

Living the
capitalist
crisis

by John Marcotte

I'd like to turn over my column this month to a worker with many years in the bakery industry, who shares with us the daily reality of life on the production line in Reagan's America.—John Marcotte

Workers today understand that no job is secure because at any moment the owner of the company can bring in a new machine. When he does, the worker immediately knows that it's going to eliminate jobs. The fear of ending up without work is a daily worry of workers today.

This is happening in my factory right now. For example, this woman who is 56 years old was doing the same job on the line for the past eight years. Suddenly the supervisor transferred her to a job she had never done, a harder job. When she asked why, the supervisor said, "The machine can do your job. And we're going to eliminate more jobs."

But the machine by itself isn't doing her whole job—the lead man is now doing that plus his job. But he didn't protest. He gets 30 cents more to be lead man. Now that's two jobs eliminated, one on each shift.

ELIMINATION OF JOBS

The workers, seeing these innovations eliminate one worker, who gets transferred to another job, tell themselves, "If they bring in more machines, one person will end up without work." The supervisors, seeing these innovations, want to eliminate more jobs in more departments.

The workers react to this attitude of the supervisors. They call the union, saying, "How is it possible that this machine runs so fast, and they want to put two workers where there have always been three?" In that job you have to grab the pans at the speed of the machine. When the pans stick together, you get a gap in the line and the dough falls in the empty space. So the supervisor yells at the worker, thinking that yelling will solve the problem. But it's not the worker's fault, it's the speed of the machine!

The company talked about these innovations they were planning in contract negotiations last year. They said these innovations would cost a lot, and that's why they couldn't raise us more than 98 cents over three years. They said it would be good for us, that they would open a new line with 20 new jobs. But that new line makes three new products. What is the advantage to us of all the new production and

(continued on page 3)

Black/Red View

Native Son, the film:
tragedy but no indictment

by John Alan

As I watched the film version of Richard Wright's classic novel *Native Son*, starring Victor Love as Bigger Thomas and Oprah Winfrey as his mother, I couldn't rid myself of the thought that it has taken Hollywood more than forty years to get enough courage to bring Wright's novel to the screen. This is an incredibly long time for a novel that was an instant success in 1940, selling a quarter-million copies in the first three weeks of publication and which was made into a critically successful play directed by Orson Welles, in 1941.

NATIVE SON 'ADAPTED'

Richard Wesley, who adapted Wright's novel for this film, has presented a tragic drama about the dreadful consequences of American racism that caused Bigger Thomas, a Black youth from Chicago's South Side in the 1930s, to panic and accidentally kill his wealthy, liberal white employer's drunken daughter out of fear of being charged with rape.

Whether it be the dire poverty of the rat-infested slum that he and his family lived in, or his estrangement from his family and friends, Bigger's hostility and fear of the white world, that had shut him out from its material richness, and finally his own self-regeneration as a human being on the eve of his execution, are prefigured in the accidental death of Mary Dalton, the white woman.

All of this is in Wright's *Native Son* but Wesley's film fails to make clear that Wright wrote his novel as an indictment of American civilization. A "civilization," Wright wrote while creating Bigger, which "contained no spiritual sustenance for him, no culture which could hold and claim his allegiance..." Wright, through Max, Bigger's left-wing lawyer, explicitly accuses Ameri-

(continued on page 6)

Working women fight Reaganism
with organization, strikes, ideas

Boston nurses (left) and Watsonville, California cannery workers (right) on strike.

by Olga Domanski

International Women's Day, 1987, marks a full year since 100,000 women poured into Washington, D.C. for a "National March for Women's Lives." They not only demanded that the Reagan administration keep its hands off legal abortion, but embraced as well, the anti-apartheid struggles, where women have been crucial, and the ongoing labor battles, particularly of working women.

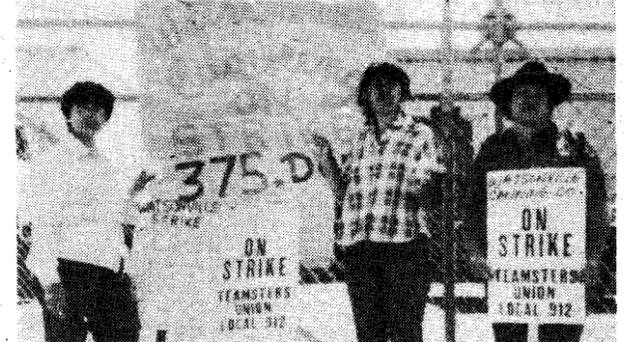
It is working women, especially, who have given new depth to the concept of "militancy" as not just force, but Reason, in their continuing battles over the whole past year. They have thereby opened pathways, not only for opposing the Reagan retrogression, but for helping to discover new directions in thought for the Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) today.

Consider the scope and variety of such battles as these:

- The wife of a retired steelworker organized thousands of his fellow-retired LTV steelworkers to fight an attack on their supplemental pension benefits when LTV declared bankruptcy. They filled downtown Youngstown, Ohio with a massive 5,000-strong rally on Jan. 31.

- The women of Local P-9—the Hormel strikers in Austin, Minn.—have travelled everywhere to both ask support and give solidarity—from participation in that demonstration of 100,000 in Washington last March, to a conference of 350 women miners in Kentucky in June, and countless other events throughout the year.

- A Black bank receptionist in California, forced to fight not only the Cal Fed bank, but both NOW and the ACLU, won her case all the way to the Supreme Court which ruled that employers in California are required to guarantee a woman's job back after a maternity leave. (A new Family and Medical Leave Act is now to be placed before the 100th Congress—where it is



up against formidable opposition.)

- New kinds of workers have been walking picket lines everywhere—from the flight attendants of TWA to the Visiting Nurses in Chicago; from the Black women in Mississippi who won union recognition at the Delta Pride Catfish plant after a nine-month strike, to the Hispanic women in California who are continuing a 16-month strike at Watsonville Canning Co. [As we go to press, the Watsonville strike has been settled.]

THE DEGENERACY OF REAGANISM

What they confront is not only Reaganism's continued attacks on all the hard-won gains the freedom movements battled to win ever since they compelled the passage of Executive Order 11375, two full decades ago this very year—an order that included women along with Blacks and other minorities in Federal affirmative-action programs. What they confront is the degenerate stage of capitalism of which Reaganism is an integral part.

Two million manufacturing jobs have been permanently wiped out in the 1980s alone; and of the new jobs created during that same period, fully 60 percent pay less than \$7000 a year! In a land where official poverty is judged to be anything less than \$10,989 for a family of four, the translation of "statistics" like these into the human terms of the 52 million Americans (primarily women and children) who are on some form of assistance, meager as it is, makes the demand by the current "welfare reformers" that welfare mothers be "required" to find jobs not so much ludicrous as vicious.

(continued on page 2)

The Philippines: voices of revolt

Editor's Note: Neither the proclamation of the new Constitution nor the resumption of military actions against the New Peoples Army on Feb. 10 have stilled the voices of revolt in the Philippines. The following four diverse voices were recorded by N&L in interviews in Manila.

Student, University of Philippines

Manila, The Philippines—The reasons the peasants marched to Mendiola (on Jan. 21) included the fact that although the Church owns 14.5 million hectares of land, most farmers own only 1.5 hectares each. The peasants demanded that the new constitution give a detailed plan for land reform; that there be no "retention limits" on land ownership, meaning almost all land could be eligible for redistribution; and, not to worry about "just compensation..."

Most of the activists here want to revive the youth movement of the 1960s. We are talking about a new consciousness of youth today.

Our organization has a log book, where we can write our ideas, thoughts, etc. From politics to love, but mostly politics—campus politics—issues. If you want to write, you bring it home, and then bring it back so others can read it. We tell people, "Join SAPUL—where learning is fun, and relevant!" [SAPUL is a political science club.]

On the Inside

China and the Marxist-Humanist Archives . p.5

Youth protests world-wide p.8

South Africa: Deafening wall of silence . . . p.4

Human Rights activists

Most of the areas we [Task force detainees of the Philippines] enter are highly militarized. We receive reports of violations, which we then verify by means including interviewing the victims or their families, and performing autopsies.

In one case, people in our group were harassed by the military in South Tagalog. We saw military men with tanks, armoured personnel carriers, so we took pictures to have evidence. They cocked their guns and tried to get our cameras. Many were drunk.

This is not the worst case, because some investigators have been fired upon and detained.

These most highly militarized areas are also where the New Peoples Army (N.P.A.) goes. With the military chasing the N.P.A., the people are often caught between the two. Usually it is not the N.P.A. who harms the people, but rather it asks for food. The military, though, often kills some of the men of the community.

In some provinces there is often no alternative to the N.P.A., because they wage armed struggle and hide in these remote places. No one would care or even know if you die in some places.

These are usually small communities, which tend to

(continued on page 8)

Working women fight Reaganism

(continued from page 1)

Faced with such economic decay—and as against the constant concessions and give-backs in both wages and working conditions which workers in one industry after another have been forced to give ever since that flood-gate was opened in 1979 by Doug Fraser to “save” Chrysler—consider the impact of such recent victories as those won by over 3,000 nursing home workers in Connecticut as members of Local 1199. In one home after another, they not only beat down all the give-backs demanded by the nursing homes, but won increases of up to 15 percent, to bring their wages to \$8.25 an hour—double the pay of workers in non-union nursing homes. The impact is even greater when one finds that many of those formerly locally-owned homes had recently been taken over by multi-national chains like the giant Beverly Corporation, the largest such chain in the country.

“Beverly,” said one worker, “talks in hours and units, not patients and workers.” What the union victory meant to her, she said, was that “We are not on a conveyor belt here. The union means we care about human beings.” It is that concern, not only with a decent paycheck, but with a totality of view, that has consistently been the mark of working women’s struggles through the decades. The struggle against the dehumanization of a computerized world has given it new depth today.

‘BIG BROTHER IN THE WORKPLACE’

Most revealing of all are the concerns taken up at the recent Communication Workers of America Conference of telephone operators, whose greatest focus was on the stress of a job that is constantly being monitored electronically and measured by AT&T’s infamous AWT (Average Work Time)—which translates into plain and simple speed-up.

“From the second an operator plugs in at the start of a shift,” says one report², “computer equipment records the number and duration of calls handled, how many keys were pressed to find directory listings, and when and how long the operator unplugs for breaks, meals and trips to the bathroom... All the while, the operator struggles to maintain an AWT of so many seconds per call throughout the shift—usually between 20 and 28 seconds, depending on the office...”

What they called “Erasing Big Brother from the Workplace”—their Resolution Number One—was not limited only to the monitoring of the telephone operators. Rather, the conference considered that problem part of a full assault on all workers’ rights, which included “polygraphs, brainwave testing, mandatory drug testing and computerized supervision and production controls.”

Indeed, the clerical workers’ organization, Nine to Five, reports that one out of every five office workers is now monitored by a computer. “Big Brother,” one office worker told N&L, “is not the computer alone. It is Reaganism! All our calls are monitored. It is hysteria!”

No wonder the most successful labor organizing drives we are seeing today involve clerical and health workers, whose issues center on the struggle against becoming “appendages to the computer,” and for new, human relationships.

All these battles have been taking place at the same time that there are signs within the recognized WLM of a new searching for pathways out of the retrogression

² “Big Brother in the Work Place.” CWA News, October 1986, p. 6.

Mayor’s wife on strike

Los Angeles, Cal.—It was quite an experience, being married to the Mayor of Austin, Minn. when the Hormel strike happened. My husband Tom was both the Mayor and a striker.

I had people telling me, you’re the Mayor’s wife, you can’t do this; you’re the first lady, you have to set an example.... My feelings were, I’m a human being. My husband ran for office, not me. I worked on the P-9 food shelf for the strikers, and I even had people calling me up, telling me I was terrible, helping these people get food.

I always thought that human beings were more important than material things, but with this strike you see how in this society it’s not the human being that counts. Priorities are so messed up; that really bothers me. There’s too much big money around that doesn’t care about human beings.

There’s a lot of pressure on the family of a striker. And this is going to be happening to more families. I think spouses should sit down together and have a good talk, to say to each other: If this should happen to us, what route would we take? The spouse, woman or man, needs to support the one who’s on strike, although conditions can get hard, especially if you have kids. I think the woman often has to be the aggressive one, to keep the family together, to teach the children what a strike is about.

I get mad when I hear the men and the politicians putting women down. Men say, “She can’t do that, she’s a woman.” A lot of these politicians make all these laws involving women—us!—our lives. I say, give me the food budget, the welfare budget, the medical budget for this country. There’s plenty of money out there, it’s just being wasted, spent the wrong way, so much into the military.

I say we have to think about life, about what it means to be a human being. This is what counts.

—Carol Kough

everywhere around us—a different kind of discussion of ideas than what has before characterized the WLM’s search for a theory to give its actions a direction.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN THOUGHT

It can be seen in the most recent issue of SAGE: A Scholarly Journal on Black Women, which is devoted entirely to Black Women as Workers, and which covers everything from a study of the 100-year-long struggle to organize domestic workers in the U.S. to a review of the Marxist-Humanist work, *Women’s Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*.

The recognition of the importance of the Black Dimension for any uprooting of today’s exploitative, racist, sexist society can also be seen in the choice of Spelman, a Black women’s college in Atlanta, Ga. for this year’s National Women’s Studies Association meeting in June and in the call by NOW for what they call the first national conference ever on women of color and reproductive rights, to be held at Howard University in Washington, D.C., May 15-17.

Not only is there a new consciousness of the dimensions of labor and Black within the Women’s Liberation Movement, but the need to work out anew a philosophy of liberation for the Movement is beginning to be discussed on a new level. It is seen most explicitly in the review of Raya Dunayevskaya’s works by Adrienne Rich in the *Women’s Review of Books*. (Sept. 1986).

It is that review which concluded: “What I hear Dunayevskaya saying above all is that we have reached the point in history where real freedom is attainable, if we are willing to commit ourselves to a more inclusive definition of freedom than has ever been attempted. If indeed Marx was moving in such a direction, we can’t leap forward from Marx without understanding where he left off, and what he left to us.”³

When we see today the overwhelming majority of women still in the lowest paid, most sex-segregated jobs, still with no child care and no guaranteed maternity leave, still making 64¢ to every \$1 of a man’s wage, when a Black infant born within five miles of the White House is more likely to die than an infant born in many destitute Third World countries—the challenge is to uproot all the old exploitative relations and create anew. Nothing short of deeply rooted freedom activities together with the full vision that revolutionary philosophy provides can work out that task.

³ See November and December 1986 issues of N&L for excerpts from Adrienne Rich’s review and Raya Dunayevskaya’s reply.



Hundreds of women high school students and teachers in India blocked New Delhi’s busiest street for three hours Feb. 20, to protest the common practice of molesting women (called “Eve teasing”) on overcrowded buses. Protesters demanded the suspension of a bus driver and conductor who had refused to help two students who were being molested. They had to jump from the moving bus because the driver refused to stop.

Mexican women garment workers, who organized their own September 19 Seamstresses Union after they were deserted by management and official unions following Mexico’s earthquake, have won a victory by having their union reinstated and recognized by the government. The women’s self-organization of a national and international solidarity campaign was the main element of their struggle. For more information, contact: September 19 Seamstresses Union, San Antonio Abad, No. 151, Colonia Obrera, Mexico. D.F.

The current issue of *Isis International Women’s Journal*, “Women, Struggles and Strategies: Third World Perspectives,” contains a collection of fascinating articles of analyses and experiences on topics ranging from feminism in Sri Lanka and the development of women’s organizations in the Philippines, to using women’s drama to organize women in Jamaica and a discussion of women’s liberation as myth or reality in Nigeria. To order a copy, send \$6 to *Isis International*, Via Santa Maria dell’ Anima 30, 00186 Rome, Italy.

Women in Ireland continue to defy a high court ruling of Dec. 19 which made it illegal for any individual or organization to give any information which might help a woman get an abortion. Initiated by the Society for Protection of the Unborn Child, the ruling closed two counselling services in Dublin, but women immediately formed networks of individuals willing to talk with pregnant women. The Irish Women’s Abortion Support Group needs funds to assist Irish women forced to go to England for abortion or birth control information. Write to them c/o Women’s Reproductive Rights Information Centre, 52/54 Featherstone St., London EC1, England.

The Toronto local of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union won a 4% pay raise and extended dental and health benefits. One thousand workers, mostly immigrant women from many different countries, struck 18 shops for four days in the first industry-wide strike there since 1932. Women learned each other’s languages to deter strike-breakers, and sang “Solidarity Forever” and “Union Maids.”

—From off our backs & Canadian dimension

International Women’s Day



March 8 marks the celebration of International Women’s Day, which originated in the strikes and organizing battles of American women garment workers. In 1910, at the Second International Conference of Working Women, Clara Zetkin, a leader of the German Socialist Movement, proposed that Working Women’s Day be established in solidarity with the struggles of American working women. She had been deeply moved by the militance of the garment workers in the face of brutal beatings on picket lines and the “Uprising of the 20,000” in protest of a lockout at what would later become the infamous Triangle Shirtwaist Company. March 8 was chosen because it was on this day that American women had marched in New York to demand better working conditions, an end to child labor and the right to vote.

In Russia in 1917, women textile workers determined to celebrate International Women’s Day, went out on strike in defiance of party and union leaders. They called on metal workers and all women to join them. A mass strike developed which demanded not only bread, but an end to war and the overthrow of the Tsar. Thus began the “February Revolution.”

This history was lost to us until today’s Women’s Liberation Movement “rediscovered” it. Celebrations in our age have included the following:

1979 - Thousands of Iranian women demonstrated in Tehran (above) following the overthrow of the Shah, chanting, “Not Khomeini—Freedom!” They were supported by the international women’s movement throughout the world.

1979-1986 - Women demonstrated against fascist repression throughout Latin America, from a Union of Housemaids in Chile to committees of Mothers of the Disappeared in several countries, who marched openly demanding justice for political prisoners kidnapped, tortured and killed.

1981 - Ten thousand women marched in Rome, in opposition to the Vatican and demanding abortion rights. Their protests led to the fall of the Christian Democratic government.

1986 - 100,000 women marched in Washington, D.C., against Reaganism’s attacks on abortion, affirmative action and workers’ rights. (See lead article, page 1.)

1987 - The Struggle Continues! —Suzanne Casey

A working mother’s life

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—Reagan has really hurt all people, even children. I spoke with a Black, single mom who works at GM here and who had to take three days off because her 17-month-old baby was very sick, so dehydrated that they had to put her on an IV. This woman is from Flint, Michigan, and has no family in Oklahoma City to help with her child. Yet her foreman gave her a hard time to get the time off! No one realizes the pressure this can put on a single parent, much less that it could be a factor in why there is so much child abuse. But at least this woman can have the union represent her. What about women who work where there is no union?

This whole system makes it very hard to work and be a mother. When I was a single mom, I had a job making \$4.25 an hour in 1980 at Rocky Mountain Bank Note. It was owned by the Mormons and the bosses were all male chauvinists. You couldn’t get ahead. I had to train my foreman to be our boss! When I gave my notice and told them I could never get a higher job because they were sexist, I was told that men had families to support. I had a family to support, too. In order to do that, I had to work 12 hours a day, sometimes seven days a week, just to make it! When did I have time to be a mother?

The elite stay in their ivory towers, safe from the real world, and some of them are women who don’t know what it’s like to get their hands dirty in order to survive. It forces us to get into relationships full of abuses just to have a roof over our heads and food for our children.

Women from every walk of life have had to struggle for what little gains we’ve made. Now Reaganism has made us go back instead of forward to be able to provide for our needs. Capitalism has stunted all our lives. Yet it seems we’re afraid to butt the system. All Reagan cares about is Star Wars. If even one quarter of that money was used on social programs and education, we, as a whole society, would be able to take care of all our needs. The day is coming soon that everything will be lost if we let one man hold our future in his hand.

—Working mom

Outrageous court decision against UFW

Los Angeles, Cal.—I have just learned the full details of a court judgment, Jan. 8, against the United Farm Workers union (UFW), and my blood is running cold. A big grower, Maggio Inc., sued the UFW for damage and losses caused by a strike in 1979—and Imperial County Superior Judge William Lehnhardt ruled in favor of Maggio and has fined the UFW \$1.7 million!!

During that strike, Maggio Inc. hired guards who were armed with shotguns, pistols, tear gas, and attack dogs. The guards suffered no serious injuries, but one striker, Arnaldo Barrazo, had his skull cracked open by the butt of a guard's gun, and another striking worker, Isaura Lopez, was permanently crippled when hit by a grower's car.

That was the strike when Rufino Contreras was

shot in the head and killed. I remember the massive, somber, moving funeral and march for Contreras (see *N&L*, March 1979); 7,000 farmworkers walked in silence for two hours on the highway to the cemetery.

Three grower-supervisors were charged with Contreras' murder, but the same Judge Lehnhardt dismissed the murder charges, saying that no one could say for sure who fired the fatal shots. When it was revealed that Lehnhardt's wife Sarah was a scab in the strike, the judge denied that that biased his ruling in any way.

I am a worker, a member of the working class of



America. This ruling is too much for me. How can we survive unless we rid ourselves of the power of these capitalist thieves and their lackies, and take the power of production in our own hands? The working people of this country need these bloodsuckers like a healthy body needs cancer. Let's get together. I am ready—are you?
—Felix Martin

Workshop Talks

(continued from page 1)

profits they're making on that line while they eliminate other jobs?

To me, we are living the capitalist crisis in the shop. Eliminating jobs is one form the desperation for profits takes. Another form of pressuring the worker is through the daily lies, provocations and harassment by the supervisors.

DESPERATION FOR PROFITS

Last week, when a supervisor yelled at a worker, she told him off and called the union. The union rep told the supervisor he couldn't yell at the workers, and he supposedly agreed. But then they change the way they attack the worker. This week, when this same worker punched in at 3:14 for the 3:15 second shift, the other supervisor took her card while she was working, crossed out the 3:14, and wrote in "3:17—late!"

And on one line, work ends at 1:15, everything after that is supposed to be overtime. But the supervisor works the line till 1:20 all the time. The workers were yelling, "If those b--- supervisors can mark our cards and create a bad record for us, why do we have to give them five free minutes of our labor?" There are 30 workers on that line—that's one hour stolen by the company!

I see how angrily the workers react to these injustices. When the union rep came, not only the worker who had been yelled at complained. In fact, she was afraid to speak up. But as the rep went from department to department, every single worker angrily told the rep that that supervisor had yelled at them! In that moment, forgotten were the divisions, those who sell out to the supervisor—all spoke as one in their anger.

This made me think. Here we are, 40 or 50 workers. In the whole country, how many would be thinking the same thoughts? The workers' reaction to the supervisors makes me see that workers are by nature revolutionary; in the shop they are revolutionary. I believe, if they had a philosophy of labor, if they knew that they have the power to change this whole situation—then there would immediately be a revolution!

Like one worker told me, "All this that goes on in the shop, no one outside sees it. It's like someone sleeping, covered up with a blanket. No one knows what we suffer everyday." You cannot deceive the workers. Workers are human beings, workers think. And when they think something, they say it.

Views from Australia

Sydney, Australia—At present I am working as a gardener-handyman at a government elementary school, a job I find most rewarding except for the low pay. Our Education Dept. is undergoing staff rationalization, mainly on non-teaching staff since the teachers have a strong union. My working week has been cut to two days and this means that I cannot join the public service union and as a casual I can be fired without notice.

Under our "Labour" government's class-collaborationist business-union-government accord, there has been a virtual wage freeze for most workers for two years accompanied by the lowest level of strikes this century. Meanwhile, wages in the corporate sector have risen an average 30%. Curiously our dollar only dropped after it was deregulated by our brilliant "Labour" treasurer, a move the Conservatives could never have pulled off. The blame for our economic ills is laid at the feet of the workers, amid calls by the "New Right" to deregulate the labour market, i.e., no minimum wage.

I have been a lefty since my early teens. I opposed the Vietnam war and apartheid and supported the anti-war and civil rights movement, and our Whitlam Labour Government. I have always sought to be well informed on political, social and ecological issues. I am a member of People for Nuclear Disarmament and a subscriber to Greenpeace magazine, am sympathetic to Gay Liberation and am seeking a deeper understanding of feminism. Since leaving school, I have worked as a labourer, metal worker, driver, and have been unemployed.

Recently I read Raya Dunayevskaya's *Marxism and Freedom*. I struggled with the terminology and philosophy, but drank in the history. Initially, I was disturbed by Dunayevskaya's iconoclastic slaughter of Communism, since I feared the onset of a nihilistic void. (Where are you taking me?) But as the book develops, a new world appears. I cannot find adequate words to describe its effect on me. I related heavily to the section on the American Scene, automation, speed-up. I worked for two years as a process welder once. My conception of the human world is changed forever. At present I am struggling with her *Philosophy and Revolution*.
—Paul Shelley

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Raw deal for custodians

Chicago, Ill.—The University of Chicago has recently begun to contract-out its janitorial services to Admiral Maintenance Company. Custodians who once earned \$8.40 per hour working for the University must reapply to Admiral for their previous jobs and, if they are hired, will earn \$6.30 per hour.

Workers are enraged by Admiral's job application procedure which includes demeaning questionnaires and interviews. Workers are faced with multiple choice questions such as "People who work at janitorial jobs are a) stupid and unpleasant, b) like anyone else, c) not nice people, or d) desperate for money." The job interviews are videotaped and analyzed by a "voice stress evaluator," a type of lie-detector.

The student newspapers at the University, the *Grey City Journal* and the *Maroon*, have begun a campaign to support the workers. This is one of the first acts of solidarity on that campus between workers and students in recent years.

Students are calling on professors and the community to support the custodians. For more information write to *The Maroon*, Ida Noyes Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois 60637
—Neda Azad

New management style?

Philadelphia, Penn.—Our new plant manager is trying to get us "more involved" by including workers on "action teams" to tackle safety and training, introducing machine operators as "experts" to customers, and eliminating quality control personnel and placing the responsibility on the operators. He is hiring supervisors holding degrees in management and engineering rather than people familiar with the machines and the product.

Although management asks for our suggestions, they never listen. Machines aren't maintained or repaired until they break down; safety precautions aren't implemented until someone is injured. Machine modifications are never what we ask for, but some fantastic engineering nightmare. We cannot tell a customer that a product is too difficult to produce or ask them to alter the specifications.

This new style of management is supposed to make our jobs more "creative," but while more of the burden of production falls on us, we have less support and no control. "Involvement" is just another scheme to convince us to work harder.
—Woman worker

Floyd Lench, Local P-9

On Saturday, Feb. 21, Floyd Lench died of a massive stroke. He was 61 years old. He had worked for the Hormel Co. in Austin, Minn., for 44 years, and served two terms as president of Local P-9, always elected by a great majority. I knew Floyd throughout my 31 years at Hormel. He was a man who cared about people and cared about problems. He was a real leader who fought for a fair contract, good working conditions and plant safety.

He was highly respected by his fellow workers. You knew that if Floyd gave you his word, he would carry out what he had said.

On Friday, Feb. 20, Floyd, together with the other Executive Board members of Local P-9, received a letter from the Hormel Co. stating that the entire Executive Board was fired. Floyd had never given up the fight and the hope that the striking workers would get back into the plant. He always said, "I want to walk back into the plant with my head held high." At a support meeting, he would get up and boost your spirits.

But this stress was now too much, and it killed him. I would headline an article about him, "P-9er loses his life fighting for what is right."

Twelve hundred people came out to his funeral in Austin, Tuesday Feb. 24. His work and his struggle and his hopes for a better future live on in all of us.

—Tom H. Kough,
Former Mayor of Austin,
P-9 Member

Selected Publications From News & Letters Committees

- American Civilization on Trial, Black Masses as Vanguard
Statement of the National Editorial Board
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Editorial

South Africa: The ever-deafening wall of silence

Over the past two years we have all been made conscious of the explosive development of the freedom movement in South Africa, but in recent months what has become most noticeable is not so much the news we are hearing from that land as much as the news we are not hearing. For the South African government's concerted effort to restrict all TV and press coverage of the resistance to apartheid is creating an ever-deafening wall of silence that threatens to cut us off from the creativity of the revolutionary mass movement.

Ever since it banned TV cameras from the Black townships in November 1985, the racist-apartheid government has made harassment of reporters and containment of news one of its top priorities. With the June 1986 declaration of the national State of Emergency, near total press censorship was imposed. Then, on Dec. 12, yet another series of press restrictions was enacted, making it illegal to report the actions of the security police or any "subversive" resistance to the regime.

SELF-CENSORSHIP OF BOURGEOIS PRESS

That such sweeping curbs on the press were imposed is no surprise in and of itself, for that is always how rulers respond when threatened with a revolutionary upheaval. What is more surprising, however, is the success these restrictions have had in silencing the Western press. The number of articles and reports on the mass movement inside South Africa have fallen off sharply in recent weeks, as have reports of government repression.

The bourgeois press may find it sufficient—as the *New York Times* apparently does—to include a paragraph in its articles on South Africa stating "press restrictions prohibit us from reporting unauthorized information." But all that has done is involve the press in a form of self-censorship. By printing only that information allowed out by the apartheid censor, they have become an accomplice to the very crackdown against the press they so abstractly deplore.

What is involved here is something far more serious than a failure to report the facts. By adhering to the forms of censorship imposed by apartheid, the press is preventing us from hearing the creativity and reason of

the mass movement. The stifled news accounts give no sense of the Humanism, the idealism, the revolutionary energy of the Black South African youth.

This is what makes freedom of the press and of information no abstraction. The compulsion of every freedom movement is to be heard, not only by others but by itself; it is integral to expressing the Idea of freedom as a revolutionary power. In lacking any cognizance of that power, the bourgeois press is falling into the traps set by the apartheid government. It is as though a virtual conspiracy of silence is trying to choke off the two-



Youth in South Africa

way road of freedom struggles and ideas between the U.S. and Africa.

This is presenting the anti-apartheid movement in the U.S. with one of its most serious challenges. We must ask: Is the recent downturn in the number of anti-apartheid activities on the campuses related to the crackdown against the movement in South Africa? Can it be that the anti-apartheid movement is already beginning to lose touch with the actual force and reason of the Black movement of Azania? The fact of near-total press censorship cannot be allowed to lull the movement here into taking for granted the concrete voices of human freedom that is the essence of solidarity.

SOUTH AFRICA UNCENSORED

It is for this reason that we in N&L have sought to present to our readers the voice of the uncensored South Africa. We have done so by creating a special section of our paper, "South African Freedom Journal," which contains reports direct from the revolutionary movement; we have done so by printing letters and reports sent to us by trade unionists, women, and youth

in the movement; and we have done so by turning over the Lead article in our December, 1986 issue to a Black activist-intellectual who wrote from the heart of the struggle. We intend to continue and deepen this effort to let the uncensored South Africa speak for itself in coming months.

Far from that being a mere question of reporting facts, it is part of the vital effort to develop the two-way road of freedom struggles and ideas between the U.S. and Africa, that for four centuries has been the source of revolutionary beginnings on both sides of the Atlantic. But as crucial as that two-way road is, it does not arise or persist automatically; it takes hard labor to maintain and develop in face of the latest efforts of the rulers to thwart it. In face of that, breaking through the wall of silence trying to divide the struggles for freedom in the U.S. from Africa is more crucial than ever. You can begin by sending us your views on the material you have been reading right here in N&L.

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Eugene Walker Managing Editor



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LABOR: THE ONLY HOPE IS TO ORGANIZE

I'm writing about the article by the Wilson Foods worker in Iowa (N&L, Jan. 30). I agree that we need to hook up all these rank-and-file movements. The problem is, you aren't going to do it through the International UFCW. They are only interested in the "per capita." They have raised dues in more than one local in Iowa and Illinois to get money to organize IBP's non-union plants, and then you see something like UFCW V.P. Lewie Anderson interviewed in a Milwaukee newspaper, saying "IBP is not a threat yet." He says this when they are locking out their unionized plant in Dakota City, and driving wages down all over.

The only hope for meatpacking is to organize, I agree. We need a meatpackers union with working leaders and direct election of officers, all the way to the top. How can Mr. Anderson justify his salary of \$125,000 plus?

Meatpacker/subscriber
Wisconsin

In our factory, two women were showing me the story about the young Mexican woman who closed down the whole bar ("Illegal" fights back," Feb. 13 N&L). We got a good laugh over it. Others at work say N&L is Communist. One, a union steward, goes to weekly prayer meetings and tells people: "Don't read that paper; they're against freedom of religion." But I saw her looking at the lead story on "Reagan's America: rampant racism, pauperization, militarized science." It must be making an impact if someone who is against it is reading it.

Woman worker
Detroit

I joined the picket lines of striking International Assoc. of Machinists (IAM) workers at Rohr, Inc., an aerospace firm. They are refusing to bow to a take-away contract; 8,000 machinists, in Riverside and Chula Vista, Cal. walked off the job on Feb. 16. There was mass picketing for two days, but then violence broke out when workers tried to prevent management from crossing the picket line to work the union jobs.

Several workers were beaten up by the police, and now a court order limits the number of pickets to two at the Riverside plant, standing 10 feet apart. About 500 workers crowded into the union hall when a meeting was spontaneously called for visiting workers from the Hormel strike, Local P-9 from Aus-

tin, Minn. One machinist said, "Hormel and Rohr must have gone to the same contract school; they're trying to do to us what Hormel did to the P-9 workers."

Strike supporter
Los Angeles

The Phelps Dodge Co. has begun to hire a few of the striking workers back—three years after the strike began. I think that's out of sheer necessity, as the scab workforce they have now is still made up of unskilled workers. There have been several on-the-job deaths and accidents among the scabs. Two men died within a period of two weeks. Last week another man got his foot chopped off at the ankle. The employees are the only ones who can ask OSHA to come and investigate, but I suspect that the scabs are afraid of getting fired if they blow the whistle.

Subscriber
Clifton, Arizona

Whenever you raise your voice they call you a Communist. But we are destroying ourselves and taking away the pride of the laborer. They brought in the National Guard in Austin, Minn. against the Hormel workers and they can do the same here. The employers have everything on their side, the law, the army, the bureaucrats. Freedom has to be experienced by the individual, or it is no freedom.

Meatpacking worker
Los Angeles

WOMEN: CONCRETE ISSUES

Terry Moon hit the nail on the head when she called the attitude of the Catholic Church "punitive" (Feb. 27 N&L). I read in the papers about how mad the Catholic Bishops are because advertisements for condoms may be televised. One actually said that AIDS was a "pretext" to get contraceptive advertisements on TV. What kind of twisted thinking is that? They would be perfectly happy if there was a condom that would protect one from AIDS but not pregnancy.

Women's Liberationist
Chicago

Some Black politicians are saying that schools shouldn't give out birth control because it's a form of Black population control. I want to say that if I got pregnant because I couldn't get

any birth control, and wasn't able to have an abortion, I don't know what I would do to myself.

High school student
New York

I liked Suzanne Casey's point (Feb. 13 N&L) on short-sightedness of some feminist and civil rights groups opposing women's right to a job after pregnancy because that's "not equality."

Similar lack of logic was shown by Sartre and the other existentialists opposed to Richard Wright when Wright wanted them to come out against racism in the American occupation forces. They wouldn't because that would "recognize" the occupation forces.

It's always the concrete that matters, which is why Marx said that the workers' demand for an eight-hour day is greater than the pompous declarations of the "Rights of Man."

Long-time Black activist
Berkeley, Cal.BLACK DIMENSION IN
MARXIST-HUMANISM

Lou Turner's "Black World" column on Jesse Jackson and Lucius Outlaw (Feb. 27 N&L) was very powerful. When I read of Jackson falsely counterposing economic and racial violence, and of the Black philosopher Lucius Outlaw, who sees a "renaissance of feelings and passions" springing up anew, I was reminded of something that I had read in Raya Dunayevskaya's book, *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution*. There Raya speaks of how Rosa Luxemburg had falsely counterposed theory to reality, both in her book *Accumulation of Capital* and her difficulty in seeing national liberation movements as Subjects of revolution, as Reason of revolution.

Listening to Jackson last night, after Harold Washington's close win over Jane Byrne, I really saw how Jackson sees the racist attacks as "symbols," rather than the reality of America. Yet what is in the air today was expressed so well by Turner: "the present racist climate...flows from the well-springs of American civilization."

Black woman
Chicago

Black student protest of racist "jokes" aired on the school radio station forced the University of Michigan to shut down the station until after spring break. This, like the other incidents of

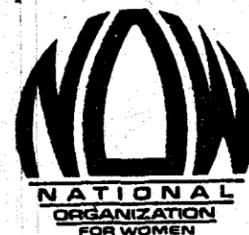
Reader

harassment of Black students you reported (Feb. 13 N&L), is part of a sporadic and continuing series of incidents. While most are anti-Black, anti-Oriental and anti-Semitic graffiti have appeared on campus, and one of the "jokes" put down the handicapped.

Some say these are isolated incidents, but I think that given enough years of Reagan, it has become much more acceptable to express racist feelings.

Concerned
Ann Arbor, Michigan

I just read Frantz Fanon, *Soweto and American Black Thought*. I think it's a good pamphlet and uncovers the truth of Fanon. In the sixties, many Black militant organizers distorted Fanon and turned him into a crude advocate of "foco" theory, whereas this pamphlet reveals Fanon's internationalism and stresses his ground in Marxism. Fanon uses concepts of humanism and spontaneity, whereas those nationalists who distort him believe in the backwardness of the masses. Your pamphlet puts Fanon where he truly belongs.

Black student
ChicagoCONFERENCE
AT HOWARD
UNIVERSITY

The National Organization for Women (NOW) is calling "the first national conference ever held on women of color and reproductive rights." The conference will take place May 15-17 at Howard Univ. in Washington, D.C. Women of color organizations in the U.S. have quadrupled from 1975 to 1986. Many of these organizations are involved in women's health and reproductive rights issues. But in many cases, teen pregnancy, infant mortality, and health care access have been seen as separate from controversial topics such as abortion, surrogacy and contraception.

This new initiative recognizes the critical need for women of color to help shape the debate on reproductive rights. For more information on attending the conference, contact Loretta Ross at:

National Organization for Women
1401 New York Ave., N.W., Ste. 800
Washington, DC 20005

Theory/Practice

by Raya Dunayevskaya

China: Archives in future tense

in every area of life, had their origins in the dissident ideas of Chinese youth in May-June 1957.¹

But what of Mao's response to those youth? Did it prefigure his direction for China? In 1957 there was no "Sino-Soviet split," no challenge by Mao to Russia's leadership of the world Communist parties. Five years were to pass before that became explicit. Everyone—whether those who praised Mao as the leader of a great national revolution, or those who opposed him as head of an oppressive bureaucracy—considered Mao to be simply one more manifestation of what we had seen with Stalin in Russia.²

In the spring of 1957, Dunayevskaya was finishing her first book, *Marxism and Freedom*. Mao's China had not been included. Yet one week after Mao's speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" was released on June 18, she insisted on including, directly on the galley-proofs of the book, two footnotes (#17 and #165) on Mao. Mao had insisted that contradictions in China were "non-antagonistic," and put forth the category "contradiction" without any reference to the philosophy from which it comes, dialectics. Dunayevskaya argued that Mao had "reduced the struggle of class against class to a contradiction among 'the people' while he became the champion, at one and the same time, of the philosophy of a hundred flowers blooming and one, and only one Party, the Chinese Communist Party ruling. Outside of the exploitative class relations themselves, nothing so clearly exposes the new Chinese ruling class as their threadbare philosophy." (M&F, fn. 17.)

Clearly, Mao in 1957 was posing something new. The very next issue of N&L—July 16, 1957—discloses the compulsion behind this new challenge to all revolutionaries: "Why Russia 'chose' to revise Marx's economic theories, and why China 'chose' to revise Marx's philosophy, is due both to the totality of the world crisis and to the important industrial differences between the two countries. Russia has become an important industrial land, a country that possesses values. China is a vast underdeveloped land, whose main possession is not the machine, but the human being."³

The "totality of the world crisis" at that moment stretched from the beginnings of the Afro-Asian Revolutions through the Montgomery Bus Boycott in the U.S. to the Hungarian Revolution. The Hungarian Revolution had shaken the world in Nov. 1956. By Feb. 1957 Mao set out to prove that Chinese socialism, unlike Russian, could work out such explosive tensions "non-antagonistically," with his secret speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions." What Mao was very specifically facing, however, was the fact that in the Hungarian Revolution, workers and intellectuals had singled out Marx's 1844 Humanist Essays, his vision of a "new Humanism." Philosophy suddenly became central, whether as expression of new movements for freedom connecting with Marx's Marxism, or, in Mao's case, as original deviations from Marx, attempting to usurp those movements.

In June, 1957, when Mao's speech was released, it became crucial to pose the absolute opposite to his perversion of philosophy as the expression of freedom. Thus the first public presentation of the category "Marxist-Humanism" appeared in opposition to Mao's revisions, in this same July 16, 1957 article by Dunayevskaya. In counter-posing first Hegel's and then Marx's concepts of contradiction to Mao's, she singles out "Marxian dialectical philosophy, or Humanism, as the theory of liberation."⁴

N&L had insisted that Mao's attempt to solve the

(continued on page 7)

3. "Two Worlds" column by Raya Dunayevskaya, #6622.
4. Mao's theoretician, Chou Yang, was later to attack Marx's Humanist Essays directly: "The modern revisionists and some bourgeois scholars try to describe Marxism as humanism and call Marx a humanist.... This, of course, is futile..." See "The Humanism of Marx is the Basic Foundation for Anti-Stalinism Today," #6762, a speech given by Dunayevskaya to revolutionary students at Waseda University, Japan, Dec. 28, 1965.

I am turning over "Theory/Practice" to my colleague Michael Connolly for a discussion of China and the Marxist-Humanist Archives.—R.D.

To see where China is going in 1987, Raya Dunayevskaya's "Theory/Practice" column last issue, "Whither China?" dug deep into the whole decade since Mao Zedong died in 1976. This summation of the past decade, in turn, was rooted in Marxist-Humanism's view of freedom struggles over three full decades since China's youth in 1957 took the opportunity presented in the "Hundred Flowers Campaign" to burst out in opposition to party and government and demand "genuine socialism."

The richness of Dunayevskaya's analysis of the rapidly unfolding Chinese events in 1986-87 demands that we take another look at our concept of archives. If we can see how Marxist-Humanism tackled the "new" in China as it unfolded, in such a profound way, historically/philosophically, that at crucial moments in China since the revolution we were able to anticipate developments to come, we may begin to see archives not alone as "past history," or even as "living," as current events, but as pathways to glimpse the future. Here we wish to take up two such transition points: 1957-59, from Mao's proclamation to "Let 100 flowers bloom, let 100 schools of thought content" to his "Great Leap Forward"; and 1976, from Mao's final campaign to Post-Mao China.

1957-59: FROM "100 FLOWERS" TO THE GREAT LEAP FORWARD

The sudden re-appearance of the "100 flowers" phrase in the Chinese events of 1986-87 brings us back to the Marxist-Humanist analyses written at the time. They showed that where China's youth interpreted it to mean free discussion of ideas, Mao and his co-leaders in the Chinese Communist Party, horrified by what the youth expressed, found "1,000 weeds." We said that the contradictions were "irreversible" and sure to deepen. The placards carried by demonstrators in 1986-87, demanding not alone democracy but new human relations

Views

STATE-CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA

I was interested to see that Gorbachev took the lead in the Jan. 28 New York Times over Reagan's "State of the Union" address. Reading Gorbachev, I was reminded of one of the Draft Perspectives in N&L several years ago which spoke of the enemy using Marxist language. Gorbachev attempted to quote Lenin, saying that "The value of a theory lies in its providing an exact picture of all the contradictions that are present in reality." I think Gorbachev is really speaking of the problems in production and the "unemployment within the factory gates," the slowdown on the line. What lies behind these statements of Gorbachev is how to get more productivity from the workers.

Someone wrote you last issue that radicals were "giddy," thinking Reagan would fall over the Iran/Contra scandal. I am sure many are now giddy also about Gorbachev's so-called "democratization," instead of looking at the real contradictions inside Russia.

Fred Shelley
New York

'WHITHER CHINA?'

American news commentators reporting on the student demonstrations in China were saying that the students got their ideas of democracy filtered from the West. But the truth is that the demonstrations were about the basic necessities of life, the same focus that characterizes student movements in Mexico and France now. The movement in China comes from their own concerns and hopes, not from foreign influence.

Hospital worker
Oakland, Cal.

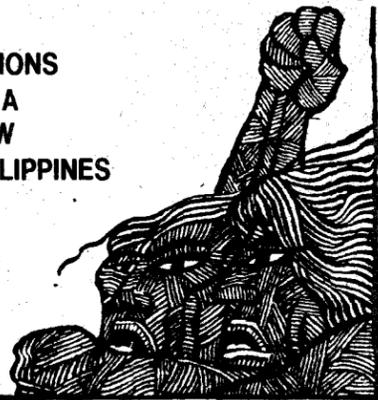
It was very good to see the "Reader's View" from Calvin Brown (Feb. 13 N&L) about the Chinese students group at Columbia University. I know them to be the most politically-minded, articulate group advocating democracy in China. They have good information on students' activities in China, and publish a magazine in Chinese. If articles on it could be translated, they would be informative to your readers.

Teacher from China
California

Dunayevskaya's posing of not who will follow Deng, but what will follow any successor, in her "Whither China?" analysis (Feb. 27 N&L) brings us to a very different ground than power politics in thinking about China. The fact is that any successor has no independent pathway to take. All are still tied to the Thought of Mao, and that thought never was able to be truly independent of the two superpowers. Thus what will follow cannot hope to be in the direction of a new human society if kept within the framework of Mao's Thought. Perhaps the students' voices will yet be a catalyst for something much deeper.

Observer
Chicago

VISIONS OF A NEW PHILIPPINES



There was a lot of interest in the report from the Philippines (Feb. 27 N&L) when we distributed N&L at Cook County Hospital. Many of the nurses are from the Philippines, and the idea that we had an in-person report on the massacre on the Mendiola Bridge and the attempted coup was exciting to them. I felt that R. Russell's interviews with Philippine activists made the article unique. Who else interviews squatter-community residents about their vision of a new Philippines?

N&L Committee member
Chicago

BRITISH IRRATIONALITY

James Anderton, the Chief Constable of Greater Manchester, has often hit the headlines with his provocative right-wing pronouncements, but he surpassed himself when he announced his belief that he "may be an instrument of God." A pretty extreme case of ruling class irrationality. Life has become nastier in recent years: violence on the streets and at football grounds, violence against women and children within the supposed security of the family. These are growth areas in the national life of Britain.

The ruling class and its ideologists cannot accept that the causes lie within the system itself. They are reduced to deploring the evil in human nature, reinforcing the police with firearms and all kinds of riot gear, calling for tougher sentences, and wrapping the whole repressive package in traditional religious values...

Richard Bunting
Oxford, England

SOCIAL ANARCHY?

Last month about 30 students in Utah met with the president of our university, trying to get him to disclose the specifics of planned budget cuts and restructuring. He avoided giving any real answers. The image the president was trying to project reminded me of Reagan—a nice guy who's not too sharp on details. But he showed who he really is when he said that one advantage to Utah is that leaders of business, education and government can get things done without having to deal with "social anarchy" found elsewhere.

ORGANIZING FOR MARXIST-HUMANISM WITH N&L

I have confidence in N&L. Why? Because in my country, South Africa, the media is pro-capitalist, anti-working class. The ruling class controls the media. I have respect for the fact that I have never seen an ad in N&L. It is paid for by workers themselves. That is very important.

N&L has an open and fair outlook on international events; it gives information which keeps the fires burning in all peace-loving people. At first I found N&L difficult to read. It took me three hours. I start reading the daily papers by looking at sports, the jobs ads, etc. They are in the back. I tried reading N&L this way, from back to front, but you can't. Now I feel much more at home with the paper. I know its sentiments and aspirations. From the bottom of my heart I say that there is perhaps no better newspaper in the world. In South Africa we are not exposed to Marxism; it is banned. But the few copies of N&L I've seen show me a direction, an attitude of mind, a way of life. I've never seen a report on petty crime in the streets in N&L. That's all you see in many other papers.

Union activist
Soweto, South Africa

I come from a background of poverty, and out of that was attracted to anarchism. My parents had always told me

At that point a student interrupted him, noting that "what you call 'social anarchy,' some people call democracy."

Student
Utah

ALL OUT APRIL 25!

On April 25, thousands of people will gather in Washington, DC and San Francisco, Calif. in opposition to U.S. policy in Central America and Southern Africa. While focusing on these two regions we don't ignore issues at home or other parts of the world... This administration is vulnerable on these two particular issues at this moment.

Our government's policies must be changed. But these policies will be changed only if our policymakers in Washington know the depth of our opposition to them. Join us in a Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa. Write to:

Mobilization for Justice and Peace
712 G St., SE
Washington, DC 20003

that people would respect me, but the first time I got a job I was not treated like a human being. What Marxist-Humanism says means something to me—"Human power is its own end," that everyone is a person and human beings are not things just to be used to produce.

Young and poor
California

Please send me a one-year sub to N&L. I wish I had discovered you much sooner!

New reader
Indianapolis, Ind.

We had a discussion in the Los Angeles committee about "voices of labor, philosophy of labor." One worker asked whether we were saying we don't want any bureaucracy at all. I told him, look at our statement in N&L on "Who We Are and What We Stand For." It shows that we are not for activity alone, for spontaneity only. No, we are not in favor of any bureaucracy over the workers, any rule of one human being over another. We have long ago rejected the elitist vanguard party. But we are for organization based on a philosophy of liberation—and we have one, News and Letters Committees.

N&L Committee member
Los Angeles

Direct from South Africa Freedom Journal

Soweto, South Africa—One morning at about 3:30 a.m. in a house in Soweto, the police force raided three girls who were sleeping by then. I interviewed one girl, Suzie, of about 16 years old in Soweto who gave me some of their experiences in the emergency cells.

She said that it was early in the morning when they heard voices and knocks on the doors and windows. When they woke up they realized that the police were there and demanding entry into the house; they opened the door and let the police inside. The police, about twelve of them, both Black and white, started questioning the three girls outside the house without even asking their parents, who were present at the time. After some lengthy questioning one of the girls was taken away by the police claiming that they wanted her to give them directions to houses of the "comrades."

Suzie said for the whole morning she was forced to give the names and addresses of the "comrades" out of fear, even though the names were not exactly of members of the group. After arresting about 27 of them, all youth between 14 and 17, they were taken to Protea Police Station, Soweto, for interrogation.

On arrival at Protea Police Station they were kept in a cell separated from boys, about 16 of them. They were then called one by one for questioning. She said most of the questions asked were: "Do you know who Mandela is?", "Do you belong to UDF (United Democratic Front)?", "Who belongs to COSAS (Congress of South African Students) and AZASM (Azanian Student Movement)?", and many more relating to those mentioned. She said if you responded or said that you did not know of such, you

Organizing in Guyana

Georgetown, Guyana—Our members work in a number of projects of various kinds without seeking to make them party organizations. To many parties in the Caribbean, this appears naive. It is not. It is a deliberate policy to help the masses of Guyanese to build up autonomous organizations for their use, representation or defense, and to defend the principle of such organizations. The political system and practice in this country must never be marked by the dominance of a single party or coalition confronting a mass of citizens.

Our central focus in the coming year will be on the campaign launched last August, The Town and Village Renewal Campaign. The PNC's (Peoples National Congress) anti-democratic regime, lack of financial system in the area of local government and the general stagnation of the country over the last sixteen years not only crippled village and town development but sent the communities into reverse gear.

Aspects of life which will receive attention include the environment and sanitation; drainage and irrigation, pure water supply; roads and streets, dams and bridges; educational buildings and fittings; institutions; self-expression of the people; culture and classroom education and after-school training; recreation and sports; self-defense against dictatorship; people's organization; care of the very young and the elderly.

All of this work will be attempted as part of our program of multi-racial struggle and advance. It remains our commitment to support the Amerindians' struggle for equality in whatever form they propose it.

—Working People's Alliance

Black/Red View

(continued from page 1)

can civilization of having, "planned the murder of Mary Dalton." Wesley never makes this explicit in his film adaptation. Therefore, the audience is left bewildered about the last scene, the final meeting between Bigger and Max, in which Wright had intended to register "the moral horror of Negro life in the United States."

BLACK CHICAGO REMEMBERED

As a youth, I lived on the same South Side, at the time Richard Wright was writing *Native Son*, and I still have a vivid picture of the horror of the poverty, the kitchenettes, the rats and the garbage. Unlike Bigger, many of us organized action committees against these conditions to battle the evictions, landlords, restrictive covenants and to pressure City Hall to clean-up the rats and garbage. Many of us went to jail for this.

The central meeting place for Black South Side activists, at that time, was the Washington Park Forum. This was a free and open forum where speakers aired anti-capitalist ideas, as well as sharp criticism of the Communist Party's policy toward Blacks. Wright often attended that forum.

It would be a grave mistake to equate today's opposition by Black youth to unemployment and underemployment to Wright's fictionalized character, Bigger Thomas, as some reviewers of this film have done. Even without malice, this shows a callous lack of knowledge of how Blacks have organized and battled against racism in the 1930s and are still doing so, today. Wright's nihilistic Bigger and their single acts of rebellion, although symptomatic, never played a crucial role in this social battle.

On the contrary, it was our activity on the South Side that gave inspiration to CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) organizing on the campus of the University of Chicago, and which in a direct way found its continuation in the birth of the Civil Rights Movement.

Soweto under siege

were beaten with fists and choked by the throat to try to force information out of you. You can imagine a girl at that age forced to admit or name what she might not even have heard about.

Suzie said, if the police cannot get any information from you, they then keep you in police cells for 14 days before they release you.

These are some of the things that instill hatred in our youth, who now care less about death; hence, the so-called "necklace," because of false information mostly given to the police by other youth or adults who are then labeled informer or sellout. These are some of the traumas Blacks in South Africa are trying to eradicate.

—Soweto Activist

'Divide and conquer' fails

Los Angeles, Cal.—Recently a Black worker I know was unexpectedly fired from his job as a stable cleaner and assistant groom at Santa Anita racetrack. The white boss told him: "I'm letting you go because my Mexicans have come back from Mexico."

How can Black workers respond to this? Do we jump on the anti-immigration bandwagon? Do we believe the stereotypes about servile Latino and Asian labor with which we cannot compete? Racist capitalists believe that immigrant laborers are "willing to work harder."

It's true that working conditions in the Third World are so horrendous that some immigrants here will work arduously for little pay. And it's also true that the legacy of slavery has created a legacy of Blacks fighting in response to disrespect and exploitation—a response the racist bosses don't like.

But the truth of our exclusion is how capitalists like to use "divide and conquer" tactics to set us against Latinos, while they twist Black workers' resistance into "ignorance of the work ethic." The Black bourgeoisie collaborates in this. A *Jet* magazine article called "Blacks Turn Up Noses While Jobs Go Begging" scolded Black college graduates for not grabbing minimum wage clerk jobs "as a start."

At the same time, Latinos as well as Asians have a rich revolutionary history which proves that they, too, reject the sweatshop as a way of life. If we see ourselves in competition with other low-wage workers, the capitalists will continue to keep us all down. We need to both recognize who our enemy is in this racist, capitalist society, and see the vision of freedom contained in our history of resistance.

—Wayne Carter

Two-way road at SACCC

Chicago, Ill.—On Feb. 26, members of the South Austin Coalition Community Council (SACCC), a community organization on Chicago's Black West Side, celebrated Black History Month by a discussion with a South African trade union leader. He spoke movingly to the adult audience of 40 about the plight of domestic workers and the struggle of the South African people, especially the youth.

At the same time he challenged SACCC—"Where are your youth?" he asked. "If this is a community organization, the youth must be here and involved. Time waits for no one. The time is now."

Of his own life, he told of his participation in the march in Soweto on June 16, 1976, and the infamous massacre that resulted. He was 13 at the time, and told of his arrest at 15 and the five years he spent as a prisoner on Robben Island.

Then he talked of the U.S.: "During my tour I have learned more than I was prepared to teach. I never knew about Black History Month and I am honored to have been invited to speak at this time. I never knew of the unemployment and oppression of Black people here. And I feel proud to be amongst a people who have such a history and continue to struggle. But I must ask again, where are your youth?"

TWO-WAY ROAD

The response was a vigorous discussion among SACCC members during which many took the floor. "We appreciate very much the comments of our brother from South Africa," said one Black man. "We appreciate both what he has told us about South Africa and what he has observed about us. We must develop new methods of reaching our youth."

One woman responded, "I often hear people say that our youth don't speak to us on the street. But do we speak to them? Do we ask them about what concerns them? When we put out a leaflet for our meetings do we make a special effort to address it to the youth?"

Another woman stated that, "This is not only about the youth. What about the men? It is we women who go to the demonstrations and the meetings, while often our men fail to participate and expect us to care for the children and have their supper ready on time. That has to change, too."

"I agree with much of what has been said tonight," said another woman. "I want to thank our brother from South Africa for his remarks and contribution to Black History Month. But, I also want to come back to Africa and say as we continue to struggle, none of us will be free until Africa is free."

The meeting closed with the singing of Civil Rights songs and a standing ovation for our South African guest and the spirit of the two-way road between the U.S. and South Africa that was so in evidence in South Austin at this Black History Month celebration.

—David Park

E.D. Nixon, 1899-1987

History—the history of the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-56—links the name of E.D. Nixon along with Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr., to the great spontaneous mass action that helped give birth to a new generation of freedom struggles. The death of E.D. Nixon on Feb. 25 calls us to remember his life in both the labor and Black freedom movements.



"The city pulled out all stops to try to break the bus boycott," Charles Denby wrote in *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*. "Rev. King's home was bombed, as was the home of E.D. Nixon, a pullman porter active in the boycott. No one was arrested for the bombings, but both King and Nixon were arrested, along with 90 other Montgomery Blacks active in the boycott. The Alabama law used against them had been passed in 1921 to break a miners' strike."

That the labor and Black dimensions were linked as targets of attack by the Alabama power structure was no accident. E.D. Nixon, in that same decade of the 1920s, had helped A. Philip Randolph found the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. In the 1940s E.D. Nixon became President of the Voters League of Montgomery, the first organization dedicated to Black voting rights in the 20th century South. The 1944 march on the Montgomery, Alabama courthouse, demanding the right to register to vote, was remembered by Rosa Parks as a watershed: "we were determined to speak out...we could not take it any longer."

As head of the NAACP in Montgomery in 1955, Nixon was the one to bail Rosa Parks out of jail. He was the one to go to Martin Luther King, Jr. and ask him to take the leadership of the movement against bus segregation. None of them knew where the mass movement, especially the Black youth, would take the struggle then. But E.D. Nixon, Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr. listened to the aspirations for freedom and helped to set them expressed, in a year-long boycott, in daily mass meetings, in the self-organization of an alternate transportation system, in appeals to the whole world for support. We honor the memory of E.D. Nixon, a friend and subscriber to N&L for over 20 years. Today's new youth protests are continuing the fight for his dream.

—Michael Connolly

Chicago election results

Chicago, Ill.—As the post-Democratic primary polls show, anyway you view it, Harold Washington's slim electoral victory over former-mayor Jane Byrne on Feb. 24 reveals that the majority of Chicago's white electorate would rather have "anybody but Harold", so long as he or she is white.

These are the facts: Washington got 53% while Byrne got 47% of the vote, with a 70,000 vote margin separating the two. Though Washington did slightly better in white liberal and Latino wards than in the 1983 election, clearly the measure wasn't Washington reformism vs. Byrne's term of retrogression. And in a *Chicago Tribune* poll of 300 Byrne voters taken after the Feb. 24 election, 75% remain committed to the defeat of their own party's nominee; 81% do not believe that Democratic Party voters should line up behind Washington.

In case it is still not clear what these statistics show, the emotional statement of a Byrne supporter leaving the Byrne campaign headquarters after the former mayor conceded the election speaks plain enough: "I'm packing up my children and leaving Chicago, after this, because Chicago is becoming just like Detroit—too many Blacks!"

—Lou Turner

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Youth

Confronting campus racism means being rooted in Black dimension

In the past few weeks I have received reports about the virulent racism that has been showing its face on the U.S. campuses, a racism brought to a new height after six years of Reaganism:

- At the University of Michigan, after a leaflet declaring "Open hunting season" on Black students was protested by a march of 300 Black and white students, the campus radio station aired a program of racist jokes.

- At Pennsylvania State University, KKK leaflets were distributed on the campus, threatening the anti-apartheid movement, while at the University of Pennsylvania, a Black woman student was attacked by white students on her way home from work.

- At Smith College in Massachusetts, a women's cultural center was defaced with racist phrases after a Black woman student had written a letter to the campus newspaper protesting the racism on the campus.

- At the State University of New York, at Albany, Black students living in a dormitory were threatened with notices to "leave tomorrow or die."

DROP IN BLACK ENROLLMENT

Even on campuses where there have not been reports of racist attacks, the tremendous drop in the number of Black students attending U.S. colleges tells the story. As one Black student at Wayne State University in Detroit told me: "Racism here is institutionalized. You go to class and find out that you are the only Black student. No one talks to you. Most people ignore you."

At the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, following the recent racist attacks, minority student groups have formed a committee which meets weekly to gather information on racist attacks and reports them to the university administration. But as one U. of M. student put it: "The administration keeps trying to pass off everything as an isolated incident."

What can we do not just to expose this racism but to confront it? I don't think it can be done without young people becoming rooted in the history of how American civilization has been put on trial by the Black struggles.

Recently I had a chance to discuss a Marxist-Humanist work, *American Civilization on Trial: Black Masses as Vanguard (ACOT)* with a Black student at the University of Illinois at Chicago and would like to share some of his reactions with you. He had appreciated ACOT's critique of Liberalism in its 1963 introduction entitled "Of Patriots, Scoundrels and Slave Masters." "I find liberals' claim that they are the alternative to racism, comical. This introduction shows John F. Kennedy's racism. He is still highly regarded by many as a 'champion of Civil Rights' but the actuality is that he was forced by the Black movement to do the little that he did do for Black people."

READING BLACK HISTORY

Reading ACOT had made him think of how much high school and college history books "avoided any discussion of issues related to Blacks. Take the Abolitionist Movement or David Walker's Appeal. David Walker is a name you won't find in public school books. You never get a sense of Blacks being systematically opposed to slavery. You just hear of a few individuals. And textbooks always present the Abolitionists as the extension of Abraham Lincoln. But here you see that it was the movement of the fugitive slaves that created the Abolitionist Movement. Or take the opposition to U.S. imperialism. I was totally unaware that Blacks were the first to identify the Spanish American War as an imperialist war, and organized Anti-Imperialist Leagues."

What he had found so surprising was that "Karl Marx had studied the Civil War and the Abolitionist Movement so closely and that the Civil War had encouraged Marx to re-write parts of Capital. I had never known about Marx's relationship to the Black world. You often hear that Marx never discussed

Blacks but this pamphlet suggests otherwise."

To me, what this youth was expressing was the refusal to separate the activity against racism from Black revolutionary history and thought. That type of discussion is what is so urgently needed between Black and white youth to confront the racism on the campuses, and to totally uproot this racist, sexist, class ridden society.

For a copy of

• *American Civilization on Trial* •
See lit ad. page 3

'Let the children go'



Los Angeles Cal.—"Let the children go," read the signs carried by young protestors, among the forty who demonstrated Feb. 16 outside the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) detention center in Inglewood, against the INS practice of arresting and detaining teenagers and children.

The children and youth are picked up on the streets, for breaking curfew laws or other violations, and are turned over to the INS Inglewood jail. They're kept there, often together with the adult population, and held for release to their parents. Then, if the parent is an "illegal," he or she is arrested and deported: that, in fact, is the main purpose of the whole project.

The INS closed their detention center in Hollywood because of all the protests we staged there, but now they're planning on opening a whole new prison on Terminal Island. For all the talk of the Reaganites about "family" and "children," they don't care a bit about these young people's families and lives.

—Human rights activist

Theory/Practice

(continued from page 5)

problem of how to industrialize non-capitalistically, while not being dependent on either the U.S. or Russia, would center on the fact that "China's main possession is not the machine, but the human being." That Mao would spell this out in the barracks discipline and mass communes of the "Great Leap Forward" was known to no one in July, 1957. Nevertheless, that is what flowed, consequentially, from his original revision of Marx.

In Dunayevskaya's 1959 work, *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, written while the "Great Leap Forward" was still ongoing, she argued that "whatever 'great leap forward' was made, was made on the bent backs of the masses, not for them. What was being established was not a new society, but state-capitalist totalitarianism." It is here that Dunayevskaya focuses on the "intellectual bureaucrat" out to lead the Third World revolutions, as the "greatest obstacle" to their development. They embody the new category that arises from within the revolutions, the "administrative mentality." "The prototype and master of them all," she argues, "is, of course, Mao, once a Marxist revolutionary."⁵

1976-1987: POST-MAO CHINA AND MAO'S THOUGHT

Now let us move to 1976. What has been the fate in China of Maoism after Mao? In the months before the current crackdown on China's protesters, commentators outdid each other in contrasting post-Mao China to the legacy of Mao we have just traced. In the daily press they wrote of a "capitalist renaissance" in China; in left papers, one read of Deng's "betrayal" of Mao.

Yet in the aftermath of the new repression, the parallels in China's recurrent suppression of youth protest—1957, 1968,⁶ 1987—demand another look at why the current rulers, even those who wish to revise Mao's policies, retain a great continuity with Maoism. It is not only that they represent the same state-capitalist class, though that is an ever-present reality.

In "Whither China?" Dunayevskaya points to 1983 as

5. *Nationalism, Communism, Marxist-Humanism and the Afro-Asian Revolutions*, by Raya Dunayevskaya, #2702. For an in-person account of life and labor in the "Great Leap Forward," see "Alienation and Revolution: a Hong Kong Interview," #6771.

6. The very title "Whither China?" alerts us to its revolutionary relationship to the 1968 thesis of the same name by Sheng Wulien. They demanded genuine socialist revolution in China and took the Paris Commune as their inspiration. A full discussion of Mao's "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" as the "great substitution" for Marx's "revolution in permanence" is found in Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution*, Ch. 5, "The Thought of Mao Tse-tung."

Film: 'Partisans of Vilna'

No one interviewed in the 1986 film "The Partisans of Vilna" is less than 60 years old; yet the film should be seen by all young people concerned with the history, practice, and philosophy of working out a movement for freedom. Director Josh Waletzky has combined interviews with now-elderly Jewish partisans who fought the Nazis occupying Lithuania with newsreel films and still photos of the period. The story is about youth organizing themselves and retaining a vision of a "whole new world."

The Nazis had confined the 80,000 Jews of Vilna into a ghetto and gradually exploited and starved them before attempting their "Final Solution"—complete genocide. It was the young people, many of whom had been part of the socialist, Bundist, Zionist, and Communist groups before the war, who discovered that their friends and relatives were not being sent to "work camps" but to a killing field, Ponar, a few miles south of Vilna.

Through reminiscences we learn how they began to organize themselves to plan an uprising; how they helped Jews escape to the woods to join the non-Jewish partisans (fighters); how those with varied political philosophies worked together; and how they contacted non-Jewish resistance efforts. In so doing these youth came into sharp conflict with the majority of the ghetto population (by now reduced to 20,000) and its leadership.

Many ghetto residents believed the Nazis would "spare" an orderly and efficiently-laboring ghetto, or at least minimize the number of Jews killed. The young partisans believed they would die, but dying with honor was their goal. When it became clear that there would be no mass uprising in Vilna, they escaped to the woods.

But as partisans, they faced horrible anti-Semitism from their Lithuanian, Russian, and Polish "comrades." They were not permitted to have their own units; they had to give up many of their hard-won captured weapons; they were told to stop bringing more escaped Jews to the units; and they constantly feared a bullet in their backs from their co-fighters.

Yet, incredibly, there was a vision of a new way of life. One young partisan had refused to shoot a 19-year-old captured SS trooper whom he had talked with the previous night. "We didn't want to resort to the tactics of the Germans" he said. "We were fighting for a whole new world."

This film makes real for us the young East European Jews' resistance to Nazi Holocaust in such a concrete manner that many lessons can be drawn for today's movements, which hopefully will not face such extreme horrors.

—Susan Van Gelder

the year in which China's leaders were compelled to spell out "Mao Zedong Thought" as the collective creation of Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqui, and Deng, alongside Mao. Their compulsion to remain within the ground of Mao's Thought, even while they sought to modify his policies, was anticipated by Marxist-Humanist analyses in 1976, within one month of Mao's death.

Here is how Dunayevskaya posed it in "Post-Mao China: What Now?": "What is of the essence is not that (Mao) has not designated any one, singly or collectively, as the 'inheritors.' It is that he has stripped all—and not only those he physically eliminated—of any actual roots in the Chinese Revolution, or its philosophy...All history has been so rewritten that none exists with any historic past. In a word, there is no history of the Chinese masses except as an abstraction. The history of the Chinese Revolution is the history of Mao; the thought of that revolution is the Thought of Mao. None who now fight for his mantle have roots in either."⁷

Indeed, in the last months of Mao's life, the Fourth National People's Congress—which Mao didn't deign to attend—amended China's Constitution to declare: "Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tse-tung Thought is the basis to guide the thinking of our nation." This designating of Mao's Thought, rather than the person of Mao, as the supreme authority, was no mere symbolic act. The present leaders of the CCP are stuck with Mao's three original deviations from Marxism: prolonged "people's war" as a substitute for proletarian revolution; the army, rather than the revolutionary political organization, as the leading body; Mao's concept of contradiction, instead of dialectic philosophy.

They are stuck with these deviations precisely because, having failed to unfold any truly independent challenge to the domination of the superpowers, and having failed to face the actual class relations inside China, the pull of Mao's Thought, the logic of its development, is powerful. Its origin, in opposition to the new revolutionary subjects in the post World War II world who placed Marx's Humanism on the historic stage and declared freedom as their goal, was absolutely objective. So was its development over the last three decades. Whichever faction of the Party rules China next, there is no escape from its pull for them.

In returning to 1987, can we so concretely see the Marxist-Humanist Archives as perspective, rather than retrospective, that a study of "Whither China?" can offer each of us a glimpse into the future, just as our analyses in 1957 and 1976 shed light then on the unfolding of events and ideas to come?

—Michael Connolly

7. As published in *New Essays* (1977), #5637.

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Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

Guatemala's peasants

A bit over a year since military rule ended, most Guatemalans feel little improvement in their conditions of life and labor, and their struggle continues. Pres. Vicio Cerezo gave an anniversary speech in January. It was followed by a youth riot in Guatemala City's center.

Now in the peasant, organization of several national federations and over a dozen local groups, are strongest in voicing their dissatisfaction with Cerezo. His Christian Democratic government has said flat out it will not author or support a comprehensive land reform program. A very mild land reform in 1954 became the opening for a CIA-backed military coup that destroyed the Arbenz government. Cerezo is closer to the military he replaced than to the Guatemalan masses.

The minimum wage for a rural worker today is about \$1.30 a day. Yet the price of basic food—corn meal, beans, sugar—has nearly doubled in the past year. Several peasant organizations have promised to start a new campaign for land distribution this year, to include marches and hunger strikes in Guatemala City and occupations of idle land in the countryside. The small but renewed and growing union movement has also protested the price increases.

The Mutual Support Group (GAM) of relatives of the disappeared continues its demand for justice for past crimes committed by the military. Cerezo told GAM he would not prosecute military criminals, and that since the national police destroyed their records after the Christian Democratic Party won the elections, that was the last word. But Nineth de García of GAM has said, "People who are seeking social change are still being murdered. It's not happening with the same intensity but it's still happening."

She referred to one union activist who was murdered while in the midst of negotiations with management. GAM is now trying to develop relations with other organizations, including workers.

Youth protests worldwide



In Karachi, Pakistan, students were arrested while marching to a rally marking Student Rights Day, held on the eve of the third anniversary of a ban on student unions in Pakistan.

In Taiwan, students circulated petitions calling for removal of Kuomintang Party (KMT) offices from the campus of National Taiwan University, and an end to pre-censorship of student publications by KMT university and military authorities. Underground publications have appeared at NTU and other universities. One of them, Love of Liberty, referred in December to the student demonstrations in China, saying that "students in both places are confronted with the rule of party cadres," and criticized the KMT and Chinese Communist Party for "distorting" the aims of the student movements.

In Tampa, Florida, the revolt of the little shorties has erupted anew. About 200 Black youths hit the streets of Tampa, Fla., Feb. 19 and 20, enraged by the death of 23-year-old Melvin Eugene Hair after he was subjected to a choke-hold by police. Children as young as 11 were in the crowd that threw rocks at police and set fire to a store.



In Lima, Peru, 8,000 demonstrators denounced police raids at three universities and demanded the release of the hundreds still under arrest. In the raids, 4,000 police, claiming to be seeking "terrorists," arrested 793 women and men, mostly students without ID cards, injured dozens of people, ransacked dormitories and stole belongings.

In South Korea, over 20,000 people in four cities defied tremendous repression Feb. 7 to protest the police torture-murder of a student in Seoul Jan. 14. Police arrested 2,400 the day before and over 500 during the rallies. They attacked, beat and gassed many protesters, especially students, who, after much provocation, fought back with rocks and gasoline bombs.

In Spain, high school student groups temporarily called off their strike while they await a new government proposal that will include increases in school budgets and financial aid. Yet the main student demand of free and open admission, or at least a system that doesn't depend solely on a score on one single exam, has not been met.

Japan's economic crisis

Nippon Steel, the world's top steel-maker, announced in February that it would shut five blast furnaces and eliminate 19,000 jobs over the next four years. This is the most recent chapter in the story of Japanese capitalism's profound structural crisis. The soaring yen is a symptom and further aggravation, but not the cause. Japanese workers are experiencing the first massive industry-wide layoffs in the post-war period: in steel, mining, ship building, transportation, electronics, and the public service sector.

Statistics on unemployment serve to muddy the waters. Workers are counted as employed even when their hours have been reduced to one day a week, or they work only part-time. So-called voluntary retirements are often a cloak for layoffs. Older workers are being pressured to retire early.

The retired workers are the ones whose labor created the post-war "economic miracle." Now they have become a growing "surplus population" the government no longer wants. Pensions are traditionally small and have shrunk further with the soaring cost of living. Since pensions can't provide an adequate living standard, workers must try to save money for retirement while they have a job. Many retirees search for work, but only a handful can find anything. Retirees also face housing problems, since growth of the cities in the post-war period has also meant the breakdown of traditional family units.

The government has pushed back the age for pension entitlement, and plans to make drastic cuts in subsidies for medical care for the elderly. Now the powerful Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) has come up with a plan for dealing with retired workers. It will export them to "villages," to be set up in Europe and the Third World by the early 1990s. Supposedly pensions will buy a better standard of living far from Japan. But as one worker about to retire said, "They just want to get rid of us."

The Philippines: voices of revolt today

(continued from page 1)

have a more communal way of life, even more than the urban poor, who must think of individual survival. In rural communities, outside of the planting season, people have more time for socializing, doing things together. But they are usually so poor. I spent one whole day in a barrio in Southern Tagalog, Quezon Province, called Villa Espina. It is a very economically depressed place. The people eat almost anything, including leaves.

When the military enters these small communities, they destroy generations of precious belongings, like chinaware and blankets, as well as the little food and houses, firing their rifles.

Feminist in women's coalition

Feminism here is more responsive to Third World women than just issues of gender. Neither is social liberation sufficient for women's liberation, as women can't be fully liberated under capitalism.

But it is a "non-issue" from the point of view of some. For example, in the important march of women to the Ministry of Education, Oct. 28, 1985, some organizers wanted to project feminist symbols, or include opposition to male chauvinism. Others insisted that all opposition must be to three "isms": imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and feudalism. While some women point to pornography and prostitution as pure gender issues, others say you must always relate them to the national issues, like rape to militarization, or prostitution as transnational, linked to imperialism.

We try to discuss with women about sexism. The feminist nun, Sr. Mary John Mananzan was the one who said "social liberation is not sufficient for Women's Liberation." She pointed out errors made on the woman question, saying it could not be subsumed. We are taking up actual Women's Liberation, trying to expand women's leadership, giving voice to women. Women continue to organize, but the continuing crisis threatens to subsume it. With, for example, Gabriela, [a women's

organization] you couldn't see much difference with other mass organizations. We said it is not accidental that we are a group of women, but we are women for women.

After the 1983 assassination of Aquino, there were so many women's organizations developing. One was WOMB (Women for the Ouster of Marcos and Boycott), whose slogan was, "giving life to a new order."

Women will be the longest revolution. It is still common for some women activists to say we aren't oppressed as women. In organizations we should be practicing what a new order would look like. In some cases male comrades try to do this by working on household tasks, etc., but even today, in meetings themselves, the question is often not taken seriously.

Woman student

There is a lot of sexism in the National Democratic Front organizations. When both a woman and a man are organizers, someone has to stop—the woman. They

stay at home, serve the men. I really disagree. We have as much power as men to organize. If it happens your husband has to go to the countryside to fight, it may be 7-10 years. Sometimes there is no communication in that period. You can't go out, because the life is secret. You are prohibited from talking to the opposite sex, because it is against "morality."

Today, women's organizations are starting to split, making independent groups, because men always come first. You can't turn down suitors because of not liking them—only for political reasons. There is really no such thing as divorce. It depends on your collective. They decide if you should stay together.

It begins with a "pink letter" from the man, which is like a "love letter." After that, the two are allowed no communication during four months. After those four months, you will be given two months to see each other, but only in the presence of members from the two collectives.

The higher echelon people talk about the "politics" of the relationship. Realistically, you can only marry at your political level. Problems begin here...

Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

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

News and Letters Committees, an organization of

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

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

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

Coming next issue

- Youth in South Africa
- Europe in crisis