice that was made into a philosophic category and became dialectically inseparable when theory, i.e. the theory of state-capitalism, reached philosophy, specifically that of Marx's Humanism as it merged subjectivity and objectivity with our age's breakthrough of the Absolute Idea as a movement from practice as well as from theory.

With our new pamphlet now on the 1949-50 Miners' General Strike we can see as a unity the spontaneous activity and what philosophic problems were being worked out simultaneously. The objectivity of the movement from practice became international on June 17, 1953 when, for the first time ever, there was a spontaneous, mass revolt from under Russian totalitarianism—a revolt which combined economics and politics as the East German workers revolted against the "norms of work" and lack of political freedom, succinctly expressed in the slogan "Bread and Freedom!"

Let us now follow, month by month, those four decisive months, March to June, in 1953 that witnessed the birth of a totally new, historic stage, economically, politically and philosophically.

(1) **March.** With the death of Stalin, an incubus was removed from the heads of the masses who were preparing themselves, for the first time ever, to openly revolt from under Communist totalitarianism. That brought about a political crisis also in the Johnson-Forrest Tendency (JFT), as I was writing the analysis of that. Suddenly what was disclosed was the apoliticalization which deepened when, after our final break with Trotskyism in 1951, we failed to face the public either with our theory of state-capitalism, or the magnificent experience in the Miners' General Strike followed by the seniority strikes in 1951. As against Johnson's co-leader, Grace, who wished to continue with the so-called "underground" apolitical existence, Charles Denby saw so great an affinity of the American workers' daily battles against the labor bureaucracy that he asked me to reproduce my analysis of the 1921 Trade Union Debate between Lenin and Trotsky, in the context of the ramifications of the 1953 death of Stalin and the workers revolts that were sure to follow.

(2) **April.** In a word, the analysis of the significance of Stalin's death in March was followed with an analysis of what I made "The Trade Unions, Then and Now." This, in the 1953 context of both Russian and East European battles against Stalinism and U.S. labor wildcatting against the labor bureaucracy, was mimeographed and distributed at factory gates.

(3) **May (12th and 20th)** came the Letters on the Absolute Idea. Johnson's refusal to discuss them only led to our publishing them in our (News & Letters') very first bulletin that followed first issuing *News & Letters*, and never again will there be any separation of politics from philosophy.

(4) **June 17, 1953.** The new sense of objectivity which we then began to discuss in relationship to the stage of state-capitalism began to be seen in the context of Marx's new sense of objectivity in relationship to all human activity.

Of course, we've been looking at some history with hindsight. But the question is not one of rewriting history, whether it be Cuba, 1959, whether that be the 1905 Revolution, or the 1955 establishment of *News & Letters Committees*. First, it was 1905-07 that at once confronted us with the "Organizational Question." Sec-

Not by practice alone: the movement from theory

only, the pointing at the maturity of our age plus the digging into Hegelian dialectics made it possible to both retrieve Lenin's *Philosophic Notebooks* because we understood fully his compulsion both to return to Hegelian dialectics, (not for any scholastic purposes), and to make sure never again to separate it from dialectics of revolution. This is the kind of dialectical methodology that is needed, not just for "classes" but for the analysis of everyday events, especially those of our age which we have characterized as the movement from practice that is itself a form of theory.

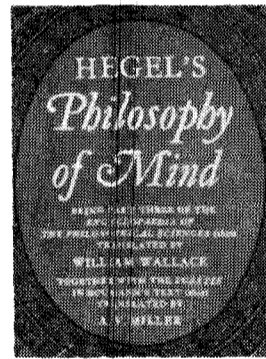
Our present tracing also of the movement from theory is not the first time we have engaged in it. On the contrary, in the very first major theoretical work of our body of ideas—*Marxism and Freedom*—structured on the movement from practice, we devoted considerable space to the break of Lenin with his philosophic past, which we designated as the Great Divide in Marxism. We now face a new Divide, and this time the return to Marx's philosophic roots in the Hegelian dialectic was not to be kept in private notes, but to be developed openly, publicly and collectively. It is of the essence not to turn the trilogy of revolution into an abstraction.

TODAY WE CAN surely show the trilogy of revolution as a concrete Universal, whether that be in the U.S., or in the work in Latin American solidarity committees; whether it be directly in reference to Marx's *Capital*, or on the peasant question and the Third World, and always, this concrete Universal must not be presented as an abstraction, but as the concrete need to be armed against being pulled into the vortex of the world market. Reread, please, the footnote in *Capital*, Vol. I, in the section on Fetishism (p. 89, Kerr edition; p. 171, Penguin edition), where Marx writes: "A more exhaustive study of the Asiatic...form of common property would indicate the way in which different forms of spontaneous, primitive communal property give rise to different forms of its dissolution." Dissolution is the key to the whole question of what is private property, what is communal form of property, what is class structure. That appears during the transition period.

It is the clearest demonstration of what a different

Dunayevskaya's 1953 Letters on Hegel's Absolutes

May 20, 1953



Please do not interpret this as any prodding of you to commit yourself on my analysis of the Absolute Idea; it is only that I cannot stand still and so rushed directly to the *Philosophy of Mind*. I then reread the Preface, Introduction and Absolute Knowledge in *Phenomenology*

of Mind, the Introduction, Three Attitudes to Objectivity, and the Absolute Idea in the *Smaller Logic* and the Absolute Idea in the *Science of Logic*. After that I read from cover to cover Lenin's phenomenal Vol. IX which is the Absolute Idea in action, reread Marx's Accumulation of Capital and the Fetishism...

Beginning of Dunayevskaya's May 20, 1953 letter on final three syllogisms of Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind*. In the November issue of N&L the full texts of the May 12 and May 20 Letters will be published.

world Marx's Promethean vision extended to, its multilinearity, vs. the narrow unilinearism of Engels, and not alone on the "Woman Question" but on primitive communism in general and, above all, on the dualities that are present in the communal form which will lead to private property, capitalism, and is already present in the differences between chiefs (leaders) and ranks. In a word, it is present in the gens itself, irrespective of sex or culture.

The new sense of objectivity, be it in relation to state-capitalism or to human activity, and two kinds of subjectivity—the masses in motion vs. that of the Leader—point to the need to be related to the questions of abstract and concrete. Without that, we run the risk of making an abstraction of the trilogy of revolution. It is exactly what happened on the question of dialectics which was made into an abstraction, an icon everyone bowed to, but none recreated concretely. The contrast between abstract and concrete—as if one is Universal and the other concrete—does not free you of the danger of transforming the concrete universal into an abstraction.

Thus, to bandy about the expression "trilogy of revolution" means to act as if, at one and the same time, "everybody" knows about it, and all that needs to be done is to assert, as "conclusion," that all will need to study it in the manner in which one gets a degree, instead of seeing it as an urgent task to do. That only transforms it into an abstraction.

What the new moments of Marx's last decade show is
(continued on page 9)

Editorial

Support farmworkers' struggle!

To those table grapes now in the market—which have long had the labor and sweat of farmworkers, primarily Latino, upon their skin—can be added the residue of dangerous pesticides, and now, the blood of the Latina farmworker activist Dolores Huerta.

During an anti-Bush demonstration in San Francisco, police brutally clubbed Huerta, who helped found the United Farmworkers Union (UFW) over two decades ago and who is vice-president of the union. A phalanx of police had driven her and other demonstrators away from the entrance to the hotel where Bush was speaking, and toward a "clubbing field" where she was hit over and over with a riot truncheon, including blows so severe that her spleen was ruptured and ribs broken. At 110 pounds and at age 59, her life was endangered. She required a number of blood transfusions and underwent surgery for removal of her spleen.



Dolores Huerta

Huerta had gone to the demonstration to protest Bush's opposition to the United Farmworkers' table grape boycott. The boycott is to stop the use of dangerous pesticides which are causing illness among farmworkers in the grape fields, and ingestion of pesticide residues by those who buy and eat the grapes.

PESTICIDE POISONING

Cesar Chavez, president of the UFW, recently held a hunger strike of 36 days to protest the use of pesticides in the grape fields. Only when his very life was in dan-

ger did the national news media choose to provide coverage of the fast.

Entire crews of farmworkers have become ill when ordered to work in fields recently sprayed with pesticides. A recent study reported that women living in California counties with high agricultural production and pesticide use, have a higher than average incidence of giving birth to babies with defects. The report pointed to a possible relation between mothers working in agriculture and their babies being born with missing arms and legs.

Some California grape growers have been caught using an illegal chemical growth stimulator called 4-CPA, a compound related to the herbicides in Agent Orange used during the Vietnam War and shown to be extremely toxic to human beings.

So explosive has been the increase in agricultural use of pesticides with toxic effects—estimates of the number of poisonings annually range as high as 300,000—that the Environmental Protection Agency has finally, this year, proposed new regulations for their use, including posting written warnings about entering sprayed fields for 24 and 48-hour periods. It is the first revision of pesticide regulations in 14 years! And yet, even this hardly touches upon the problem. It is estimated that it will take to the year 2025 to complete the analysis of the existing 600 chemicals used as agricultural pesticides!

But it is not new government regulations, nor new studies of the effect of pesticides, which are the key to changes, as necessary as they are. No, it is the activity, the movement of the farmworkers as a labor struggle, as a part of the Latino dimension within the United States that is crucial.

THE LATINO DIMENSION

In the last decade the farmworkers have had to fight both the growers and state officials, who have often been in collusion with the growers to deny farmworkers

union contracts. In California there has been a systematic campaign to gut and transform into opposite all the farmworkers' protective legislation guaranteeing the right to organize which farmworkers and their supporters had won earlier through strikes and boycotts.

On the national level both Bush and Dukakis are "appealing" to the Hispanic vote. For Bush this seems to be a reference to his Mexican-American grandchildren, and for Dukakis, his ability to speak Spanish. Dukakis said he supported the boycott, but as with the Black vote, the Latino question is to him just that—a "vote," not a dimension of freedom.

The farmworkers can only rely on their own self-organization—in the fields and with supporters in boycotts. The power of their struggle in the late 1960s and early 1970s was that their union was not a union in the ordinary sense of the word, but part of a movement, both a Latino movement and part of the movement for freedom in America.

But the farmworkers need our direct, concrete support. We cannot act as if the grape boycott was only something for the '60s and early '70s. The farmworkers pick grapes and all the fruits and vegetables we eat. They do so everyday. Their conditions of life and labor cannot simply disappear from our consciousness.

The struggle of the farmworkers, far from being a remembrance of the past, is part of the deepest reality of the present and future. The outrage we all feel at the beating of Dolores Huerta needs to be acted upon by giving concrete support to the grape boycott and to the fight of the farmworkers which is part of a movement to transform America root and branch.

Genocidal attack on Kurds

While the world welcomed news of the Aug. 20 cease fire between Iran and Iraq, the peace process has become a pretext for both governments to turn to the opposition at home. Iraq unleashed a genocide against its Kurdish population, while Iran turned to mass executions of political prisoners.

On Aug. 25, 60,000 Iraqi forces bombed thousands of Iraqi villages with napalm and levelled them with bulldozers. One million Kurds became homeless. Tens of thousands of Iraqi Kurds, mostly peasants living in the border towns, left behind not only their homes, unharvested crops, livestock, and thousands of dead, but even their injured, and sought refuge in Turkey. Nearly 70,000 managed to enter Turkey, frantically describing what "bambai Khimiya" (chemical bomb) had done to neighboring villages.

The Turkish government had originally closed down its borders to the Kurdish refugees. This was no surprise since for years Turkey has battled its own Kurdish insurgency, denying this Kurdish population of ten million any cultural or linguistic autonomy, and referring to them as "mountain Turks." Turkey welcomed the Iraqi government's attack on its Kurds, since the northern Iraqi region is often used as a base by rebel Kurds from Turkey. Indeed a 1985 "hot pursuit" agreement between Iraq and Turkey allows both nations to cross borders in pursuit of rebellious Kurds.

Not until the massive nature of the genocide became clear and the world was outraged, did Turkey finally allow Iraqi Kurds to cross the border and seek temporary residence. Then the Iraqi forces occupied the Kurdish-liberated zones in northern Iraq and sealed off the borders, leaving the fate of the bulk of the Kurdish population of 3½ million inside Iraq unknown.

Turkey has no intention of harboring the refugees. Not only did it collaborate with Iraq in denying the use of chemical weapons by Baghdad, it also refused the help of international medical associations, turned down petitions by Turkish Kurds to shelter the Iraqi Kurds, refused attempts inside Turkey to raise funds and clothing for the refugees, and then forcibly relocated some of the Kurds to Iran. Indeed what motivated this seemingly humanitarian gesture of accepting Kurdish refugees is Turkey's application to the European Economic Community which has been held up precisely over Turkey's treatment of Turkish Kurds.

The slow response of the world community further prolonged the plight of the Kurds. The debate over whether or not poison gas was actually used, only meant ignoring the fact that the Iraqi government, through whatever means, was trying to rid itself of its Kurdish problem "once and for all."

Though Iraq's use of poison gas, both against Iran and during the Kurdish Halabja village massacre in March, 1988 where nearly 5,000 died, is well known, neither Russia, nor China, nor any of the non-aligned nations insisted on a UN investigation of Iraq. Moreover, the Iraqi government, while denying the use of chemical weapons, was nevertheless quick to catch the significance of the statements made by "international experts" that the 1925 Geneva Protocol barring the use of chemical and biological weapons was not applicable to "military action within a country directed against dissident elements of its own people."

The Reagan administration, while acknowledging the use of chemical weapons through secret and "irrefutable sources," continued to oppose any measures against Iraq—including the recent trade sanctions passed by the Congress—for fear of causing deteriorating relations with Iraq as the new major power of the region. Indeed Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's attack on the Kurds, his claim to sovereignty over Shaat ul-Arab—a river historically dividing Iran from its Arab and Ottoman neighbors—as well as his recent overtures to Lebanese Christians, indicate his ambitions to replace Syria and Iran as the major regional power.

Eyewitness report of Mexico protests

Mexico City, Mexico—Protests and demonstrations have been continuous since the July election, which the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) claims to have won. Masses of Mexicans charge that the PRI "won" this election for President Miguel de la Madrid's handpicked successor, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, in the same way it has maintained itself solidly in power for several decades through blatant electoral fraud.

Mass opposition to the PRI mobilized around presidential candidate Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas in the months leading up to the election (see N&L, August-September, 1988) and Cárdenas remains a focus in the continuous demonstrations since. But outbursts of spontaneity show that the mass movement is not confining itself to the aims and bounds laid out by the Cárdenista National Democratic Front (FDN).

I was in Mexico City in late August, staying with friends active in a neighborhood "Committee for the Defense of the Popular Will." I was immediately caught up in the almost-revolutionary atmosphere of the cyclone of ongoing protests. Some small, some large, these often took place in front of the Legislative Palace, where about 100 people were camping out around the clock, and thousands often gathered during the day.

The largest rally while I was there occurred on Aug. 31. That day, I drove with my Mexican activist-friends around our neighborhood, in the south of the city, in a beat-up old Volkswagen with a loudspeaker strapped to the top, announcing the rally that was to take place downtown. The response was immediate. Many people came out of their rundown houses to get the flyers we were distributing, asking us for extras. Old men no longer able to work came out into the street to shake our hands. One of them, older than the others, related how after a lifetime of work, the last six years of the crisis had nearly killed him, and now he wanted to do something to end the PRI's tyranny.

THE AUGUST 31 RALLY

Within a couple of hours, 200 people, mostly women, had gathered at the market to head to the rally. We crowded into an intersection and began to stop the city buses, strapping our huge banners across the front and back while everyone piled inside, laughing and shouting insults to the PRI. The bus drivers and passengers agreed to alter the regular bus route to take us downtown to the demonstrations.

Cárdenas was to speak at this rally, and it was timed by the FDN to coincide with the Sixth Report, a state of the union address that Miguel de la Madrid was to give the next day. The FDN doubtless wished to demonstrate the mass support they could round up, but the day's events would prove just how incapable the opposition parties are of responding to the masses who are no longer satisfied with pleas to pursue "legal" channels that always leave them sitting on the bench.

It was clear that the people wanted to do more than listen to Cárdenas. They were shouting "to the Zocalo Zocalo!!!" The Zocalo is the central plaza, the heart of the country, the cathedral and National Palace.

Cárdenas spoke in front of no less than 200,000. Most couldn't even hear him because the throngs of people extended so far in every direction. The party had not

anticipated such a crowd. Before he started speaking the people told him "Zocalo!" Ten minutes into his speech they reminded him, "Zocalo!" Five minutes later he heard it again, this time from all sides.

TO THE ZOCALO!

He spoke of a single united front, all opposition parties united behind one banner. The masses cheered him. He spoke of pursuing all the legal channels, of non-violent democratic change, and again the masses cheered and screamed "Cuauhtémoc!" This man with the magical name could do no wrong. But, again everyone was chanting "Zocalo Zocalo!" It was as open an invitation as they could have given him to take the first step—which he declined to do.

When the speech ended, everybody was moving—without Cárdenas—and they weren't heading for home, but to Zocalo and the National Palace. Throngs of joyous protesters danced their way through the streets shouting "Workers, peasants, all the people to power!!" In the tall buildings along the way, heads were thrust out of all the windows to see what was going on. Traffic was completely stopped, and many got out of their cars to add their voice to the chorus.

A crowd watched a group of youth who were risking their lives on a teetering ladder to spraypaint a slogan high up on a plywood wall: "Somos la libertad (We are freedom)."

We all felt questions left hanging in the air that evening, and in the neighborhoods the following day: "What now? What next?"

The people in the streets were asking this; the activists in the popular committees discussed it; and the range of Left party formations had their pre-determined answers, formulated before and totally separated from the profound slogans of the youth, the deep thoughts of the housewives and the old men.

In September, I returned to Los Angeles and found a Chicano community newly active as a result of the developments deep within their homeland. Many here are searching for ways to create new relationships, to open new lines of communication with those in the very turbulent Mexico City, as well as struggling to understand what it all means for themselves North of the border. The months ahead will give all of us the chance to see that these thoughts and actions develop.

—Joe Weerth

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RAYA'S WRITINGS — 'THE PLACE TO START'

I'm usually not at all interested in the pronouncements of Russian "historians" and "philosophers," but in a recent *L.A. Times* article, one of their number caught my eye. Yuri Afanasyev, historian and author of two books currently distributed by the CP-USA, said: "I do not consider the society we have created to be a socialist society, not even a deformed version. Urgent and drastic measures are now needed so that the people can feel the results of 'perestroika' for themselves."

While the first sentence is absolutely correct, if he is searching for an answer to that problem he can hardly find it in "perestroika" and "glasnost." Rather, I think Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*, where the state-capitalist reality of Stalin's (and now Gorbachev's) Russia are slammed up against the revolt of the East European and Russian masses and the humanism of Marx's *Marxism*, recreated for our day and Marxist-Humanism, is a better place to start.

Gary Clark
West Hollywood, California

I appreciate the Marxist-Humanist analysis of Russian state-capitalism. I want to take a dozen copies of the July and Aug.-Sept. issues to a discussion group I'm involved in at the Unitarian Church; we're reading Gorbachev's book *Perestroika*. Different people there have different views on Gorbachev, some critical, some uncritical. One young worker, a machinist, said that the Soviet Union is state-capitalist, and that that is capitalism of the worst kind, where the government has total control. I want to show the group Dunayevskaya's analyses, from the 1940s to the 1980s.

Subscriber
Downey, California

The Aug.-Sept. issue really lived up to the masthead, "Theory/Practice," and measured up to the challenge for the paper to be the organization's chief organizer. It not only brought out the international dimension of Labor but the theoretical articles were the most exciting part of the paper. The 1986 let-

CONDITIONS OF LIFE AND LABOR—HERE...

I recently moved to Atlanta from Detroit because it was so hard to find steady work there at a living wage. The rapid influx of newcomers to Atlanta shows how bad wages and unemployment are elsewhere in the U.S. In the county where I am living only 40% are native Georgians. Still, even here, you can't support a family on just one job.

Supporter
Atlanta

A recent Senate Budget Comm. report showed that between 1979-1987 (the years of Reagan's "economic recovery") over 50% of the net increase in employment was paying below poverty level wages. The whole truth is that the jobs paying below the poverty level are growing twice as fast as any other jobs.

In this report, "middle-wage jobs" ran from \$5.81 to \$23.20/hour. "High-wage jobs" were above that rate. I don't even know of any wage jobs that pay \$23.20/hour since Reagan became president. Most of these good-paying jobs have been transformed into \$5-\$7/hour jobs. This is not new news for *N&L*. This paper has been reporting this news right along over the last seven years. It's new news only for the bourgeois press and for the people who don't read *N&L*.

Retired auto worker
La Habra, California

For the first time in over ten years, every single worker at U.S. Auto Radiator was given an indefinite layoff Aug. 19. That day, a Friday, the company handed us a letter saying all production would cease until further notice: the layoff was necessary to make inventory adjustments and would continue until the situation improved. We were out only two weeks, and though they call back a few more each week, quite a few are still not back to work.

One woman who had been laid off in April found only part-time work with no benefits, and had to pay \$275.00 a month for health insurance for herself

ter by Raya printed under the title "Hegel's Absolutes and Organization of Thought" took me back to the pre-Convention discussion of Peter Wermuth's essay (June *N&L*), particularly on the last paragraph of the *Phenomenology*. Marcuse thought you don't need the Absolute, but Raya showed that was exactly what we needed, as "new beginnings" can only arise out of the Absolute. What I liked most of all was that the "Who We Are" statement was on the same page as that article.

Healthcare worker
New York

I was especially interested in Dunayevskaya's discussion of Herbert Marcuse in the Archives column of the Aug.-Sept. *N&L*, because I had just been reading Marcuse's Preface to her *Marxism and Freedom*. His statements are contradictory, and it is clear he understands Marxism differently than Dunayevskaya. He says that the essence of Marxian theory is the capacity to respond to the issues of the age, but for him that means Marxism has to be "modified" for each new age. If I understand Dunayevskaya, her concept is that Marxism has to be renewed by the new voices and challenges of the day—but that is different from some snip and edit modification. What Dunayevskaya calls in the column "organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism" means the continuing development of the Idea of Freedom.

Marcuse didn't see the revolutionary nature of workers in the post-World War II "technological" age. *News & Letters* each month disproves his view. The impulse to freedom speaks in every age. Dunayevskaya says of Marcuse that he did not wish to take organizational responsibility.

Reader
Los Angeles

What I liked about the article on Absolutes was that you could see that the administrative mentality cannot exist with "Absolute Idea as New Beginning."

Committee member
New York

and her children. Part-time is just not worth it for anyone with young children. After insurance, the rest goes to the babysitter.

U.S. Auto Radiator worker
Detroit, Mich.

The nurses in my station all followed the strike in San Francisco very closely and sympathized with all the demands of the nurses and the hospital employees. The nurses put on a dramatic acting out, on the steps of City Hall, showing how impossible it is for one nurse to care for 16 patients in intensive care.

We have 30 patients for ONE nurse, and we know they are not getting adequate care but we don't have the right to strike. Some of us talked to the doctors about rectifying this condition but we didn't get any support.

Navy Nurse
San Francisco

The reason I write for *N&L*, is not to be a writer but to bring out the Universal in my particular to workers like myself who can see nothing but a dead end.

Young worker
New Jersey

...AND ELSEWHERE

There is a project here in India to build a thermal plant for which many thousands of tribal people have been displaced and have lost their land. People are struggling very hard not to allow them to build the "Wall" of the plant until they get jobs and compensation for all the families who have lost everything. The government is meeting more and more resistance on the part of the tribal people who are being taken away from their roots and left out in the air.

Correspondent
India

In this tenth year of the Margaret Thatcher era, it is clear that she has not finished with her plans to remold British life and work in line with her

Readers' Views

own ideological conceptions. She views human beings as economic donkeys, to be motivated by the carrot of "individual prosperity" and driven by the stick of poverty. She now plans to finance local services by a tax levied at a flat rate, regardless of a person's wealth or income. For many working people it will mean an increased financial burden running into hundreds of pounds a year. She has plans for housing, too, but it has nothing to do with helping the homeless families. Rather, her Housing Act will strike at tenants' rights, depriving people of the right to appeal against high rents and allowing private landlords to buy up council housing. In my view, Thatcher is to private enterprise what Kim Il Sung is to bureaucratic state plan.

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

MONTREAL 'MINI-CHERNOBYL'

The Montreal region recently had its own "mini-Chernobyl" which wasn't reported in the American press. On Aug. 23, 20,000 tons of PCBs, stored in an unguarded barn, exploded at St-Basile, less than 12 miles east of downtown Montreal. The immediate area remains evacuated.

The provincial government of Robert Bourassa's Liberals has maintained an image of confidence ("Everything's under control...") since the Parti Québécois fell into disarray a few years ago. Now it's clear that the provincial government isn't in control of anything, while the corporate multinationals are doing whatever they please. Toxic wastes have been dumped all over Canada in poor rural areas and Indian reservations. Even Toronto's water supply is tainted with dioxins. There will be widespread political and social repercussions to this latest event.

M.C.
Berkeley, Cal.



LEARNING HISTORY: U.S., HAITI, NICARAGUA

What happened in Haiti is that people stood up together and said "Enough!" all by themselves without any leaders. The problem is, there was not anything next after getting Duvalier out. We are now paying for 28 years of dictatorship. For 28 years they have been putting in our minds what they want. For example, if I didn't come here to a supposedly democratic country, I would not know what freedom of speech is. I wouldn't know what it is to yell "scab!" at a supervisor.

But this country is no different than those small dictatorships in that it doesn't want its children to learn history. Martin Luther King, Malcolm X—nobody knows their dreams or why they fought. We talk of Russia with its wall, but they don't want us to see anything here either.

Haitian in exile and on strike
New York

I was in Nicaragua this summer and talked to many people in the North, South, and in the capital of that tiny country. Regardless of their varying opinions regarding their elected Sandinista government's last four years of decision-making, none were in agreement with Reagan's policy and history of regional domination. His totalitarian-type funding of the contras (that the majority of people in our own country do not agree with) continues to cause great suffering to the people of the Central American region and his relations with the Soviet Union comes across to them as a joke in light of Star Wars.

Young American
California

In my high school library, the only books on Black America were by white Americans with a right-wing or conservative point of view. You could read about the slave trade, but the only de-

scriptions of slave rebellions showed the slaves as ferocious maniacs. Novels and science fiction were the main library books. History books were primarily colonial history about George Washington and Thomas Jefferson. Washington had slaves—and he's still on our one dollar bills to this day!

High school graduate
California

ELECTIONS — HERE...

I liked what Andy Phillips had to say on the election in the Aug.-Sept. *N&L*. Coming into this election year, I knew I was tired of this "lesser of two evils" stuff so I supported Jesse. It wasn't Jesse I supported but his challenge to the status quo. The whole aftermath to the primaries as Jesse and his supporters got shafted proved there is no answer in two-party politics. At the least, we need a new party, one run by workers—though I don't think that's enough, either, or would even work.

Subscriber
Los Angeles

Lou Turner's article, "Dukakis, Welfare and Racism" (Aug.-Sept. *N&L*), was intriguing, stimulating and thought-provoking. You offer "Black" America a world perspective that is sorely missing from our day-to-day encounters, but one in which a lot of people get lost in the "abstractness" of your views and are unable to incorporate them into their "world-view." What should Blacks do this election season and why? Is our alternative simply a choice of the lesser of the two evils? Or does Lou Turner see something entirely different growing out of the convergence of Reagan/Dukakis politics that might be of special interest to [Black] people?

In the election of 1912, T. Thomas Fortune opined that it was a great day when Blacks no longer offered their patronage to the Republican Party based on mythical history, but sought to achieve what was best for the race and the class. (This is paraphrasing something, but the principle should be clear.)

Black worker-thinker
Detroit

...AND ELSEWHERE

In the article in "Our Life and Times" on the Mexican election there should have been more about the PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) candidate, how he's said to be a technocrat. I see a link to the article on p. 9 about Bukharin and what Gorbachev wants with him. The link is that people like Salinas of the PRI are the same type Bukharin thought were revolutionary, not the workers. This sets the ground for Gorbachev's *perestroika* with science/speed-up as the way to solve the problem of the state-capitalist government. The technocrat is a world stage that capitalism is at. You see that in Mike Dukakis too, who is a technocrat calling for workfare instead of welfare.

David L. Anderson
New Jersey

The knowledge that political friends around the world were sympathizing with my act of protest helped me to get through my three months of military imprisonment. I was in the company of several hundred imprisoned soldiers. A few like myself were there for acts of protest against the repression in the occupied territories; the majority were there for "non-political" infractions of army discipline. By no means all were in agreement with my views; but there was a willingness to listen, respect, and solidarity. Now out, I find my party—the Progressive List for Peace—is under a threat by right-wing parties who are trying to prevent it from running in the elections. We may soon need support and solidarity again.

Adam Keller
Tel Aviv, Israel

Editor's note: Adam Keller, editor of *The Other Israel*, was imprisoned for writing on 117 tanks: "Soldiers! Refuse to be oppressors and occupiers—refuse to serve in the occupied territories!"

WOMEN'S TOTAL LIBERATION



Mulher-Libertagao-Brasil

The U.S. Supreme Court decided Sept. 26 not to prevent Shawn Lewis from obtaining the abortion she has sought for two months, despite an emergency request" by the woman's estranged husband and anti-abortionists who claim to represent the fetus's rights. This is scarcely cause for rejoicing, considering the inhumanity of her having been forced by court order to continue the unwanted pregnancy from Aug. 9 until now, while the man she is in the process of divorcing made a public show out of fighting what should be woman's private decision. If she had defied the court order and gotten a safe early abortion this "law-breaking" could have been used as ammunition against her in the upcoming custody battle over their 16-month-old daughter.

All around the country anti-abortionists are jumping on the "fathers' rights" bandwagon. They threaten our very lives because we have committed the sin" of demanding the right to shape our own destiny.

I too chose abortion Detroit

I am pleased to be in touch with your women's group because we are in the same struggle, calling for the total liberation of women the world over. Our Ambia Anti-Apartheid Movement is establishing libraries in districts and villages throughout the Gambia, and have also established a Women's Council. We aim to give moral and practical support to all genuine women's liberation movements, especially those of Azania and Namibia.

G.A.A.S. PO Box 2173 Serra Kunda The Gambia

I was very disappointed in the "Take Back the Night" march this year. Not only was turnout low, but even though speakers said all the right things about not being victims anymore, it seemed to be done by rote. Last year when a number of Native American women had been murdered, it took a real and unpleasant struggle to change the planned route of the march to go through the Indian community, as the Indian wom-

en had requested. This year, though a number of murders had been committed in downtown parking structures, the march did not go there. I feel if things are going on in the community it is important to respond.

Reader Minneapolis

Thank you for the books by Raya Dunayevskaya we asked for, which you were able to send us. Reading is not done by one or two members only. Instead, when one has read it over, she is going to make a summary so other members will be convinced to read it as well.

Here are some of the activities we have performed in the past year: opposition to the apartheid regime; a campaign to legalize abortion; a campaign to repeal the "Muslim Personal Law" (which gives a husband the right to physically torture his wife, marry several women, divorce his wife without reason, make a woman the slave of her husband).

We can be reached for more information at:

Muvman Liberasyon Fam Celicourt Antelme St. Forest-Side, Mauritius

NEWS AND LETTERS COMMITTEES CONVENTION

It was important for us to see the Convention as a mediation between the kind of Marxist-Humanists we have been vs. the kind we can become. It is tempting to disagree with Raya's statement that there has been a "112-year void" on philosophy and organization since Marx that includes us; but taking shortcuts isn't going to help us. The diversity of this organization that we saw at the Convention is part of its richness, and all of us have to go into the ideas and articulate them in our own way. But the determinant to those journeys is not our diversity; it is what brings us together—Raya's body of ideas. All our work to inwardize that whole body of ideas is part of the process of getting back to the path Raya created.

Peter Wermuth Chicago

When one reads the Notes that Dunayevskaya had written in her final year, which she had called "Talking to Myself," one comes up with more questions than answers. I wish more of those had been raised at the Convention. I was especially taken with what she had called "1953 as process." Does

that mean only the process of writing Marxism and Freedom? Doesn't it also mean the 1953 "philosophic moment" itself as process and experience in the sense that Raya projected it as the many Universals inherent in it?

Raha Bay Area

The coinciding of your pre-convention Youth Conference with the 20th anniversary of the aborted revolution marked by the bloody protests in response to the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago underlined for me how much I and the people I know are thirsting to live our lives in a more humanistic and less individualistic manner. The mass media has entered the dialogue of today by trotting out dropped-out yuppies who have turned into moussed-up yuppies with reassuring words of security and greatness. The youth of today, whom the journalists and dead-headed activists are making the comparisons to, are not included in the dialogue.

Kelly De Kalb, Illinois

For Marxist-Humanism it's the direct relationship to objective reality that has brought out and given voice to the subjects of revolution—Labor, Blacks, Women and Youth—both within the world and within the News and Letters Committee Convention. Because individual and organizational growth are not opposites, the concept of "inwardization and projection" discussed there is as much needed for our growth as water and sun are needed for plants to grow. I see Raya's "dialectic method" as what is needed to end the drought of capitalism that is exhausting the land, polluting the air and destroying humanity.

Gene Ford Los Angeles

Clearly, to grasp the essence of your Convention deliberations I would have to have a more current familiarity with the key references to Hegel and Dunayevskaya's writing. It is disturbing to be met with what seems like a linguistic dogmatism rather than a language of today that conveys the same content. On the other hand, I have to admit that it has driven me to the texts, so while there is much I don't understand, I'm sure as hell gonna try and find out. Isn't this the point of internalization, digesting theoretical texts so you can become one with it, transforming its phenomenal form into your lan-

guage/life/action, while retaining its essence?

Black intellectual Chicago

I agree 100% with the concept of "Two Worlds" you discussed in the Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives. I have always thought this way, and the Perspectives presents this very clearly.

New reader Los Angeles

Editor's note: The Labor Day Convention of News and Letters Committees approved the Perspectives Thesis which we published to share with our readers in the July issue of N&L. All the reports and sub-reports presented and discussed at the Convention are available in two Bulletins. (See ad, p. 11.) We welcome your discussion.

WHY SUBSCRIBE TO N&L?

When I first subscribed to News & Letters I had never heard of Raya Dunayevskaya before. I didn't know how important she was because I'd been reading Left literature for a decade and thought I'd heard of everybody. The names of Jay Lovestone, James P. Cannon and Gus Hall are banded about in an almost folkloric way. Raya Dunayevskaya's contributions were more important than any of them could have ever dreamed of being. Why, then, does none of the Left or academia talk about her?

Anthropology student San Diego

I find News & Letters invaluable for local news not covered in mainstream media as well as for the international perspectives. I'm enclosing an extra \$5 for past subscriptions I may have been remiss about paying.

Women's Liberationist Irvine, California

Lately, I've been feeling real rebellious and angry against the whole system—Reagan in Central America, and his reactionary policies here, especially against women, and how deep the sexism in this whole society is. But I don't know what to do—there's not a revolution in the streets I can go and join! I'm reading N&L and trying to understand what Marxists-Humanists see as a direction. Sometimes it's hard to have hope.

New subscriber Los Angeles

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- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard. Statement of the National Editorial Board. Includes "A 1980s View of the Two-Way Road Between the U.S. and Africa," by Raya Dunayevskaya, and "Black Caucuses in the Unions" by Charles Denby. \$2 per copy.
The Myriad Global Crises of the 1980s and the Nuclear World Since World War II by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$2 per copy.
Grenada: Revolution, Counter-Revolution, Imperialist Invasion by Raya Dunayevskaya. 75¢ per copy.
Working Women for Freedom by Angela Terrano, Marie Dignan and Mary Holmes. \$1 per copy.
Latin America's Revolutions Bilingual pamphlet on Marxism & Latin America. \$1 per copy.
Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$1.25 per copy.
Frantz Fanon, Soweto and American Black Thought, by Lou Turner and John Alan. New Expanded edition contains Introduction/Overview by Raya Dunayevskaya, Lou Turner and John Alan. Appendices by Rene Depestre and Ngugi wa Thiong'o. \$3 per copy.
The Fetish of High Tech and Karl Marx's Unknown Mathematical Manuscripts by Ron Brokmeyer, Franklin Dmitryev, Raya Dunayevskaya. \$1 per copy.

- Constitution of News & Letters Committees. 25¢ postage.
Dialectics of Revolution: American Roots and World Humanist Concepts. Special bulletin on Marxist-Humanism as a body of ideas by Raya Dunayevskaya, Eugene Walker, Michael Connolly and Olga Domanski. \$1 per copy.
The Coal Miners' General Strike of 1949-50 and the Birth of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. by Andy Phillips and Raya Dunayevskaya. \$2 per copy.
25 Years of Marxist-Humanism in the U.S. A History of Worldwide Revolutionary Developments by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$1.50 per copy.
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Bound volume of News & Letters (August 1977 to May 1984). \$20.00 per copy.

ARCHIVES

- The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—A Half-Century of Its World Development. A 12,000-page microfilm collection on six reels. \$120.
Guide and Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half-Century of Its World Development. Full description of 12,000-page microfilm collection. \$3.

BOOKS

- Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future. 294 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$15.95.
Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution. 234 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy.
Marxism and Freedom ...from 1776 to today. 1982 edition. New introduction by author. 381 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy.
Philosophy and Revolution from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao. 1982 edition. New introduction by author. 372 pgs. by Raya Dunayevskaya. \$10.95 per copy.
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Black/Red View

by John Alan

Eight years ago the NAACP and the Justice Department filed a lawsuit charging the city of Yonkers, New York with having a deliberate policy that segregated Blacks and other minorities in public housing, and won the case.

From then on this case slowly found its way to the Supreme Court and once again the plaintiffs won. But still the right-wing majority on the Yonkers City Council refused to consider a plan to build desegregated, low and middle income housing in predominantly white neighborhoods.

Last month, the City Council reversed its position and voted for the plan. This change of heart came only after a majority on the Council realized that the city was on the road to bankruptcy as fines imposed for contempt began to approach a million dollars-plus a day. Thus, in all the eight years of legal hassling, Yonkers still is not committed to solving the problem of housing for poor minorities.

LIMITS OF CIVIL RIGHTS LAWS

Yonkers is really not unusual in its racial housing pattern. There are hundreds of cities like Yonkers that won't build low-cost public housing in middle class white neighborhoods or in re-developed downtown areas. What Yonkers has revealed in its tenacious resistance to desegregated housing is how deeply embedded in American civilization are class and racial antagonisms that are impervious to civil rights laws.

The Yonkers case, while offering no real new begin-

S. Bronx housing crisis

Editor's note: Residents among the 22 families in a South Bronx apartment building recently strung barbed wire across the entrance and doorways of their building, ready to resist the police and eviction. Under a tenant-landlord agreement, the people had moved into the previously abandoned and gutted building four years ago. They agreed with the landlord—and later with the city which took over the building—to improve their apartments and pay an affordably low rent. They would eventually assume ownership.

But the new landlord, backed by pro-gentrification courts, wants them out. The predominantly Latino and Black resi-



News & Letters photo

S. Bronx residents fight eviction and homelessness.

dents of the neighborhood back the legitimate claims of the tenants and their resistance. While a squatter from the lower East Side of Manhattan stood by ready to join a human chain of resistance, she discussed the housing struggle in New York City:

The Bronx, N.Y.—We are behind the people that live here. They poured a quarter of a million dollars in savings into the building. They put in plumbing, wiring, doors, hot water heaters and a new roof. They're not legally squatters since they're living there under 7A (a city homesteading program).

This fight is the thing to do. We see the trouble around housing as central today. The Left seems to ignore what's going on in housing issues. It seems that the lack of movement in the 1970s made them adopt ways of thinking that they're unable to shed now. So they are saying where they think the struggle has to be. But the housing struggle—that's where people are doing something.

The city takes over an abandoned building and seals it up. That's what happens quite often. In the face of that, we started moving in to live in them. There are 40,000 people squatting in New York now. Even though you do it quietly, they started evicting us. There are 15 or so buildings with squatters where we are.

Really, there are half a million homeless people in New York. It's no accident there are abandoned buildings within a city full of homeless people. "Spatial deconcentration" is the government's term for what's going on. We see the whole process as weeding people out and breaking up communities.

The Coalition for the Homeless has pushed for opening up military camps for homeless people. We feel calling for more shelters hurts the homeless struggle. Buildings like these, and the communities where the abandoned buildings are located, is the terrain where the class struggle takes place. There is an interconnectedness in the communities where working people know each other, have relatives and work together. That's why this struggle needs to keep going.

The racism that Yonkers built

ning in a movement for livable low-cost housing, did point to the grim contradiction that lay at the heart of Reagan's so-called "prosperity," i.e., the growing concentration of poverty among Blacks and other minorities in a world without livable housing.

The housing shortage in racially segregated communities is severe. According to the *San Francisco Chronicle* (Sept. 21, 1988) thousands of impoverished Hispanic families in East Los Angeles are "crowded into garages and huddled in tents and in tin shacks in back yards." These people are so poor that they can't afford to live in a house or an apartment, but they have found poor people a little better off than themselves who are willing to rent them any vacant space they have.

The National Academy of Sciences in a report on the homeless—a report that was considered to be "watered down" by the majority of the committee that worked on it—points out that since 1980 there has been a 2.5 million decrease in low-cost housing units because there has been an increase in the number of people that could afford them. The report went on to say that the growing need for low-cost housing and the lack of it, is the

Black youth on racism

Editor's note: The following reflections on the nature of American racism come from a young Black woman activist-thinker who spoke in Chicago over the summer at a youth conference against racism.

Cincinnati, Ohio—The disease of racism is one of the most important social issues facing us today. Racism is prejudice, plus the power to act on and institutionalize that prejudice. In our world, Europeans or people of European decent have this power and insure that its ideology is pervasive.

Unfortunately, many people have internalized the term "white" and all of the racist customs and beliefs that accompany it. This results from the socialization process in racist countries such as the United States and South Africa. Socialization is the process by which people in society are indoctrinated with certain beliefs, customs, and ideas that constitute society's culture, and play a major role in forming the personality traits of its members.

THIS SOCIALIZATION process, this disease, culturally devastates all who have any part in it—the oppressed and the oppressor. "Whites" are stripped of their identity in that they do not know whether they are Irish, Polish, German, Portuguese, etc. Their "white" identity has taken the place of their true cultures, so that they only know the racist beliefs that this country teaches them. African-Americans are even more culturally crushed in that not only have they lost their identity, but they have also lost any semblance of their original history, community traditions, and almost all significant connections with African people.

Some of the strikingly destructive results of this are the level of African-American male incarceration; the amount of African-American families living in poverty; the number of functionally illiterate African-American high school graduates; the drop-out rate of African-American students; the teen-pregnancy rate among African-Americans; and the number of single-parent homes in the African-American community.

RACISM AFFECTS "whites" and African-Americans collectively. The loss due to racism injures everyone in our country more than we can possibly realize at this time.

After years of contemplating and seeking cures for this disease, I have discovered this: each of us must first gain knowledge of the sickness, then have the strength to admit our true feelings. Next we must objectively work to change any stereotypical ideas we have. Finally, we must educate others about racism and our experiences with the disease.

Blacks support UFW grape boycott

Los Angeles, Cal.—An organization of Black community activists, Concerned Citizens of South Central Los Angeles, hosted a presentation by the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) about their call for consumers to boycott grapes to protest the use of deadly pesticides by growers.

A spokesman from Concerned Citizens opened the meeting with why the Black community got together with the UFW: "The community is suffering from exposure to toxic substances from industries dumping waste in our neighborhood. We don't want to keep eating contaminated food, and we want to support the farmworkers who are directly exposed to the pesticides."

"Also, the UFW is supporting us in our boycott of Mobil Oil to protest both that company's heavy investment in Namibia and the dangerous working conditions at the Mobil plant in Torrance, Cal." (That plant recently had a series of fires and finally a huge explosion that killed several workers.)

The UFW's heartbreaking video "The Wrath of Grapes" exposed just how toxic these pesticides really are. Many women who work in the fields have experienced multiple miscarriages or have had children with horrifying birth defects.

In McFarland, a tiny town in the Central Valley, at least 13 children have come down with fatal cancers, four times the normal expected rate. And when the UFW has attempted to organize in that area, they have been met with fierce resistance from growers.

direct cause for the growing numbers of homeless children in the urban areas of the country.

REAGAN'S HOUSING ABOMINATION

There is no doubt that the root cause for the present lack of adequate housing for the poor is in the eight years of Reaganism. Ideologically it gutted every social program that benefitted the poor. Funding for public housing was severely cut, while existing public housing built before and after WW II was allowed to deteriorate into slums because there was no money for repairs. The result is that today many of the apartments in housing projects can't be used by tenants. This obvious antagonism to human needs finds its opposite in the spending of billions of borrowed dollars to build a high-tech welfare economy in order to generate capitalist "prosperity."

Members of the National Academy of Sciences have recommended that the budget for public housing be restored to its 1981 level. Isn't this a retrogression to concept of public housing as ugly, alienating institution that isolate the poor from the outside world? It has to mean spirit, if not the physical attributes, of 19th century workhouses.

James Baldwin once wrote that the "projects in Harlem are hated. They are hated almost as much as the police...both are the real attitude of the white man. Any proposal to change this can't ignore the fact that public housing is a child of the political economy of capitalism, whether it appears as white resistance to public desegregated housing in Yonkers, or the present ongoing political battle in Chicago over whether or not a project should be replaced by a stadium!"

The reality is: if there is going to be a new concept and a new type of public housing it is going to have to come from the tenants themselves and not from lawyers, politicians and sociologists.

S. African Women's Day

Johannesburg, South Africa—The

South African Women's Group in Transvaal region had a Women's Cultural Day on Aug. 7, at Wits University at Flowers Hall. This was the remembrance of the Sharpeville Massacre that occurred in 1960 where 60 women were killed by the South African government during their march to Union Square in Pretoria to protest carrying passes.

There were about 3,000 people from various places: Pietersburg, Sebokeng, Soweto, Tembisa, Alexander Kwandebale, Brits, Mafeking, Natalspruit, Randfontein, Pretoria and Venda. This was an enjoyable day for all nations, whites and Blacks, where cultural dances were done and songs were sung.

The day started at 9 in the morning and went to 5 p.m. Even though our speakers such as Mrs. Sisulu and Helen Joseph are banned, a United Democratic Front leader spoke important words that we as women must not feel desperate as we know we are still living under the oppressor. What women have to do is to further their struggle and time is short.

Banners were displayed throughout the hall with words saying: "Women fighting against oppressive laws," "FEDRAW (Federation of South African Women) show democratic unity" and "Tembisa Fokani Mosisikose." This women's Cultural Day is only held once a year throughout South Africa in various regions.

—Correspondent



After the film a UFW representative talked about the goon-squad union-busting: "A lot of people talk about that stuff happening in Central America, but it's really here in the U.S., too." A Black woman organizer for Concerned Citizens group also singled that out as a reason for the Black community to support the UFW, saying that "If it hadn't been for unions, we wouldn't have adequate pay, housing, or anything, even though we do have a long way to go."

Also discussed was how George Bush, as the catalyst of anti-labor Reaganism, ate grapes on a campaign platform in California, flanked by his local counterpart Governor George Deukmejian, who won his governorship with hundreds of millions of dollars from agribusiness. While Bush denounced the boycott, San Francisco police beat demonstrators outside the hotel. (See *Editorial*, p. 5.)

When asked about strikes, the UFW representatives answered that was difficult because it was easy for the companies to replace farmworkers. That's why the boycott is now the method chosen and hopefully it will win concessions from growers as it did in the 1970s when 17 million Americans refused to buy grapes.

The UFW certainly won the support of the Concerned Citizens of South Central Los Angeles for the boycott, and this relationship presents the opportunity for ongoing dialogue between Blacks and Latinos on questions of workers' lives.

—Karl Armstrong

Burmese masses move to uproot military regime

(continued from page 1)

the Lon Htein (secret police). Leaflets appeared, signed Rangoon University Students Union, emblazoned with the peacock, the symbol of the independence movement. On June 21, students from several universities and high schools in Rangoon launched coordinated street protests, attempting to march downtown. Blood flowed again as the Lon Htein attacked, but this time Lon Htein agents were also killed. The crowd swelled to 5,000, joined by Buddhist monks and other students. By this time some railway and textile workers came out in support of the students, the textile workers staging a brief sympathy strike. A police station was burned down, while protesters chanted: "The Burmese government is Nazi."

JULY-SEPTEMBER: MASS SELF-ORGANIZATION

So shocked was the wily Ne Win at the depth of the anger, that he "resigned" all his positions on July 23, and called for "elections." The party replaced him with a padded Lon Htein head, Sein Lwin. Within a week, a far-insurrectionary situation developed across the land. On Aug. 8, tens of thousands demonstrated against the government in 15 cities.

The week of Aug. 8-12 saw at least 3,000 protesters killed by the army and police, police stations burned, and bamboo barricades set up to cordon off whole areas of the cities which were run by peoples committees. Youth as young as 12 went out to the streets to make speeches to ask the workers to join them. They didn't have to ask twice, as a general strike mushroomed, including all government institutions as well. "Happy New Year! This is our Revolution Day!" shouted the protesters.

On Aug. 12 the hated Sein Lwin resigned, and was replaced by a more gentle-appearing Ne Win crony, former professor Maung Maung. Throughout the next month, Maung Maung "offered" an end to single party rule, elections, etc. "if" people will "only" return to work. Instead, the protesters called for a new government immediately, totally distrusting any promise of "elections" run by the single-party state.

Not only students, but also workers began to establish independent unions. The city of Mandalay was in the hands of peoples committees. But the regime still had its military, 180,000 strong, and its police. On Sept. 1 they struck out again at the virtually unarmed masses.

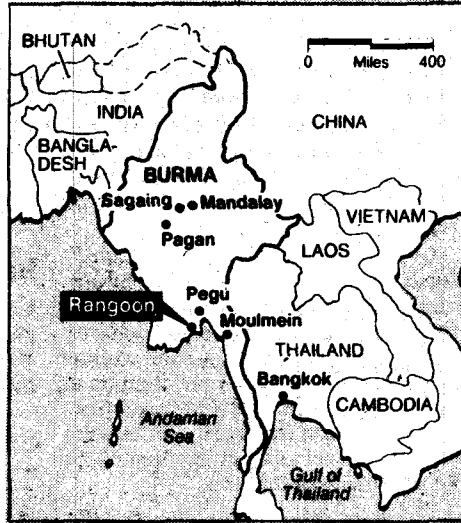
So deep is the crisis in Burma today, and so profound the questions it raises about the very concept of human liberation as the masses strip away the fetishism that surrounds the single party state, taking history into their own hands, that it compels a retrospective look at what happened after 1948, the year of Burmese independence, itself the product of the deep, protracted struggle for freedom of the whole country.

BURMESE INDEPENDENCE: WHAT HAPPENED AFTER

The nationalist movement which came to power in 1948 had, from early on, discussed Marxian and other socialist ideas along with traditional Burmese concepts such as Buddhism. Various Socialist and Communist currents co-existed with Buddhism within the nationalist movement, most of whose leaders came out of the Rangoon student movement. Aung San, the most prominent leader, who had studied Marxism in the 1930s, was to some degree sensitive to the aspirations of Burma's national minorities, who compose 40% of the population. Tragically, he was assassinated at age 32 on the day of independence.

The mantle of leadership passed then to U Nu, who was even more inclined than Aung San toward Buddhism, and less sensitive to the ethnic minorities. Ne Win became head of the army.

What became of U Nu is very revealing of the dialectics of national revolution in the Third World. Raya Dunayevskaya took up U Nu in her Weekly Political Letter "Israel, Burma, Outer Mongolia and the Cold



War" (Nov. 13, 1961). She wrote it just after completing her *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, and in the midst of writing a critique of Mao.

There, Raya discussed "the post-war struggle of U Nu

to keep Burma out of the clutches of the native Communists as well as from an independent socialist path." She continued: "At the end of the war U Nu lost the support, first, of the small but important Burmese proletariat when he put down a general strike...U Nu tried to win back the proletariat...He said he was a Marxist, but that Buddhism was necessary 'for the soul.' He was there 'to combine' the two ideologies. All this shilly-shallying led to chaos and corruption. He thereupon stepped down from power, and turned the country over to the military while he went to 'meditate.' He has recently resumed the premiership of Burma."

Less than four months later, in March, 1962, Ne Win ousted U Nu in a coup, setting up a one-party state ruled by the military. He cracked down on the ethnic minorities, with whom U Nu had been about to negotiate. He did move away from U Nu's ultra-Buddhism, but created instead a bizarre totalitarian ideology termed "The Burmese Road to Socialism," an eclectic mixture of narrow nationalism, Buddhism and Stalinism. Ne Win cut off the country from foreign contact and said he was returning Burma to its pre-British "roots."

Today, a new generation has arisen which wants to uproot the system. An ancient civilization such as Burma, with its long history of class, national and student movements, with its debates since the 1930s over Marxism, with its rich ethnic variety, and with its present hunger for self-liberation, will surely add much to enrich the world struggle for human liberation in the period to come. The Burmese youth of today are the type of new generation out of which new ideas of revolution are embraced and developed.

Black World

(continued from page 1)

Students protested in mass demonstrations against the government's tuition increase.

These are the ravages of another kind of disaster—Prime Minister Edward Seaga's Jamaican-style Reaganomics. Seaga has subjected Jamaica to the oppressive austerity policies of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) at the same time his mentor, Ronald Reagan, cut back aid by a stunning 40% for fiscal year 1987-88.

Moreover, at the very moment when the polls for the upcoming election battle between him and "social democrat" Michael Manley show him 12 percentage points behind, Seaga expects to ride the high crest of international relief aid now pouring into Jamaica to another five-year term. So while the ravages of Seaga's Reaganomic austerity policies are now followed by what he expects will amount to \$7 billion in relief aid, the question arises: relief from what disaster—the natural or the capitalist one?

Despite the hypocrisy of Seaga's moral indignation when questioned about the political capital to be made from the toll in Jamaica's human misery, his brother-in-law who is minister of the island's two chief industries, tourism and bauxite mining, has been in the highest spirits since Gilbert ravaged Jamaica. Minister Hugh Hart has that kind of administrative mentality—what in the U.S. is called an "ambulance chaser"—whose vulgar materialism is always in lock-step with the logic of capitalist primitive accumulation.

Hart acknowledges in the most heartless manner that the hurricane has changed the political equation in Jamaica. Massive unemployment and the gutting of social services under Seaga are no longer campaign issues, ac-

ording to Minister Hart. Indeed, our man for all seasons, especially those of discontent, made this glorious pronouncement, even as the Jamaican masses were digging themselves out: "People are going to recognize that it's going to need an immense amount of management ability to mobilize the international aid. The question is going to be, 'How can we best rebuild the country, and who's going to do it?'"

WINDS OF REVOLUTION

In the last year of the American Civil War (1865), Karl Marx, while working on *Capital*, wrote to Engels about a different kind of convulsion that had just hit Jamaica—the Morant Bay Rebellion and the bloody English suppression. Seaga and Hart represent that kind of "unmasked English hypocrisy" Marx criticized when he wrote: "The Jamaican business is characteristic of that dirty dog, the 'true Englishman'...they [the Jamaicans] enjoyed the liberty to be bled dry with taxes in order to provide the planters the wherewithal...to drive their own labor market below the minimum."

Having bled the Jamaican masses with IMF and Reaganomic policies, Seaga and Hart, in the same capitalist spirit as Jamaica's former planter class, now "wonder if Jamaica might not have to bring in extra workers to meet the demands of what [they] expect will be a building boom as houses and hotels are rebuilt."

To be sure, the five-fold increase in U.S. aid to the Seaga government had already come to an end when "the Breeze" called Gilbert hit. However, that is not the only thing that is in the wind over Jamaica. The recollection of Grenada is never far beneath the surface in the Caribbean. That hurricane, that "breeze" is always just offshore, always stirring in the ghetto alleys of west Kingston. Its name is revolution.

Meeting on Philippines

Stony Point, N.Y.—The Alliance for Philippine Concerns held its East Coast conference, "The U.S. Bases and Beyond: Linking Up for a Truly Democratic and Sovereign Philippines," Sept. 24-25.

The keynote address was delivered by Zenaida R. Uy, the new secretary-general of BAYAN (Togalog acronym for New National Alliance), a federation of opposition groups in the Philippines which claims three million members. In her talk and in the discussion which followed, she and other participants stressed the apparent continuity of the Aquino regime with that of Ferdinand Marcos, overthrown in the people power revolution of nearly three years ago.

In centering on the U.S. bases, and not on new openings after the downfall of Marcos, the conference seemed to come full circle to the kind of discussions occurring in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Then, it was often asserted that a narrowing of the revolutionary focus to ending the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship, and therefore concentrating on the U.S. bases would promote "unity" and strengthen the national democratic leadership.

Of course U.S. bases should be opposed, but after Benigno Aquino's assassination in August, 1983, the movement became much wider. A tremendous array of decentralized cause-oriented groups sprang up, often not controlled by anybody.

Take women's liberation, one of the most striking dimensions of this new, nearly autonomous mass movement. One workshop at the conference was devoted to women, but it focused almost exclusively on prostitution and U.S. bases. But individual conversations at the conference indicated that there was a much deeper interest in Philippine women's revolutionary activity and ideas about deep social change. It is precisely this which needs much more open discussion, and not having discussion narrowed to too restrictive a theme.

—Participant

From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 4)

long before the new empiric anthropological studies was then digging into, for Marx, *Capital* (1867), too, pointed to the significance of those pre-capitalist societies—the gens in primitive communism—that resided in the form of their dissolution. Indeed, the proof that the moments, far from being a "break" from the "class-Marx," were a development of Marx—the young, old, the mature, the in-between—is the *Grundrisse*, 1857. It is there that Marx first worked out the Asiatic mode of Production. Moreover, he considered it of such fundamental historic significance in human development, that he designated it as the "fourth form." He related that conclusion in the most famous of all historical-materialist definitions, in the Preface to the *Critique of Political Economy* (1859), and it has never stopped being used as the perfect expression of historical materialism.

ANYONE WHO DOESN'T see that fully today fall, knowingly or unknowingly, into the statist idea of property-form instead of the key production relationship Marx taught us along with his theory of revolution in permanence." Which is how we were enabled to criticize the heroic Che who nevertheless was wrong both in the concrete in Bolivia and in the theory of shortcuts to revolution and "Leaderism."

old-tight to Marxism and Freedom's structure. The part in the section titled "Organizational Inside." Though it is an analysis of the whole of the Second International—the established, so-called "orthodox" Marxists—what we focus on is not its life, but its death. Because Marx's Marxism taught us never to separate revolution from organization, the fact that the 1907 Revolution did not become a point on the agen-

da of the 1907 Second International Congress is what brought us to consider that it signalled the death of the Second International. Philosophically, there were indications before the outbreak of the betrayal-to-be in World War I, not to mention that, being burdened with the concept of a "party to lead," it blinded them to the priority of philosophy rather than leadership.

It is this which emboldens us to call the great revolutionary, Rosa Luxemburg—who has so much to say to us on spontaneity, on woman, on revolution—nevertheless nearly totally deaf on philosophy. We have, after all, by now broken also with Lenin not just politically, against any elitist organization, which we had done way back as still a united JFT. No, this time it was philosophically, and on the very text Lenin himself had to return to as ground for *State and Revolution*, that is, Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*, which Lenin read profoundly enough when it came to smashing the bourgeois state, but managed to escape saying anything on Party structure, for which Marx had laid a totally different ground.

Indeed, not only ground, but "Absolute." Philosophy of "revolution in permanence" cannot possibly be only ground, or even content, substance; it is Subject, and that both objectively and subjectively. The unchained dialectic—both as dialectics of liberation and dialectics of thought, dialectics of self-development—that self-development is both Individual and Universal. The achievement of that can only come with sharp awareness of the absolute contradictions in the nuclear world state-capitalist reality; to project Marx's philosophy of revolution concretely, its Absolutes as concrete Universals, not abstractions, becomes imperative. This lays ground for daily practical work and not just books or essay writing. That is our organizational task.

Essay Article

by Sheila Fuller

In the 1980s, youth have been central in the revolts and freedom movements around the globe, from South Africa to Burma, from Haiti to South Korea, from the Philippines to China, as well as Russia, Eastern Europe and the U.S. In South Africa, youth as young as 11 continue to battle the barbaric South African troops in the shanty towns, and boycott apartheid's schools. Youth form the largest number of political prisoners. They continue to fight and die for "freedom now." In Poland, young workers, some 18 to 20 years old, are leading the strikes that have erupted in the steel plants, shipyards and mines over the past year. They are now challenging not only the Jaruzelski government but also their own leader Lech Walesa.

In the U.S., many youth have been protesting racist acts on the campuses, from Northern Illinois University at DeKalb, to University of California Berkeley, and from the University of Massachusetts to Columbia University in New York. Many of the youth activists who



In 1985 students at Columbia University sat-in to demand divestment from apartheid South Africa.

were moved by the Black struggle in South Africa, and who participated in the divestment movement, want to battle the racism and militarism at home.

All of these movements reveal that in 1988 youth is a revolutionary force. But today, even when youth are praised for their participation in revolutions, they are seen only as energetic force and muscle power, not as creative thinkers and minds, not as Reason.

It is because of the crucial importance of youth for transforming this society, that in the 1980s, Raya Dunayevskaya, the founder of Marxist-Humanism, was appealing to the youth to become thought divers. In the 1980s, Dunayevskaya was addressing many audiences of youth activists and writing letters to youth. In her last public lecture, "Youth of the 1980s and the 1960s in a Changed World," given in April of 1987 at Northern Illinois University in DeKalb, Dunayevskaya asked: what is "a new beginning?" She stressed that the principle which underlines a new beginning is "becoming thought divers and activists who are trying to change the world to truly new human relations." This concept of youth as "thought divers" is unique to Dunayevskaya. To grasp its meaning we have to return to the 1950s and Dunayevskaya's philosophic breakthrough in 1953, which gave birth to Marxist-Humanism.

I. The 1950s: Youth As A Revolutionary Category

It is very unusual to see that it was not in the turbulent 1960s but in the quiescent 1950s, when McCarthyism was dominant and when youth were being put down as the "beat generation," that Dunayevskaya singled out youth as a revolutionary category. In a letter to the youth dated June 5, 1984, she writes that it was precisely at a time when the tired radicals were calling the period an "end of ideology" and declared the age to be one of "One Dimensional Man" that "we hit out against such a fantastic and totally pessimistic concept. The new generation that rejected the world they did not make, on the contrary signalled a new age of revolutions."

Why was she able to see a new passion for freedom among the new generation of youth when others did not? She had definitely been rooted in the youth struggles of the day and had been writing about the youth movement in France and about the 1950 New York City high school students' strike. But that is not the answer to our question. We get a strong hint about where to find an answer in a letter that Dunayevskaya wrote to youth on Aug. 13, 1983 entitled: "Challenge to the Youth On the Needed Total Uprooting of the Old and the Creation of New Human Relations." There she wrote:

"Permit me here to go back to 1953 to re-examine the process of working out, or seeing the emergence of a new philosophic dimension. It is the year I first broke through on the Absolute Idea, removing its abstract, mystical veil and seeing it as not only a unity of theory and practice, but a totally new relationship of the two because a new historic beginning had been reached with this live movement from practice. The breakthrough on the Absolute Idea helped us to perceive a new generation of revolutionaries in that so-called 'beat generation' who were rejecting a world they never made. . ."

She was referring to her May 1953 Letters on Hegel's "Absolutes."¹ In those letters, one can see that Dunayevskaya

1. Letters on Hegel's Absolutes, May 12 and May 20, 1953. "Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism: a Half Century of Its World Development." Forthcoming in Nov. 1988 N&L.

The emergence and development of youth as a revolutionary category

evskaya was developing a whole new concept of what is a Subject of revolution. In her May 12, 1953 letter, she quotes from Hegel on transcending the opposition between the Notion and Reality: "For the second transcendence of the opposition between the Notion and Reality, and that unity which is the truth, rest upon this subjectivity alone—The second negative, the negative of the negative. . . is the inner most and most objective moment of Life and Spirit, by virtue of which a Subject is personal and free." Dunayevskaya continues: "Now stand up and shout personal and free." She is tracing out the relationship between absolute negativity, the self determination of the Idea of Freedom, and the drive for personal, individual liberation by the Subject.

Even though Dunayevskaya had singled out youth as a revolutionary force before 1953, now she views youth along with other forces of revolution, labor, the Black dimension, women's liberation, as those who can take responsibility for realizing the philosophy of revolution of their age.

It is this journey of discovery in 1953 that compels Dunayevskaya to go to Hegel's *Philosophy of Mind* in her May 20, 1953 letter. Having traced the interrelationship between the self determination of the Idea of freedom and the drive for liberation of the Subjects of revolution, she now sees in Hegel's "Absolute Mind," "the new society."

Let us see how Dunayevskaya developed her discovery when it came to new uprisings of youth. In 1955, when News and Letters Committees was founded, youth were singled out in its Constitution; they were given their own page in News & Letters and had their own representative to the Editorial Board. That very same year, the Montgomery, Alabama Bus Boycott against segregation broke out. Dunayevskaya credited the youth, as well as Rosa Parks, for helping to initiate the boycott, and for challenging the whole Southern system of segregation. In 1956, when a revolution in Hungary broke out against Communist totalitarianism, youth helped initiate it. Dunayevskaya singled out the youth and their discussion circles for having brought onto the historic stage, Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts (Humanist Essays)* of 1844.

At the time, when these revolts were taking place, she wrote the following in her "Two Worlds" column in News & Letters (Jan. 22, 1957) entitled "Youth and Workers in the Present Revolts": "The important thing about the present revolts, the world over, is that the youth are in the forefront because of their own opposition to the existing society. This creates in the youth, including the intellectual and middle class youth, attitudes very similar to those of the working class."

In 1958, in her book *Marxism and Freedom* which was the first to recreate Marx's "new Humanism" as Marxist-Humanism for our age, Dunayevskaya considered the Hungarian Revolution and the Montgomery Bus Boycott on the same level, as two new pages in the struggle for freedom.

It is only after these new world historic developments, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the Hungarian Revolution and the publication of *Marxism and Freedom* that we see the ramifications of those 1953 letters for youth expressed fully in the Constitution of News and Letters Committees. In 1958, a new paragraph on youth is added to the Constitution: "We feel that the youth are a most precious source of our development. We recognize that even though the youth are not directly involved in production, they are the ones whose idealism in the finest sense of the word combines with opposition to existing adult society in so unique a way that it literally brings them alongside the workers as builders of the new society."

Here we need to ponder the expression, "idealism in the finest sense of the word." After having examined the process of arriving at this paragraph on youth from 1953 to 1958, we can see that the concept of youth idealism, as revolutionary, is by no means bourgeois idealism but youth responsibility for realizing the Idea of Marxist-Humanism. Combined with their opposition to existing adult society it is what brings them alongside the workers as builders of the new society. (See Dunayevskaya's letter to youth, "On Listening to Marx Think as Challengers to All Post-Marx Marxists," June 5, 1984).

It was not until 1958 that the category of youth idealism as revolutionary was forged by Dunayevskaya. However, we can see that this category is a concretization of what she had developed in 1953 on the relationship of the self-determination of the Idea of freedom to Subjects of revolution.

Thus, in 1958, two years before the rise of the turbulent 1960s youth movements, Dunayevskaya had arrived at a profound concept of youth as a revolutionary category. And with *Marxism and Freedom*, she had prepared the philosophic ground for anticipating the 1960s upsurges.

II. The Turbulent 1960s: The Missing Link of Philosophy

In 1960 a sit-in of Black youth against segregation at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina started a whole new movement among youth. The sit-ins spread. Thousands of Black youth in the South, many white youth in the North and many other segments of the population were drawn to join the Civil Rights Movement. Indeed, these struggles for freedom among Black youth inspired "the birth of a new generation of revolutionaries."

A high point in the 1960s was reached with the Free Speech Movement, 1964-65, at the University of California Berkeley Campus. This movement had been inspired by the new type of school that Black and white youth began in Mississippi, in the summer of 1964: Mississippi Freedom Schools. Their new concept of education, inseparable from freedom, had so inspired white youth from the North, who had spent the summer there, that upon returning to the North, these youth began challenging the system of education in north universities. At UC Berkeley, the most popular slogan, coined by students against their "education factory" was: "I am a student, do not fold, bend or spindle me."

Marxist-Humanists participated in and responded to this new development with the publication of the *Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution in 1964*. This pamphlet included contributions from Mario Saviano, the leader of the Free Speech Movement; Robert McQuinn, of the Mississippi Freedom Summer; Eugene Walker, Marxist-Humanist participant in the Freedom School as well as an analysis of the youth and the Black dimension in the Free Speech Movement by Raya Dunayevskaya; and Dunayevskaya's lecture on "The Theory of Alienation: Marx's Debt to Hegel," which had been most frequently requested by youth.

Dunayevskaya saw a crucial relationship between the battle against dehumanization being waged by the Civil Rights Movement and Marx's new Humanism. To her, the fundamental question of how to root dehumanization was the underlying philosophy of the Black dimension. It was this philosophic dimension which had allowed all who participated in the Black struggles to gain a new human dimension. Thus, she was appealing to the youth to not content themselves only with "activity, activity, activity," to begin a discussion of Marx's new Humanism.

The year 1965 marked the beginning of Pres. Lyndon Johnson's escalation of the Vietnam War. At this time even the white youth activists who had embraced the Civil Rights Movement, began to make a separation between the Civil Rights Movement and the anti-Vietnam War movement. They moved away from the Black struggles, the very struggles that had given birth to a new generation of revolutionaries and their anti-movement. This separation which took its heavy toll on the youth movement, had very deep philosophic consequences, as well. The activists in the Free Speech Movement



Student sit-in at lunch counter in the South, early 1960s.

were interested only in the question of alienation and not the new Humanism of Marx that sought to end to the division between mental and manual labor. They had refused to grapple with Marx's new Humanism and his alternative to dehumanization.

The 1960s youth revolts reached their highest point in May, 1968 in France. For the first time in the World War II world, in a technologically advanced country, there was a revolutionary movement of students and workers challenging the existing system. No more than 10 million workers and students participated in the General Strike in May 1968. But this near revolution was stopped abruptly by President De Gaulle. He was aided by the French Communist Party which held the CGT (General Confederation of Workers) from collaborating with the youth. The Communist Party justified De Gaulle in slandering the young revolutionaries as "Leftist trouble makers," and called for "law and order."

To Dunayevskaya this was the most shocking yet telling experience. Up to then, the French student movement which had been led by Daniel Cohn-Bendit, held as its motto: "We can pick up their route." But when the movement reached its high point of activity, and De Gaulle sought to crush it with the help of the Communist Party, the youth were not prepared philosophically to battle the Communist Party, its class nature and its perverted Marxism. Among the tendencies that existed within the French youth movement—Trotskyism, Existentialism, Anarchism—none had a genuine Marxist philosophy of revolution. De Gaulle was able to stop this near revolution without firing a shot.²

It was the aborted revolution of May 1968, and Dunayevskaya called the "missing link" of philosophy of the youth activities of the 1960s, which compelled

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2. "Who Arrested the French Revolution?" "Two Worlds" column in News & Letters, June-July, 1968. Also see "Spring 1968: Masses in Motion, Ideas in Free Flow" by Eugene Walker, a News and Letters youth pamphlet, Fall 1968.

Two hundred Latino students walk out over racism at Clemente High

Chicago, Ill.—“Kay must go! Kay must go!” and “Fire KKKay Now!” were the demands of over 200 students at Roberto Clemente High School as they staged a walkout on Sept. 26 and 27. Students, parents and teachers have said the tip of the iceberg of racism at Clemente High is represented by Kay Thompson, librarian and two other teachers who cooperated in a purely racist fashion—to anonymously have “a dialogue” with the Reader (a Chicago-based free newspaper). The “discussion” among the teachers conducted last January was nothing less than a racist diatribe, perpetuating racist stereotypes of the Hispanic student body which comprises nearly 80% of Clemente High School’s 3,000 students.

After the January Reader interview, the names of the teachers were discovered. All three teachers were to be transferred to other schools. But Kay Thompson refused to go, denying that her statements in the Reader were racist! The students then launched their protests and the parents and community supported them.

One sophomore summed up the students’ activity in this way, “I hope they (the students) keep going out until they take her out,” and another student, a senior, expressed what both students and parents have been expressing about Kay Thompson: “She’s a racist, and we don’t want her in our school.”

I was part of a recent community meeting where 75 to 100 students, teachers and parents attended. The meeting was full of determination—one person spoke after another with great clarity and ease. Parents and teachers had a back and forth discussion for most of the meeting (the students were being interviewed by the press and news media). One parent continued to say that she wanted her daughter in school getting a “good education” although she was for the principles of the walkout. Another woman confronted the parent with great passion: “Por favor, Senora!” and proceeded to discuss how there are two kinds of education—one in



Students rally against racism at Clemente.

booklearning and another in the kind of education the students will be getting from their walkout.

But it was when the students returned and decided to speak for themselves that the meeting grew with more excitement. There were seven young Latinas who ended the meeting, insisting on speaking after two young men students spoke. Some spoke in Spanish; some in English and Spanish. Rosa was the first to speak and began by saying, “all the things she (Thompson) said, I disagree with. I defend my nationality!” (applause). She went on to say that the interview makes it sound as if drugs, gangs and teenage pregnancy are only in Hispanic communities: “A lot of us go to school for an education. It’s not just Clemente, it’s everywhere. Pregnancy and drugs are everywhere.” She then tied this to how she is surviving

DeKalb students demand: rehire Martha Palmer!

De Kalb, Ill.—On Sept. 15, over 150 students marched into a meeting of the Board of Regents, the ruling body of Northern Illinois University (NIU) to demand that Martha Palmer, a popular Black counselor and activist, be rehired. The protesters, a broad-based coalition of Black, Latino, and white students, felt the firing of Ms. Palmer was sexist and racist.

As the students marched to the Regents’ meeting they chanted, “Regents, Regents, don’t be blue, the KKK is racist too!” Upon entering the meeting room the students began shouting, “Why was Martha fired?” Although the Regents had previously decided to not allow the students to speak, they soon offered to allow one student to speak. One student said, “There’s not one student here who represents all of us,” and demanded that more students be allowed to speak. While the Regents were discussing their options, the students chanted, “We’re uptight, we won’t get calmer, things aren’t right cuz they fired Martha Palmer.”

After a brief recess the Regents reconvened and told the students they had 20 minutes to voice their complaints. One of Ms. Palmer’s students addressed the Regents. She said, “We would like to know why Ms. Palmer was fired, please!” When none of the Regents responded she said, “Am I talking to myself here?” A few students shouted from the crowd, “Was it racism?”

Many of the students became agitated at the Regents’ unwillingness to respond to their questions. One student said, “When you see a bunch of students supporting her, doesn’t that tell you she’s doing something right?”

Can’t you see what we’re saying? We’re the ones who have to see her to get counseling, not you. We’re the ones who want her here, not you. Then why can’t we decide whether or not she stays?”

The last student who spoke said, “I don’t care what you say about the reasons for Martha’s firing. We already know why she was fired. She was saying the SAT, ACT and GRE tests are ethnically biased. And that’s why NIU uses them! Martha was trying to get inner-city students into this university, and you’re trying to get them out!” After that the Regents unplugged the microphone. The students responded by singing “We Shall Overcome.”

Before the protest, over 300 students gathered at a rally to speak their minds about sexism and racism on campus. One person from the Latino Student Movement said that all of the Latino counselors have either been fired or resigned from the CHANCE program. He said that if students don’t fight to keep Martha here, the university will have no Black counselors either.

Ms. Palmer—the only university employee to speak out at Day of Action II in April, for which she was severely reprimanded (see N&L, May 1988)—spoke out again at the Sept. 15 rally. She cited numerous examples of how she has been harassed by co-workers and her directors, and how they have attempted to stifle her activism. Ms. Palmer concluded by saying, “Whether Martha Palmer is here or not, the same things are going to keep on keeping on, and the students have to get together to do something about it.” —Julia

in her life now: “I’m now working at McDonalds. I don’t want to be working there for the rest of my life.”

All of the women students spoke against the racist opinions of Thompson. One student said, “This article (the interview) is racist. But it’s not only against Hispanics, it’s against Blacks too. There are Black students at Clemente. I know some Black students and they are very nice. We must find ways to discuss the walk-out with them.”

In the Reader interview, Thompson insists that not one Hispanic works on the block where she lives. A Latina student responded to this by saying, “My parents have worked all their lives so I could go to school.” She then demanded to know what right did Thompson have to claim to speak on the Hispanic community? The students said that if parents wanted to support them, to come to the meetings and the demonstrations. Many at the meeting expressed the need to involve more people in a dialogue about the students’ walkout.

—Diane Lee

Job search harassment

New York, N.Y.—Connections are obviously just as important as being qualified when trying to find a job. This is magnified when it comes to finding art gallery work, especially when you’re a young woman new to New York. I found out it’s not just a matter of wanting work and looking for it. At times you’re requested to do more than that.

I went to galleries to find work. Not all of them had job openings—I just went to try to meet someone to see if in the future there would be anything open. I filled out applications at some places, and left my name and information on a piece of paper at others.

Three men who told me about job possibilities and how they wanted to “help me out” ended up calling up the same day for dates! And it wasn’t just friendship they were after! I explained to one of them that I did not want to date them, but I wanted their friendship or help in finding a job. I was told, “Okay, fine,” and click—he hung up. This infuriated me, and it depressed me to realize this is the reaction I am going to get.

Making connections and getting ties with people when you have to deal with protecting yourself as a woman is impossible. It’s so frustrating to have to worry about giving personal information about yourself when it comes to a job interview. Why the hell should I even have to think about that!

Because I’m a young woman it seems in this society it takes more than just friends and ability to get jobs. I know this isn’t everyone or even the majority who work this way. However, there’s enough thought like this around so that I have to think and worry about it when I do look for work.

—Young woman looking for a job

Essay Article

(continued from page 10)

to finish the book that she had been working on throughout that decade, *Philosophy and Revolution: From Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao* (1973).

III. The 1980s: Challenge To Become Thought Divers

There is no space in this essay to trace out the youth activities that developed in the 1970s and the 1980s. But there is an underlying theme in the youth movements of these two decades that needs to be stressed. In the 1970s and 1980s there has been a search among youth against the elitism of the vanguard parties, and for alternative non-elitist forms of organization.

In the 1980s Dunayevskaya was addressing this quest among youth. She was asking us to return to the concept of organization that she had been developing ever since her 1953 breakthrough on Hegel’s Absolutes. In her last writing, a presentation dated June 1, 1987, (see January-February, 1988 *News & Letters*) she wrote that as early as 1953, her concept of dialectics of organization was neither about a vanguard party to lead, which she definitely opposed, nor about a spontaneous mass party which the masses will build themselves, but about “what happens to a small group like us who know that nothing can be done without the masses and are with them but they [this group] are theoreticians and they always seem to be around too. So what is the objectivity which explains their presence. . . .”

Unlike all post-Marx Marxists who posed the question of organization as “spontaneity/organization,” for Dunayevskaya, that was not the key question. Rather, the key was the relationship of philosophy to organization and the need to take organizational responsibility for the philosophy of revolution of your age. Dunayevskaya was appealing to the youth not to leave their dissatisfaction with the elitism of the vanguard parties at the level of a first negation, but to join her in working out the “Dialectics of Philosophy and Organization” about which she was writing a new book.

In 1988, we are facing growing youth movements internationally, and increasing youth protests in the U.S.; at the same time, we are confronted with Reaganism’s retrogression and militarism worldwide. This is why grappling with Dunayevskaya’s concept of youth as thought divers, and our responsibility for realizing the philosophy of freedom for our age, becomes so crucial. This essay aims to begin a dialogue. I would like to know your thoughts and views on these questions.

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Miners in Silesia set off the August strike wave that shook Poland. When miners at the July Manifesto mine in Jastrzebie opened their pay envelopes Aug. 15 and found them short, it was the last straw. They refused to go in on their shift and occupied the mine grounds. A strike committee drew up the miners' demands, calling for recognition of Solidarity, improved working conditions and rehiring of miners fired for union activity.

In the following days, thousands of other miners struck in support of the demands. The strikes swept across northern Poland, as dock workers, bus and streetcar drivers in Szczecin shut down the port. Workers at the Stalowa Wola steel mill, at the Cegielski machine works in Poznan, at the railroad maintenance center in Wroclaw, and at the Gdansk shipyards all struck, along with workers from other mines and plants.

The Jaruzelski regime was badly shaken by the breadth and intensity of the strikes, which came on the anniversary of Solidarity's recognition by the state in August, 1980. The Interior Minister, Gen. Kizczak, sent squadrons of police to surround and forcibly clear the workers' occupations. Many strikers were beaten and arrested. Young workers were ordered to report for army induction. Others were fired for striking. However, the police violence and state intimidation were not the only forces which ended the strikes for now.

Plebiscite in Chile

As we go to press, Chileans voiced a resounding "No!" to Gen. Augusto Pinochet's 15-year-long bloody military dictatorship. However Pinochet can remain President 17 more months and head of the army eight more years! The struggle continues.

A broad opposition coalition in Chile organized a grass-roots campaign to attempt electoral defeat of Pinochet. Two alternatives were allowed in the state-sponsored Oct. 5 plebiscite: "yes" meant another eight-year term for Pinochet; "no" meant new elections to be held within the year.

The Chilean military led by Pinochet overthrew the democratically-elected "Popular Unity" government murdering President Salvador Allende in the 1973 U.S.-CIA supported coup. The heads of the armed forces nominated Pinochet on Aug. 30 to run in the plebiscite, and they will abide by what Pinochet, not voters, decides.

The opposition in Chile is now united mainly by what it stands against, and represents diverse social forces. An important page of opposition was turned by the copper miners in the early 1980s, when they challenged Pinochet's "Reaganomics" program, which brought relief for capitalists and unemployment for workers.

Youth and women have been among the most creative in opposing Pinochet. Both worker and student youth have been a dimension in all the protests. A group called Women for Life mocked the plebiscite on the day of Pinochet's "nomination" as they carried cardboard figures through Santiago. Each figure bore the name of a person who "disappeared" after the 1973 coup, and the question: "Have you forgotten my name? Yes or No."

Before the plebiscite, Pinochet lifted the 15-year-old state of emergency, lessened press censorship, and allowed the return of exiles, including Allende's family and political associates. But with the military in control, will they recognize a "no" vote and allow free elections to be held?

Who We Are and What We Stand For

News and Letters Committees is an organization of Marxist-Humanists that 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.

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that 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. We have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead."

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today*; *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao and Rosa Luxemburg*; *Women's Liberation*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* 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.

The new visions of the future that Dunayevskaya left us in her work from the 1940s to the 1980s are rooted in her rediscovery of Marx's Marxism in its original form as a "new Humanism" and in her re-creation of that philosophy for our age as "Marxist-Humanism." The development of the Marxist-Humanism of Dunayevskaya is recorded in the documents on microfilm and open to all under the title *The Raya Dunayevskaya Collection—Marxist-Humanism: A Half Century of its World Development*, on deposit at the Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs in Detroit, Michigan.

News and Letters Committees aims at developing and concretizing this body of ideas for our time. 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 mass activities from the activity of thinking. Send for a copy of the Constitution of News and Letters Committees.

In Poland: the contradictions unfold

Two weeks after the strikes began, Lech Walesa was talking with Kizczak at a meeting arranged by Catholic Church intermediaries. He agreed to call for workers to end their strikes unconditionally, as a prelude to opening talks between the state and Solidarity for the first time since martial law was imposed in 1981 and Solidarity was outlawed. Walesa's statement was sent by phone to all the strike centers.

When Walesa returned to the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk, where he had joined co-workers when the strike began, he was jeered by many for his decision. After a nightlong debate, the strike committee narrowly voted to end the strike.

Walesa was then chauffeured in a Mercedes-Benz provided by the Church, to the July Manifesto mine where miners had refused to end their occupation until Walesa talked with them in person. As Walesa argued for compromise with the state, and said his position to end the strikes was "dictated by a higher necessity," the miners accused him of selling out: "We found it hard to understand his reasoning. He was talking about the state of the country's economy, but our economic situation was also very difficult." After getting some guarantees of no reprisals against strikers, the miners ended the occupation.

The long-standing differences within Solidarity over the direction of the movement emerged sharply in August. On the one hand, a new generation of young workers initiated the strikes without waiting for approval

from the more established Solidarity leadership. The workers considered the strikes in August a continuation of their struggles last spring. They were angered by Walesa's speed at calling off the strikes without consulting the national Solidarity leadership or the rank and file strike committees. As one Lenin shipyard worker put it, Walesa "did not get a written guarantee. The slogan which we repeat—'There is no freedom without solidarity'—is meaningless if we leave this place."

On the other hand, a segment of the old Solidarity leadership, represented by Walesa and others, together with the Catholic Church, has narrowed the concept and goals of Solidarity to "legalization." The roots of this go back to the early days of Solidarity and the acceptance of the concept of "self-limiting revolution."

In talks with the state that are to take place Walesa and others are reportedly willing to accept the post martial law 1982 trade union decree which limits workers' right to strike and defines "acceptable" trade union activity, in order to gain recognition of Solidarity. Walesa said, "I want a pure trade union...But I don't want to be the only one," referring to the "official" unions set up by the state after martial law.

It may be that the state-capitalist rulers of Poland will find it expedient to recognize Solidarity in some form as a "legal" trade union. But this will be only for the purpose of pushing through even more hardship, austerity, and increased production, now called economic "reform," onto the backs of Polish workers.

'The other Seoul'



During the Olympic games, South Korean workers on strike at TeleVideo Systems held rallies on the roof of their computer factory, to draw attention to the "other Seoul."

Czechs march for freedom

Over 10,000 people marched through the streets of Prague, Aug. 21, chanting "Freedom, Freedom" and "Czechs are not afraid anymore." They gathered in Wenceslaus Square where 20 years ago Russian tanks sent across the border to crush Prague Spring had invaded the city. It was the largest political demonstration in Czechoslovakia in nearly two decades.

In Wenceslaus Square, a member of the Independent Peace Association read a list of demands to the rally, calling for freedom of the press, free elections, rehabilitation of people persecuted for political activity, removal of the 80,000 Russian troops still in Czechoslovakia, and a reassessment of all the "events" of 1968.

Many of the demonstrators were in their 20s and 30s, representing a new generation that has taken up the struggle for freedom. A teenager, cited by police for leafleting for the rally, said the demonstration was needed "so the powers that be will see there are still people who are not afraid."

Haiti—what next?

A Sept. 18 military coup in Haiti brought Gen. Prosper Avril to power, creating the fourth military-imposed government since Jean-Claude Duvalier fled the country in 1986 following a popular uprising. This newest coup was led by young low-level officers, including sergeants who were responding in part to the brutality and corruption of the three previous governments, dominated by Gen. Namphy.

A week before the coup, the nation was outraged when an immensely popular young priest, Fr. Bertram Aristide, was nearly killed in an attack during a church service in St. Jean Bosco cathedral. As 1,000 were listening to Aristide, whose fiery sermons have called for socialist, anti-imperialist revolution, 25 thugs armed with machine guns and machetes burst in, killing three people and wounding 60. Namphy's troops watched impassively from nearby. The congregation was, however, able to protect Fr. Aristide, who fled into hiding.

The new leader, Gen. Avril, is of the same mold as Namphy—old-line Duvalierist, corrupt, authoritarian. This makes his promises of democracy sound hollow geared mainly toward resumption of U.S. aid.

Massacre in Burundi

In August, a brief revolt in Burundi in east central Africa by the long-suffering Hutu majority (85% of the population) against their Tutsi overlords flared up when the virtually all-Tutsi army suddenly began to arrest educated Hutu peasants in the north. Apparently fearing a repeat of the 1972 massacres when Tutsi slaughtered 150,000 Hutu, including virtually their entire educated population, Hutu peasants in the area rose up and killed some of their rulers.

The army's response was swift, brutal and predictable. With helicopters and machine guns, a modern army massacred thousands of unarmed or lightly-armed Hutu peasants, at least 5,000 by the government's own admission. No outsiders have been allowed in to check on the Hutu in the area who numbered 100,000.

Called "tribal" by our press, which caricatures Africa when it covers it at all, the conflict is in fact class and ethnic-based. Each Tutsi regime since 1972 has promised reform, including the present one led by Pierre Buyoya, but in fact nothing has changed.

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