

## The myth of full employment



by John Marcotte

Nobody can tell my sister-in-law this is a "full employment" economy. She's been without a job off and on since January. When she got laid-off from a curtain factory, she didn't even bother to go to unemployment. She knew she could never survive on half of her four dollar-an-hour wage.

But she didn't count on jobs being so hard to find. A friend finally got her a job sewing parachute bags at a government contractor at five dollars an hour. Now what could be more secure than military contracts? Two months later, the company moved out to Virginia, leaving the women, some with 20 and 30 years on the job, high and dry without a week's notice.

**\$117 A WEEK!**

So she's still looking for work. She's found a few sewing jobs but they paid minimum wage (that's \$117 for 35 hours, before taxes, transportation and babysitting!) or one was piece-work, and a worker there told her she'd have to sew something like a hundred collars to make five dollars. No thanks.

Readers probably remember the 200 Hebrew National meatpackers, whose plant moved out of New York to Indiana in 1986. To date only half have found jobs, most at huge pay cuts. Many had to sell their home or car. Now the company has settled with them for a million dollars. But that is only because they were organized enough to have a six-month shut-down notice in their contract, which the company blatantly violated. But when the money's gone, these workers will still not have a ten-dollar-an-hour job. That's a thing of the past.

Of all the Reagan lies that have ended up in the mouths of Republicans and Democrats alike, the "full (continued on page 3)

## Black World

### Dukakis, welfare, and racism



by Lou Turner

*The perfecting of the means of production inevitably brings about the camouflage of the techniques by which man is exploited, hence the forms of racism...At this stage racism no longer dares to appear without disguise.*

—Frantz Fanon

Ronald Reagan did it eight years ago, now Michael Dukakis has just done it again—and the signal is as unmistakable as it is racist. Twenty-four years to the day after the bodies of three civil rights workers, Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney were found brutally murdered beneath an earthen dam in Philadelphia, Miss., Gov. Michael Dukakis, like Reagan before him, launched his campaign tour of the South at the Neshoba County Fair.

This is not the Black Delta; this is straight-out Klan country. And it is a recognized fact of Southern politics that any national politician speaking to the all-white conservative audiences at the Neshoba County Fair in Philadelphia, Miss. is sending a clear message that the racist "Southern way of life" has a place in his American dream, no matter how much of a nightmare it is for Black America.

Having played the Reagan card behind a disguise of fake Kennedy liberalism, Dukakis finally sought the safe haven of Jesse Jackson's economism when reporters asked him why he went no further in his speech than to cryptically refer to the anniversary of the discovery of the bodies of Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney in Philadelphia, Miss. as a "special day." Dukakis simply said that he had come to Neshoba County to talk about economic development, "the fundamental issue facing the people of Mississippi and the people of the South!"

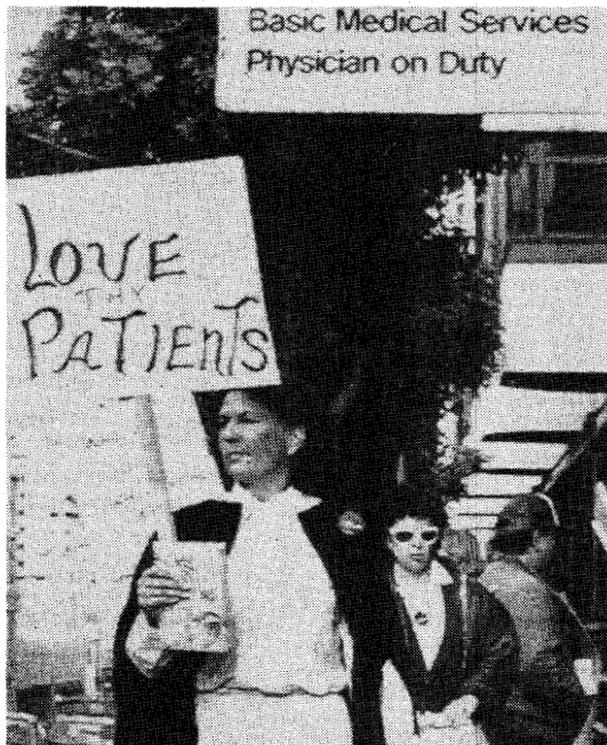
#### DUKAKIS' LIBERAL HYPOCRISY

What Dukakis' liberal hypocrisy cannot disguise is the economic underdevelopment of Black reality in his own state of Massachusetts, whose incidences of racial violence in the 1980s rival the deep South of Mississippi. The clear and present expression of the economic dimension of this Northern liberal racism is found in the very area that he is touted for having "managed" into a

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## Dukakis and Bush

# Campaign hoopla can't hide cutbacks, racism and revolt



Hospital workers on strike in San Francisco Bay Area. See story page 2.

by Andy Phillips

By the time the Democratic Party National Convention hoopla was over in Atlanta, Ga., there was no doubt left that it was Michael Dukakis who was running the show—complete even to getting his balloons for a closing red, white and blue extravaganza that would have turned Cecil B. DeMille green with envy.

Those who had entertained either hope or fear that Jesse Jackson—who had forced the entire nation to sit up and take his presidential candidacy seriously—would have any sort of "partnership" in a future Dukakis administration, had been set straight long before the Convention convened. Dukakis' public humiliation of Jackson, by selecting Lloyd Bentsen as vice presidential running mate without even notifying Jackson before the press informed him in front of TV cameras, had been skillfully orchestrated to give notice to white racists, North and South, that they did not have to concern themselves unduly over Black influence in his campaign. That same reassurance surfaced in Dukakis' acceptance speech, where, instead of unleashing a total condemnation of South Africa and apartheid, he simply stated in one sentence that he would do "more" than had been done.

Only once did the managerial technocrat par excellence, Dukakis, refer to Reagan—to praise him for negotiating the recent missile treaty with Russia. The absence of any attacks against Reagan revived the charge that Dukakis doesn't want to change Reaganism, he wants to manage it more efficiently. And in classic political fashion, Dukakis promised something for everybody: good jobs, decent wages, adequate housing, family support, improvements for women, all ethnic groups and youth, and peace and prosperity.

#### DESTROYING REAGANISM OR MANAGING IT?

The myriad crises this country faces cannot be solved by the empty rhetoric of Dukakis any more than they can be answered by George Bush—who only promises more and more of the same disastrous policies that Reagan has brought to the world. Thus, Bush proudly promises to "vigorously" pursue Reagan's insane push for Star Wars; continue Reagan's onslaught against education, which is such a disgrace that it has become a number one concern of the American people; and inten-

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## Direct from South Africa: Freedom Journal

### H. S. students march

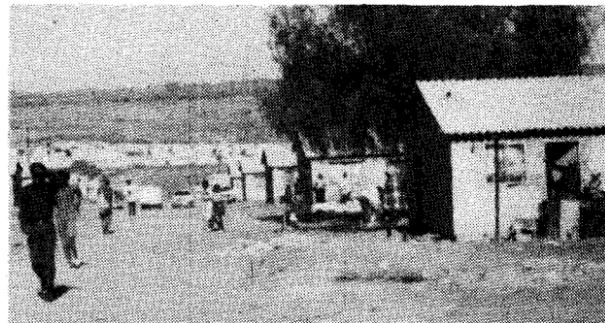
**Tembisa, South Africa**—On July 18 students demonstrated and marched to the court in Rabastho in Tembisa because a youth was involved in a court case there. On their way to the court the students found that the South African Defense Forces had blocked their way. The students were shot, sjamboked (hit with a billy-club like instrument) and arrested. They were singing freedom songs and not fighting against anyone nor attacking the police. Some of them are now in the hospital.

The youth's march and demonstration was in response to the arrest of a number of students in their classes last year. They were arrested because of their powerful movement in political activity. They were also hindered from writing their examinations.

The most concerned students were those from Tembisa and Mxegevel high schools who started the protest and march at 9:30 in the morning at the same time court started. Since that day the soldiers didn't want to see the students going to school, so they arrested them. They confronted the students at Tembisa high school, locked all the gates, entered the classes and dropped tear gas. Some of the students were injured by the time they tried to get out through windows.

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### Women fight for housing



Township in Tembisa, South Africa

**Tembisa, South Africa**—We live in a terrifying township in Tembisa. We women—the most participants in this action—established a new community of sharing the municipality hostel houses with the hostel inmates. We collected our property and stayed with them in a memory of owning our own houses. This was to challenge the government's rule.

The government built houses with four rooms for hostel inmates, who are migrant workers, which holds nine men who each pay R16 (\$6.66) rent. We realize that lots of women with children are unmarried and are existing without proper accommodations as our family houses are too tiny for our brother's and sister's children.

During the establishment of this action, the South African government proposed that the police arrest all women occupying these houses only to discover that this role played by the women intensifies. With assistance from our civil rights lawyers, who represented us at the court level, the government withdrew the arrests. Then they started to organize the hostel men to use dangerous weapons to fight against the poor struggling women. Some of these men had participated in the war.

The war started in February, 1988 and lasted for two days. Most of the men who betrayed were the Zulus from Natal who follow Gatscha Buthelezi in a mass protest organized by the Right. During this event many of

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## On the Inside

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## As Others See Us

## reviews Raya Dunayevskaya

*Editor's note: This article by Susan Easton, University of Sussex, first appeared in the Bulletin of the Hegel Society of Great Britain, #16, Autumn/Winter 1987. Excerpts follow:*

by Susan Easton

Raya Dunayevskaya, who died in June 1987, was one of the most celebrated and renowned members of the Hegel Society of Great Britain. Although in England she is remembered principally as Trotsky's former secretary in Mexico in the 1930s, in the United States she has been seen as one of the founders of Marxist Humanism in America. She wrote prolifically on a range of philosophical and political issues but her central life interests lay in Marxism, racism and feminism....

An indication of Dunayevskaya's political interests and philosophical preoccupations is given in *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and in *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future*. In *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* (Sussex, Harvester Press, 1982) Dunayevskaya pursues three objectives: a survey of the life and work of Rosa Luxemburg, an interpretation of Marx's work and an appraisal of modern feminism. While commending the wide scope and high quality of contemporary feminist theory, Dunayevskaya nonetheless is critical of modern feminists for failing to acknowledge the contribution of Rosa Luxemburg to twentieth century feminism and for dismissing Marx's work too readily. This rejection of Marx's work is attributed partly to an over-identification of Marx with Engels, resulting in the loss to feminist theory of a crucial aspect of Marx's work, namely his philosophy of revolution....

Rosa Luxemburg is seen by Dunayevskaya as a critical figure for feminist theory because of her concern with the questions of organization and spontaneity and her skeptical attitude towards vanguardism. A descriptive account of Luxemburg's life and work is offered and her continuing interest in women's issues and in women's role in working class movements and her collaboration with Clara Zetkin are emphasized by Dunayevskaya, who argues that these concerns have been overlooked by feminists. At the same time she is critical of Luxemburg for her inability to see sources of revolution outside the proletariat until towards the end of her life, her failure to break totally with the party organization and for the traces of mechanical materialism she finds in her thought. Moreover while elements of a theory of permanent revolution may be found in Luxemburg's work, argues Dunayevskaya, these are not fully developed.

**WHAT DUNAYEVSKAYA** found of value in Marx's work, however, was that he did not separate the philosophy of revolution from actual revolution; this concern with the day-to-day relationship of philosophy to social reality is, she argues, also essential to the success of the women's movement. As well as developing this philosophy of revolution, with its emphasis on the need for radically new social relations, Marx's contemporary significance lies in his awareness of the diversity of paths to revolution, his growing realization of the possibility of revolution in underdeveloped societies and his concept of permanent revolution. Dunayevskaya's argument for the contemporary relevance of Marx's work rests principally on the *Ethnological Notebooks*. These notes from Marx's last decade enable us to see Marx's interest in gender and in the role of the peasantry as a revolutionary force as continuing concerns in Marx's work. Containing studies of Morgan's work on ancient society, these notes, she argues, reveal the deep gulf between Marx and Engels. Engels' unilinear view of historical development is contrasted by Dunayevskaya with Marx's multilinear dialectical model which inhibited Marx from offering blueprints for the future. Instead of interpreting the move from matrilineal to patrilineal

## Moms seen as 'nothing'

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—At the battered women's shelter where I work, it is clear how the desperate objective situation of poor women today calls forth the impulse for dignity and freedom. The shelters serve mainly working-class and welfare mothers, but women of many backgrounds find their way there, usually with children and just the shirts on their backs.

A Black woman told me that she's almost convinced that this administration, more than any other, is sponsoring a serious conspiracy against women. She said that women are expected to fit into a stifling image of femininity, as sex object and mother. "If we don't, men seem to feel it's OK to turn into Rambos. And we're the enemy!"

She said that maybe the White House thinks it's OK for ghetto families to self-destruct. "All they want to talk about is 'Clean up the Drugs!' Don't they understand why people are using them and selling them? Don't they see how vulnerable we are out here?"

Then she talked about her identity as a wife and mother, and how in this society it seems if that's "all" she is, she's "nothing." "And then it's impossible to better yourself if you don't have extra time and money!"

What's really exciting to me is hearing the women express their disgust for exploitative assumptions and behaviors, and their desire for new forms of human relations.

—Shelter worker

## Feminist Hegelian

societies as constituting the world-historical defeat of women, as Engels did in *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Marx recognized the possibility of new revolutionary upsurges. Further, Marx did not distinguish as sharply as Engels between the primitive and the civilized and saw the sources of the oppression of women lying within primitive communism and as the origin of early modes of stratification. Marx's comments on women in the labour market in his discussion of the

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Women-Worldwide



At least 20 women were arrested by riot police in Santiago, Chile, July 26, as scores of women demonstrated against the military regime of General Augusto Pinochet. Sept. 11 is the 15th anniversary of Pinochet's bloody U.S.-backed coup which murdered elected President Salvador Allende.

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Saying they had made the point that "you can be a nun and be pro-choice," Sisters Barbara Ferraro and Patricia Hussey resigned, July 20, from the religious order with which they had been in conflict for the past four years over their public pro-choice position on abortion. While the order finally agreed June 5 not to dismiss them as they had threatened, the two women sharply criticized the "violence of the process used with us by the leadership, and the lack of respect and understanding of our motivation."

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Police attacked hundreds of Pakistani women demonstrators in Karachi and Lahore, June 26, making at least 25 arrests. The women were protesting a new decree making Islam the supreme law. The women said the law would reduce their rights and role in society and confine them to their homes.

—Information from Caribbean Times

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In Turkey, members of the Association of Women in Democratic Struggle (DEMKAD) opposed mass firings of women workers at Teletas, a state-controlled telecommunications manufacturer, by placing a black wreath at the company site. Guards who tried to remove it were knocked to the ground by the angry women. A week later the Turkish government banned DEMKAD, and members who protested by tying themselves to the railings of the governor's office with black ribbon were arrested by machine gun-toting security police.

—Information from Turkey Newsletter

## S.F. Bay Area hospital workers' strike grows!

*Editor's note: Over 2,000 Registered Nurses (RN) in California's Bay Area went out on strike on Aug. 2. They joined over 1,700 hospital service workers who had gone out a week earlier—their first strike in 50 years. Soon they may be joined by nurses at public hospitals. Below an RN tells why.*

**San Francisco, Cal.**—Despite attempts to intimidate RNs with a no-strike clause that prevents the California Nurses Association from calling for a walkout in support of Local 250 of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), many of us began our strike a week early with 250 exercising our right as individuals not to cross a picket line.

Wages aren't even the primary issue as all city workers are obligated to a wage freeze. The issues are safe staffing ratios, health and safety language protecting RNs and patients, and preventing the city's attempt to divide the RNs into different bargaining units so as to weaken our collective strength.

As the frontline care provider we tried to avert the strike knowing it could have a catastrophic effect on people's lives. But conditions are so bad that lives and our licenses are jeopardized daily. It is not uncommon for one RN to care for six to eight patients on some units. As patient advocates we were forced to strike for patient safety!

As for the SEIU local 250 workers, the affiliated hospitals are intent on imposing takeaways. But the workers, largely comprised of minorities and immigrants, are determined to win, risking everything to assert their collective strength.

The SEIU workers have been without a contract since May 1, at which time management began de-

## England's Filipinas unite

**London, England**—A conference on Solidarit with Overseas Domestic Workers, held here on July 1 brought together Filipina migrant workers, mainly young women in their twenties, with supporters from trade unions and Black and women's groups. The conference was called by a new organization, Kalayaa (Freedom), with the specific aim of winning full legal rights for domestic workers, usually Filipinas, who come to Britain on visitors' visas with their employers.

Some of the Filipina workers, members of the cultural group Kapiling, presented their experiences in a play about a young woman who decides to leave her village and seek work abroad to support her family.

The play was followed by two women's individual testimony. One had got away from her "employer after working without pay for four years. The other described how she had been made to work all day every day, forbidden to talk to anyone, especially men, and subjected to verbal and physical abuse. She had escaped without passport, money or belongings; and was now living in fear of deportation.

Another woman who spoke, Leove Bongay, came from the Philippines by way of the "mail order bride" business, for a marriage to a British man arranged by marriage bureau. After some weeks, this man decided not to marry her, and threw her out of his house. Now a campaign is underway to defend her right to stay in Britain, against the intention of the Home Office to deport her.

Over 40,000 people from the Philippines, 85% of them women, live in Britain, often facing super-exploitation on the margins of the capitalist economy. What this conference showed was that some of them are working out creative forms of organization and protest, and that they have brought with them, to Thatcher's kingdom, the same passion for freedom that overthrew Marcos and is continuing to challenge the capitalist, landlord and military rulers in their homeland.

—Richard Bunting

## Company puts kids last

**Davenport, Iowa**—When my babysitter called me at work to come and get my son because he was sick, I got written up for it. It was not just for that, because I had other absences, but that was the one that led to the write-up. I don't think that should even count. I mean, you have a family outside of this job. The company doesn't even care if you have a life.

Last year when I was working days, we had a big deal about it, because I couldn't get there at 6:00 in the morning. I had to leave home on the bus at 4:15 to get to work on time. I had to stand out on the corner, and you know what that looks like anywhere at 4:00 in the morning in the winter time! Why can't we have just basic hours—maybe start at 8:00?

The company switches us from shift to shift. They just switch us around completely. We come in and they tell us that the next day we are going to another department and what time to come in, or to come in later or earlier the next day in the same department. Only one time did a supervisor give us any notice. When you have a family and they have things to do, it's hard.

I had a babysitter for second shift, but when I had to switch to days, that babysitter couldn't watch my son during the day. When I was on days, I had someone to pick him up at school, but once I went back on nights, I had to find a different babysitter. I was to the point at one time where I was going to try to get myself fired so I could at least have my unemployment compensation to live on until I could find another job.

—Working mother

ducting shared health insurance costs—for some this has meant \$100 or more per month in deductions. "Paid time off" has been implemented where all time is lumped together denying workers the right to use sick time until out for more than five days.

Management's insistence that patient care is not affected is an insult to all hospital workers, patients and the public. Their irresponsible decision to hire inexperienced replacements exposes that they value profit and union-busting over providing health services to approximately 1,300 patients.

The underlying reason the 5,000 RNs and ancillary workers are walking off the job is the crisis in U.S. capitalism where 60% of our tax dollars go to the war industry, where infant mortality and morbidity is higher than in any developed nation, where catastrophic illness is the leading cause of bankruptcy, where the health system operates proportionately to how much a person can pay, where medical residents work 120 hours a week because the AMA (American Medical Association) limits enrollment so as to keep medicine profitable, and where RNs, 95% of whom are women, are confronted daily by the patriarchal hierarchy of medicine represented by the AMA. The AMA is the 10th largest Political Action Committee (PAC) in the U.S., and for nearly 100 years has attempted to limit RNs to taskmasters on the line following doctors' orders and timetables, separating us from our healing traditions and the values that relate to the human being as a whole person, not as a disease process.

Recently I heard an RN say: "At the very least we deserve the care we give." Beyond that, as a society, we deserve health care available to everyone, founded on humanism, not capitalism.

—RN

## On strike: 'A fight among wolves'

**Los Angeles, Cal.**—There has been no production at the roofing tile plant where I work, because over the past few weeks we have been on strike, due to an overwhelming strike vote by our union members, 44 to 4.

There was no doubt that the proposed two-year contract was in the company's favor. We were offered a \$500 bonus for the first year and 27¢ an hour raise for the second year, while the company increased our insurance deductible per year from \$500 to \$1,000 for the family and from \$100 to \$500 for the individual employee.

On top of that the company introduced a two-tier system, where new employees are hired in at \$1 an hour less, and get a 25¢ increase each quarter for a period of one year. That would undercut older workers at the plant, and possibly create more temporary help than permanent employees which hurts every worker at the plant.

In fact this contract should have never made it to the union hall floor to be voted on, because in it we were receiving nothing more than a cut in pay and we have not had a wage increase in over four years. This, while the cost of living goes up daily. Then, on top of that, the union rep. (International Paper Workers Union) said that this was the "best" we could do. I want to know why he is representing us in a fight among wolves, while he has no teeth to bite with.

We, as members of the union, feel we are its backbone if we stay united and conscious. We have to give our representatives a swift kick in the ass to keep them moving in the right direction. If not, then we must get them out of our way and out of our union. I think we are to that point today.

There were a few scab trucks that crossed our picket line. Mysteriously their tires were flattened and rocks fell from the sky to make them think twice. Because in this case, if you cross our picket line, lightning will strike twice in the same spot.

### Swift-Eckrich

## Low wages, high sweat

**Chicago, Ill.**—The wages at Eckrich are really unfair. The people that were hired in 1987 and 1988 will never make as much as those hired earlier, because the senior workers get a raise every year, which we won't ever get. Then the people who were hired before 1982 got 45¢ that nobody else got.

We also have a three-year "training" period. At Eckrich plant #3—that was the plant that closed—they only had a 30-day trial period. After 30 days, if you weren't up to par and you couldn't do your job, you were out of there. If you could, then you got your job rate. I don't see why we should wait three years.

It makes you mad. The person across from you is doing the same job, but they're making much more—two or three dollars more. Do the people who are making the amount of money that they're supposed to be making give a damn about the people that are making \$6 an hour? I don't know. I've never really talked to them about that.

What I also want to know is: what does Eckrich consider an excused absence? If you have a doctor's note, they still write you up. So if you're about to die, you're still supposed to go to work? Anytime you miss a day for anything, you're going to get written up. Anything. I think that's wrong. Emergencies do occur.

When the machines break down, and they have to fix the machines on the floor, we end up staying later at work—like it's our fault that the machines broke down. Why should we pay for it? It's just that they don't want to get them fixed properly. But if you finish early, they throw more work at you at the end of the day. When we get ready to go, they find something for us to do.

I'm tired after working hard all day long. My arms are aching; my body is aching. They don't care. I figure if you're finished, if you break down your machinery, clean up your area, bring your paper work into the office—whatever you have to do—they should let you go. When you argue, they look at you like you're crazy, like you're disrespecting them. But they don't give you any respect.

—Eckrich workers

We as workers have lost thousands of dollars, but the company has lost millions. The company thinks that it can just starve us out, that big money will gobble up little money. But I am here to tell the company "that there is a part of man that neither works nor eats, but thinks," as W.E.B. DuBois said.

That pride and consciousness of labor must come together in the 1980s, for the future is ours to control every hour of the working day and to take our lives back and off the auction block of wage slavery which capitalism controls.

—Gene Ford

## Mexican food workers on strike in Cal. one year

**Berkeley, Cal.**—To show their continued solidarity with the mostly Mexican workers of United Foods, the University of California (U.C.) Mecha students organized a meeting July 28 on the Berkeley campus to publicize the year-old strike of 650 Mexicanas and Chicanas in Modesto and Salinas, Cal. who work in frozen food processing and are fighting a wage cut from \$7.06 to \$5.05 an hr. and cut off of all benefits. What the company really wants is to break the union. The women organized two years before the strike, but continued to work without a contract. When the time to sign the contract came, the company refused.

The women are facing not only harassment by the company goons, but also by the police and other government bureaucracies. Whenever there are more than ten pickets, the company calls the police, and they come right away. When one of the scabs hit a striker with a bat and broke some ribs, it took the police over 45 minutes to get there, and then they did nothing. In the first few months the strikers received some unemployment benefits, now the government wants them to pay it all back!

But the real issue is being treated like a human being, not a slave. Some people caved in under the economic pressure and went back. They get \$3.35 per hour and when one woman collapsed on the job the management just left her laying outside. It was the strikers on the picket line that had to summon medical help!

If you would like to help, pass along this story. Also any donation of money, food and clothing can be sent to: United Foods Workers' Committee, c/o Teamsters Local 890, 207 North Sanborn Road, Salinas, Cal. 93905.

—Supporter

## Workshop Talks

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employment" lie is one that really ticks me off. Who among us would dare say American workers are better off today than ten years ago? Even the bourgeois press prints statistics that show up the lie.

The National Committee for Full Employment gives these figures for real unemployment as of May, 1988:

Unemployed	6,783,000
Discouraged workers	1,270,000
Working part-time who need full-time work	4,844,000
Total	12,897,000
Real unemployment rate	10.4%

The official unemployment rate is only back down to what it was around 1979, and the total number of unemployed they count is greater than in 1975, that peak recession year! The unemployment rate for Blacks was 12.4% in May.

### CAN'T QUALIFY FOR UNEMPLOYMENT

The other news is that those workers actually collecting unemployment insurance is the lowest it's ever been since unemployment insurance started—only 32%! Since Reagan cut off the 13-week federal extension in 1981, the long-term unemployed have been left swinging in the wind. Even states like Louisiana with 10.3% unemployment don't give extended benefits. States themselves have tightened eligibility requirements to the point where, for example, if you worked 20 hours a week at five dollars an hour all year, you still wouldn't qualify for unemployment in Virginia.

Since the only growth in jobs in the '80s has been in the service sector where there's lots of part-time and temporary work, and wages are lowest, lots of these new workers just don't qualify for unemployment insurance.

But besides the high "hidden" unemployment (it's not hidden from workers!) and the lower wages of those working—real wages are lower than in 1973—besides the nine million who work hard and are still below the poverty line, besides the 20 million hungry in America—there is another figure that says a lot about conditions of labor: 7,500 workers are being killed at work each year. That's 150 a week. One U.S. worker in eleven suffers a workplace injury or illness. Meanwhile, fines levied by the Reagan administration's OSHA for a violation resulting in death or hospitalization of more than four workers have averaged only \$234!

There is one thing that Jesse Jackson said once that I really liked. He said, don't forget that Blacks had "full employment" under slavery. We're not just saying we want jobs, when jobs are killing you, and making you live in poverty, and making you miserable, it's never just a question of more jobs. It's a question of what kind of labor should human beings do.

## FLOC Convention meets

**Toledo, Ohio**—Over 170 delegates representing the membership of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) from Texas, Florida, Illinois, Michigan and Ohio met here Aug. 6 for FLOC's Fourth Constitutional Convention.

The small number of farmworker participants at the meeting was due to the drought. Many thousands who came to the Midwest this summer at the call of growers and processors found little or no work. FLOC criticized the unresponsiveness of federal and state officials to the financial disaster of the farmworkers, who have been left out of the drought relief programs. The union wants to include insurance for its members against natural disasters in future contracts.

The convention was conducted in Spanish and resolutions took up many of FLOC's organizing drives, past



## Boycott Grapes!

*United Farm Workers Union members in California are fighting for union contracts in the grape fields. In support of their struggle Cesar Chavez has gone on hunger strike.*

and present. Over 3,000 farmworkers have won historic, three-way contracts in Ohio and Michigan, between FLOC, tomato and cucumber growers, and the giant processors—Vlasic, Campbell's and Heinz. FLOC is presently attempting to win contracts for another 3,000 members in the Midwest, who are organizing at cucumber farms under contract to Aunt Jane/Madison, Bay View, Matthew's and Green Bay, as well as Heinz and Hunt's tomato farms.

Several delegates from Princeton Farms in Illinois came to the convention. The farmworkers there, who process mushrooms, went on strike this year over their oppressive working conditions. They then asked to sign up as members of FLOC, and are now fighting to win a contract. FLOC also wants to work together with the United Farm Workers (UFW) in Florida to win contracts for FLOC members who work there during the winter.

The farmworkers' struggle for self-determination through their organizing drive was the central part of the convention. FLOC addressed conditions of health and safety, ending the use of deadly pesticides, improving the lives of farmworkers' children, demands for livable housing for farmworkers' families, abolishing the exploitative "independent contractor" system, and support for the UFW's California grape boycott.

The 1988 convention marks the 20th anniversary of FLOC's first organizing drive, when farmworkers won 22 contracts with tomato growers in Lucas County, Ohio. The farmworkers' struggle continues.—FLOC supporters

## Drought shows farm crisis is not just Mother Nature

**Mt. Carroll, Ill.**—This drought is the worst I can remember and is very adverse for farming. My corn was planted early, but if I get one-third of the regular yield it would be good. I trade equipment with a neighbor, so I can't use a planter whenever I want. But I got soybeans in by Memorial Day yet they didn't come up. So I'm looking at a yield reduction of 100%.

Some of my neighbors have borrowed money from the bank to buy single irrigation nozzles to try and save their corn. South of here it's rained once or twice but the corn isn't pollinating. Farmers are waiting until fall to see if it's even worth combining. The problems are getting worse, and this is on some of the best ground for farming in the world.

Dairy farmers aren't able to pasture their cows and are running out of hay. I've never seen so many truckloads of hay coming through here from somewhere in the South going North. Some farmers are cutting down their trees so the cows can eat the leaves.

There was a meeting in Aberdeen, S. Dak., to see if there was some way to save the breeding stock. There's no grass out there but some people have feed in silage. So they're talking about if there's some way to get the silage and the stock together. So far they haven't worked this out. A lot of people will have to reduce their herds this winter. Then beef will be cheap for a while, but much more expensive in the future.

I doubt if the government's programs will help much. They act like they're helping, but they don't mention how they've collected two billion dollars in forfeited crops. Farmers who had soybeans stored used them as collateral for loans and now the government is taking the beans. They're also making money by assessing people because of the dairy buy-out. So the government isn't giving any handouts. And it doesn't matter who gets elected because big money controls both sides.

They talk about a "food surplus," yet there are areas of famine. The food and the people aren't together. But even in the U.S., we don't produce enough for our own country. We import a lot of food supplies, and force countries to export food because of their debt problems. Whether the current situation might lead to famine in the U.S. depends on factors throughout the world.

I don't think there's enough concern yet about how to solve the problems. People in the cities, if they're not affected immediately, aren't concerned. And farmers seem to be searching for ways to cure their individual and immediate situations.

—Illinois farmer

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Raya Dunayevskaya, Chairwoman,  
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## From the writings of Raya Dunayevskaya Marxist-Humanist Archives

by Raya Dunayevskaya  
Founder of Marxist-Humanism

*Editor's note: The following letter from the Supplement to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection, (microfilm #11262) was written by Raya Dunayevskaya to a young Left academic. In it she contrasts her attitude to Hegel's Absolutes to that of Herbert Marcuse, as well as her view of the relationship of organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism to the organization of thought.*

July 13, 1986

Dear John,

...Though we were both revolutionaries (even if Herbert Marcuse expressed that only from an academic chair) we reached very different political conclusions for our own activities which is why we considered ourselves "friendly enemies." Where on the surface it looked as if he were certainly more philosophically (Hegelian) rooted, the truth is that our relation to Hegel himself showed just how far apart we were directly to Hegel, especially to the Absolute Idea. One pivotal letter—his non-response to my letter on the absolutes when he asked why do I need the Absolute when I'm doing very well politically—tells the whole story. That is to say, perhaps I didn't need the Absolute and that precisely because I had broken through the mystical veil that Hegel had imposed upon the Absolute, Marcuse surely did. Instead, he dismissed it from "on high," i.e., the 20th century maturity looking down upon the religiosity of the early 19th century. So what exactly was "greater," more mature about the lavish praise bestowed upon Angela Davis, as the "greatest" student he ever had, and luxuriating in the post of guru that the youth of the 1960s who disregarded the hard labor needed for theory and acting as if that was something that could be caught "en route"?

Philosophically, it is that he remained in the Doctrine of Essence, at most reaching the threshold—the threshold only—of the Absolute. Or, to put it differently, he spoke of the difference between content and form as if form related to essence as an "inferior," despite the fact that he knew very well when he was talking abstractly that form was not just form vs. content, but had a Universal Form, i.e., the Absolute Idea's manifestation as Absolute Method. Here is what I mean:

**EVERY NEW BEGINNING** must start from the Absolute, i.e., from a totality that is not only a numerical sum-up but the ground for a new beginning. A new beginning is not just something new like an update, it is... a new ground. Here is where Objectivity is crucial not alone philosophically but in our everyday work. The objective world exists before ever we were born. It exists independent of us but does not free us from dependence upon it. That is to say, we live in a world we didn't make but we certainly can reshape it, as did each age, and that precisely because our subjectivity is not just petty-bourgeois subjectivity, nor is it separated from thought. Our... Subject's individuality is what Hegel stressed as "Subjectivity that lets nothing interfere with its Universality." In a word, social subject—masses in motion—subjectivity dug deep into the objective world and emerging from the unity of the subjective and the objective at a very specific historic stage.

Objectivity is inseparable from Attitudes to Objectivity. Objectivity is a determinant whether the historic period is a turning point in slave society, or free, as wage slavery under capitalism. Naturally, I'm not talking about Subject-ivity, that [is] subjectivity which is... merely an ego trip, but is a Universal form, i.e. the truth because it was not only Subject, but the whole...philosophy, the Mind. I consider one of the most profound achievements of the Hegelian dialectic to be those three chapters on Attitudes to Objectivity in the *Encyclopedia*. Three (actually four)! Please note that Hegel did not list the dialectic numerically, but that, of course, is the whole of the dialectic.

Think of it. Hegel summed up not only the 25 years between his first great philosophic banner of a new age that philosophers failed to keep up with [as] Objectivity—the French Revolution—from his *Phenomenology of Mind* to the final book of the whole "system," the *Philosophy of Mind*. Nothing less than the whole range of human development and thought—2,500 years of it—[is] comprised in just three attitudes to objectivity. The significance of this historic leap gains further urgency from the fact that these three attitudes follow the Pre-

liminary Notion. In a word, all the Absolutes—Knowledge, Science, Nature, Mind—even more specifically, all from the phenomenological attitudes to Objectivity through the Doctrines of Being, Essence and Notion (I repeat, after Preliminary Notion)—all were permeated with the Absolute. That was the "system"; however, that was not a system, but a dialectic.

**PAUSE A MOMENT** to consider what is signified by Objectivity becoming a determinant to a philosopher like Hegel at every turning point in history. How could it possibly be that the long trek from 1) Faith, 2) Empiricism and Criticism (please do not skip over the fact that Empiricism and Criticism are one attitude to Objectivity—the second), comes to, not the dialectic—uninterrupted advances—but is still so fragile that a single slip off the rails of development produces a backward step, back to Faith, to Intuitionism, at which point it is not the dawn of religion or thought or philosophy, but



G. W. F. Hegel

retrogressionism. Talking about counter-revolution from within, the already great development of humanity through Experience (Empiricism) and Critique—which does recognize that Experience isn't sufficient so that it remains abstract thought, leaving it to "men of good will"—makes the world what it "should" be, a return to the Ought. That is what brought about all of Hegel's ruthless critique of Kant who introduced the dialectic into the modern world, saving it from burial after the great Greek civilization. And yet, that is exactly where Hegel says that Kant himself "stopped dead." This ruthless critique wasn't said against anyone minor of the philosophic contemporaries, but the greatest before Hegel and teacher of all. And it took Hegel no less than a quarter of a century of "patience, suffering, seriousness and labor of the negative" to come to that conclusion.

When I first broke through on the Absolute in 1953, it preceded the actual first revolt from under totalitarian Communism in East Germany, and followed three years after the simultaneous work on the works of Hegel, Marx, Lenin, and especially Capital. Moreover, there was the theory of state-capitalism, plus the movement from practice as itself a form of theory on the level of the workers' battle against automation. Finally, there was the intense individual activity with masses in motion. In the "background" came the first new Latin American Revolution, in Bolivia, before ever I expressed those Absolutes (though I had been working them out for years), of Hegel, Marx's, Lenin's and our own age in *Marxism & Freedom*, at which point I didn't separate the American roots from the world Humanism dimension, calling it Marxist Humanism.

I still thought that I could get either East Europe or the Third World or Japan to become collaborators with a second America on ... working out the ramifications of the new breakthrough. The breakdown occurred in that period of 1965-68 when, on the one hand, Mao's so-called "Cultural Revolution" by no accident had that pull on the new turbulent 1960s youth and, on the other hand, even the state-capitalists in Japan whose youth had broken with the CP (Communist Party) and not gone to Mao and [had] translated the early Humanist essays [of Marx] ...still would not venture into the new organizational responsibility for the new untrodden paths in philosophy that the return to Hegelian dialectics in our age made imperative....The responsibility rested all on American Marxist-Humanists and there would be no collaborator for *Philosophy and Revolution* (P&R) though the American Black dimension, deeply active on the immediate front of Mahwah [auto plant] did listen to the projection of P&R which was central to the Black-Red Conference. #

**THE WHOLE POINT** of this is the organizational responsibility for Marxist-Humanism becoming an historic imperative, something Marcuse never understood though he had come closer during the McCarthy period and helped "found" a workers' paper though he himself was working on *One-Dimensional Man*. Funny, these, intellectuals—intellectuals who do lean toward revolution but who do not wish to take organizational responsibility.

#[The Black-Red Conference was held in Detroit in 1969 and was where Raya Dunayevskaya gave the first full presentation of her work in progress, *Philosophy and Revolution*. The proceedings are available from News & Letters for \$1.00, includes postage.]

\* I mean contributed money and tried to get a publisher for *Marxism and Freedom* while "I" started a workers' paper.

## Hegel's Absolutes and the organization of thought

When it comes to our age, in which we may look on the American scene somewhat isolated, though there is no ongoing revolution anywhere that somehow doesn't find us, the full truth is that the very first meeting, by special invitation that you attended, the Expanded Resident Editorial Board, was once again centered on New Beginnings that Determine the End. It is this which brings me to the concrete... I do not consider one who joins an organization one day and leaves it the next day (or a week or a month) to be serious either about organization or about philosophy. After all, philosophy too, indeed especially philosophy, at first appears only phenomenologically. To become a "science" (Hegel's expression for a total philosophy) it has to have reached **Organizational** conclusions. It is true that so far as Hegel is concerned, the organization he speaks of is organization of thought. May I ask you to re-read the final paragraph of the *Phenomenology on Absolute Knowledge* as the Golgotha, [where] nevertheless:

*"The goal, which is Absolute Knowledge or Spirit knowing itself as Spirit, finds its pathway in the recollection of spiritual forms as they are in themselves and as they accomplish the organization of their spiritual kingdom. Their conservation, looked at from the side of their free existence appearing in the form of contingency, is History; looked at from the side of their intellectually comprehended organization, it is the Science of the ways in which knowledge appears. Both together, or History (intellectually) comprehended, form at once the recollection and the Golgotha of Absolute Spirit..."*

Marxist-Humanist organization that has accumulated, that is inwardized—"in sich gehen"—worked out, such an organization of thought, the one who joins, joins not only as a "self-liberating" experience but also precisely because he finds he has something to learn from it, even if his acquaintance is only with our Who We Are and What We Stand For Statement. The impatience for a dialogue on the individual's ground at the very moment when the world has become a changed world...is not, I repeat, a serious person....

Yours, Raya

## Who We Are and What We Stand For

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

News & Letters was founded in 1955, the year of the Detroit wildcat strikes against Automation and the Montgomery Bus Boycott against segregation—activities which signaled a new movement from practice that was itself a form of theory. News & Letters was created so that the voices of revolt from below could be heard unseparated from the articulation of a philosophy of liberation. We have organized ourselves into a committee form of organization rather than any elitist party "to lead."

Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-87), founder of the body of ideas of Marxist-Humanism, became Chairwoman of the National Editorial Board and National Chairwoman of the Committees from its founding to 1987. Charles Denby (1907-83), a Black production worker, author of *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal*, became editor of the paper from 1955 to 1983. Dunayevskaya's works *Marxism and Freedom...from 1776 until Today*; *Philosophy and Revolution: from Hegel to Sartre and from Marx to Mao and Rosa Luxemburg*; *Women's Liberation*, and *Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* spell out the philosophic ground of Marx's Humanism internationally, as *American Civilization on Trial* concretizes it on the American scene and shows the two-way road between the U.S. and Africa. These works challenge post-Marx Marxists to return to Marx's Marxism.

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

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

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## Editorial

# As Iran/Iraq war ends, what happens after?

After eight years of war in which more than a million Iraqis and Iranians were sent to their deaths in human wave assaults, chemical warfare attacks, and missile bombardments on civilian areas, the world greeted with relief the news that the Iran/Iraq War may finally be coming to an end—a carnage so prolonged and bloody that it has decimated a generation of Iraqis and Iranians.

At the same time, it is hard not to greet with disgust the hypocrisy shown by state powers, large and small, who are suddenly claiming credit for Iran's decision to accept a cease-fire. In fact it was neither Khomeini's reactionary regime—which sent thousands of children to their death against Iraq—nor Saddam Hussein's murderous chemical warfare attacks on Iran, nor the UN Security Council whose members helped prolong the war by selling arms to both sides, nor the U.S. armed flotilla in the Persian Gulf that was decisive in bringing the war to an end. What made it impossible to continue the war was the escalation of anti-war protests by the masses in Iran against Khomeini's regime.

### IRANIAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTS ERUPT

Ever since the war began there have been protests as well as youth fleeing the country or going into hiding to avoid being drafted. In the eight years of war these protests and demonstrations have grown in size and number. In the past year, reports of large-scale workers' strikes, as well as massive desertions of Iranian soldiers at the front, have been reported.

At the start of 1988, large, often spontaneous, anti-war protests broke out. Following an Iraqi missile attack, a large demonstration of women marched down Abu Saeed Ave. in Tehran shouting "Death to Khomeini." Other anti-war protests were held in the slums of south Tehran and in the Beryanak and Narmak areas, as well as in other cities—especially the port city of Anzali, and in Isfahan. In

these actions, the Iranian masses showed that even after eight years of bloody counter-revolution, they have not forgotten the experience of the 1979 revolution when they overthrew the Shah.

It was these protests, more than the recent Iraqi victories and U.S. brazenness in shooting down an Iranian civilian plane with 290 people on board, that pushed Khomeini's regime into deciding to pull out of the war.

That fact, however, is hardly what concerns the U.S. The determining factor in U.S. relations with Iran has always been the U.S.'s determination to ensure that the other superpower, Russia, not gain a foothold in Iran. Thus, for all his anti-Khomeini rhetoric, Reagan has never given up on getting Iran back into the U.S. orbit. It was this which led to the unholy alliance of Reagan and Khomeini swapping arms for hostages in the Iran/contra scandal, and it was this which motivated the U.S.'s friendly response to Iran's acceptance of a cease-fire. While the U.S.'s supposed ally, Iraq, responded to Iran's decision by invading with a huge force and demanding face-to-face negotiations as a pre-condition for ending the fighting, the U.S. applauded the Iranian acceptance of a cease-fire as soon as it was made and began to distance itself from Iraq's belligerence.

Nor has Khomeini, for all his rhetoric about America the "Great Satan," ruled out closer relations with the Reaganism he helped bring to power in 1980. Iran's leaders now openly say they want Western assistance to repair their crisis-ridden, devastated economy.

### THE ABSOLUTE OPPOSITE OF WAR

"What Happens After?" the end of the Iran/Iraq War hinges, however, not only upon the machinations of the rulers but also upon the battle between ruler and ruled within each country. Saddam Hussein rules Iraq with an iron fist and is determined to crush any outbreak of revolt. Khomeini announced that one reason he decided on pulling out of the war was to move against his oppo-

sition at home. It is not the "peace" eventually agreed upon by the rulers, but the new roads to revolution hewed out from below by the masses, that are the genuine opposite of the horrors of the Iran/Iraq War.

Those new roads will not be hewed out by taking shortcuts to revolution. None is better at engaging in such shortcuts than the Iranian opposition group People's Mujahedeen who went from tail-ending Khomeini in 1979-1981 to opposing him with terrorist attacks in the early 1980s, to now allying itself with Hussein's murderous chemical-warfare-spewing regime. Shortcuts to revolution have forever been the road away from, not to, a new society.

What is needed instead is for revolutionaries everywhere to face what it means that so deep a revolution as that experienced by Iran in 1979 could become transformed into the horrors of eight years of trench warfare. It isn't only a question of Khomeini's Islamic fanaticism. It's also a question of what happens when a revolutionary movement is bereft of a philosophy of liberation.

In 1979, Marxist-Humanists pinpointed the deadly contradiction eating at the Iranian Revolution: the emergence of new struggles of workers, women, youth and national minorities, confronted by a Left so lacking any philosophy of revolution that it supported Khomeini's rise to power. The failure to work out the integrality of the creativity of the masses, who desired a truly new society, with an underlying philosophy of liberation, enabled Khomeini to consolidate his rule and transform an opening to permanent revolution into permanent war.

The bloody carnage of the Iran-Iraq War shows what happens when philosophy and revolution get separated. It is working out pathways to overcome that division that can enable the opposite of war, revolution, to lead to the absolute opposite of war, a new, truly human society.

## Feminist Hegelian reviews works of Raya Dunayevskaya

(continued from page 2)

shortening of the working day in *Capital* are also cited by Dunayevskaya as evidence of his lasting interest in gender relations and of his recognition of women's role within working class organizations. But it is Marx's realization that revolution can be achieved only by a total uprooting of social relationships, developed in the 1840s, and by seeing it as permanent that Dunayevskaya sees as of most significance.

Underpinning Dunayevskaya's interpretation of Marx's work is her emphasis on the continuing influence of Hegel throughout Marx's life, shaping his concept of revolution. Her own interest and research in Hegel spanned several decades and she was the first to translate Lenin's 1914 *Abstract of Hegel's Science of Logic* into English...

**THE DIFFICULTY WITH Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution**, however, is that the above ideas are scattered across different sections of the book and the overall effect is that the text is rather disjointed. Trying to cover exegesis of Marx's work and the material on Luxemburg's life and to address issues in modern feminist thought, inevitably means that the philosophical discussions are truncated and although stimulating in suggesting new ways of approaching Marxian ideas, do not really deal with those ideas in sufficient depth. In this sense the book is mistitled and might perhaps have been better presented as a collection of essays on a range of topics in the manner of her later work *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution* rather than as a substantive study of Rosa Luxemburg's relationship to Marxism and feminism. For example, the notion of permanent revolution and the philosophy of revolution in Marx's work, which she sees as central to her argument, require further elucidation to demonstrate their relevance. If the discussions of Luxemburg, Marx and feminism had been distinguished more sharply, this would have enabled her to develop her analysis further but she seems to have integrated three areas in order to facilitate the application of philosophical insights to empirical questions.

She also tends to exaggerate the rejection of Marxism by contemporary feminists when even the most radical feminists, such as Christine Delphy, have developed their critiques of patriarchy by building on concepts drawn from Marx's theory of history and his analysis of the relations of production. Her criticism of feminists for failing to take sufficient account of the significance of philosophy as a tool in feminist struggles is also problematic in the light of the infusion of philosophy into feminism in the last decade in which the limitations of western political philosophy have been exposed and the need to develop new analytical tools to counter the androcentrism of dominant philosophies of science has been recognized. However, in the last few years of her life Dunayevskaya had been in communication with various feminist theorists and was furthering her interest in current feminist work.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the value of Dunayevskaya's work is that her analysis of contemporary feminism is grounded in an historical approach; her active involvement in politics entails a familiarity with struggles world wide that is missing from many contemporary works of feminist theory. Her awareness of the pressure of historical forces is combined with a recognition of the uniqueness of individual struggles whether it is women's contribution to the Russian revolution, for

example the role of women in the Vyborg textile factory, or women in the Igbo uprising and in the Portuguese revolution. While there may be more comprehensive accounts of Marx's relationship to Engels, Dunayevskaya does seek to transcend the gulf between philosophy and social reality and in doing so has earned greater international recognition and interest than many more sophisticated Marxian theorists.

In *Women's Liberation and the Dialectics of Revolution: Reaching for the Future* (New Jersey, Humanities Press, 1985), Dunayevskaya brings together essays published from 1950 to 1985. Although the range of topics covered is broader than in *Rosa Luxemburg*, the recurring themes are similar, namely the need for total revolution to eliminate exploitation, the challenging of racism and patriarchy, the demonstration of Marx's continuing adherence to Hegelian ideas, the distance between Marx and Engels, and an early draft of the conclusion to the *Rosa Luxemburg* text is included. Further references are made to the importance of the *Ethnological Notebooks* in offering a new view of Marx's work as a whole and of the possibility of revolution in underdeveloped societies. Women's contribution to the building of revolutions in Russia and Persia is surveyed and attention is drawn to the ways in which their role has been distorted by commentators who focus on their courage rather than on their development as Reason.

**AGAIN SHE IS CRITICAL OF** feminists who ignore the work of Luxemburg and Marx. While praising feminist writers for their systematic critiques of contemporary ideas, such as psycho-analysis, Dunayevskaya argues that they have failed to seriously take account of working class women's ideas and activities but instead have dismissed them as lacking the requisite levels of consciousness. The legacy of elitism and vanguardism which Dunayevskaya finds within contemporary feminism is attributed partly to a failure to develop an analysis of the relationship between theory and revolution

and in part to the lack of interest in Luxemburg's critiques of vanguardism, issues which Dunayevskaya herself was addressing in her last unfinished work on the dialectics of organization.

The emphasis on Marx's Hegelianism is also evident in this collection, in which the Hegelian dialectic is described as a great voyage of discovery illuminating opposing forces in society, recognizing freedom arising from servitude and thereby allowing Marx to conceive of men and women making history as Reason. She cites Marx's view of John Brown's attack on Harper's Ferry as signifying not just the end of slavery but the beginning of a new epoch in human history. In stressing the importance of a philosophy of revolution, Dunayevskaya focuses on the need to tie philosophy to organization and on the transcendence of the division between mental and manual labour as a precondition for the development of new human relations. The text includes a paper on the implications of Marx's methodology in the *Grundrisse* for modern feminism.

Given the wide scope of the essays it is perhaps not surprising that the final result is somewhat fragmented, despite the recurring theme of the need for a philosophy of revolution; the abbreviated nature of the arguments is also more pronounced in this text than in *Rosa Luxemburg*, given the extremely short length of many of the essays. Many of the papers are written in a polemical style often based on lecture tours undertaken by Dunayevskaya. At the same time the collection bears testimony to the multifarious issues which engaged Dunayevskaya's attention including, for example, material on the role of Polish women in Solidarity which has not been fully recognized despite the considerable volume of literature on the Solidarity movement. Moreover while other writers have criticized political philosophers for ignoring or opposing the idea of women as rationality, what is striking in Dunayevskaya's work is the demonstration of women as Reason in the context of specific historical struggles.

## Discover the Relationship of Philosophy to Women's Liberation

"...To me, philosophy did not mean dialectics only 'in general,' but, very specifically, 'negation of the negation,' which Marx had called 'a new Humanism.' I held that this was spelled out concretely on 17 June 1953, in the East German revolt against Communist totalitarianism. What had come alive to me was the breakup of the Absolute Idea in the context of second negativity, not just philosophically, but in combat. The whole new movement from practice that came alive with that revolt demanded that a totally new relationship of practice to theory be established for a new unity of theory and practice to be achieved. In summing up the Theoretical Idea and the Practical Idea, Hegel had stressed that 'each of these by itself is one-sided and contains the Idea itself only as a sought Beyond and an unattained goal.'"

—Rosa Luxemburg, *Women's Liberation, and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* by Raya Dunayevskaya



### SPECIAL OFFER

Send \$10.95 plus \$1.00 postage for your copy of *Rosa Luxemburg, Women's Liberation and Marx's Philosophy of Revolution* and receive free a copy of "Marx's 'New Humanism' and the Dialectics of Women's Liberation in Primitive and Modern Societies" by Raya Dunayevskaya. Send to News & Letters, 59 E. Van Buren, Room 707, Chicago, IL 60605.

## DRAFT FOR MARXIST-HUMANIST PERSPECTIVES

After reading the "Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives," I turned to the next page and read the article on the spontaneous uprising in Brasov, Romania, in the Fall of 1987. The Romanian woman describes the movement of spontaneity and then says: "We didn't know what to do if we took over, so we went home." What a tragic statement; it points so forcefully to what the whole Perspectives emphasizes: the need for a dual movement, from practice to theory, and from theory to practice. The 1985 quote from Dunayevskaya stays in my mind: "it becomes imperative to single out the expression 'the new continent of thought' from what we always define Marx's Humanism to be—a new continent of thought and of revolution."

Subscriber  
San Diego, Cal.

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I've been attending a course in South African Economic History. What the professor and other South African academics are interested in is how to run a capitalist/welfare state economy after apartheid is ended. It got me thinking about the quote from Dunayevskaya's *Philosophy and Revolution* in Part II of the "Draft for Perspectives." "It is not possible to comprehend the African reality apart from the compelling objective forces of world production, the pull of the world market, and the underlying philosophy of the masses which Marx called the 'quest for universality.'"

Although the Perspectives goes on to speak of the "quest for universality," I was interested in that seeming contradiction between the pull of the world market and the underlying philosophy of the masses. This never seems to bother the academics whose gray matter doesn't extend beyond the idea of socialism as either some welfare state capitalism or the so-called "existing socialist societies." That is, to them philosophy never comes into it; everything is at the level of "practicality" and sometimes the masses' idealism is just not practical.

Student  
New York City

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Production, production, production—ringing more and more sweat out of the living laborer—is the foundation of any state power, East or West. When labor stops producing, as in the strikes in Armenia, Gorbachev says this has nothing to do with glasnost, or that it can only damage glasnost's progress. Here in the U.S., not only the attack upon labor, but the revolt from the laboring class has been constant, with numerous small strikes nationwide.

Thinking Black worker  
California

\*\*\*

The discussion of "Two Rulers at the Summit; Two Worlds in Each Country" forcefully illuminates Dunayevskaya's "Two Worlds" concept—both the irreconcilable contradictions between rulers and ruled, and the unresolved contradictions in thought between objectivity and subjectivity. But I'm not sure I agree with the assessment of the contrast between the Reykjavik and Moscow Summits, with the latter being pinpointed as when "a path [to the full development of Star Wars] has been cleared...by both sides." Wasn't that precisely the direction Dunayevskaya had singled out at the Reykjavik Summit, (N&L 11/86) which she called "the most ominous happening in this changed world?"

Anti-war  
California

\*\*\*

I'm glad the Perspectives asked "what happens after?" in Afghanistan. It seems forgotten by everyone. With the Russians pulling out, and the Khomeini-ites and CIA-backed right-wingers moving in, what will happen to the women, to the peasantry, to the youth? As you say, it was the "factional infighting" which allowed the Russian invasion in the first place, and now I wonder if we'll see another horror like Lebanon.

Worried  
Oakland, Cal.

\*\*\*

Part III of the Perspectives really flowed. I was very taken by the way the concept of the "maturity of the age" was traced as an idea from the 1940s to today. What was crucial for Raya's concept of the "maturity of the age" was

the relationship between the new questions workers were asking—their humanism—and Raya's work with Hegel's Absolutes. The quote that really hit home was: "simply crediting the 'maturity of the age' as the determinant of a philosophic moment does not suffice. For that does not explain how one philosopher catches what is fundamentally new where no one else does."

Feminist  
Detroit, Mich.

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Those last two paragraphs of the "Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspectives" were very good. "Inwardization in the historic mirror"—that is a very new concept. What I hear you saying is that it is because Marx's followers thought they knew his conclusions, they were in no hurry to study and publish his archives. And also that because they didn't see the need to understand in any deep way his process of thinking, they couldn't figure out what to do when capitalism threw them a new challenge, like 20th century imperialism.

I never thought of "inwardization" of a "body of ideas" in that concrete way before.

Young revolutionary  
Chicago



WORKERS,  
BLACK  
AND WHITE

The votes Jesse Jackson got in the last election are saying loud and clear to me that white workers also voted for Jesse. Black people have known from the beginning of America that it is not for human beings. The white workers I know voted for Jesse, and last time some of them voted for Reagan. Those white workers have come a long way in the last four years.

Labor's consciousness has shown that workers are disgusted with the old leadership. That is why the membership of organized labor has dropped. We already organized the CIO and now everyone can see that it doesn't work. We have to have a new idea.

Retired worker  
La Habra, Cal.

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I have been reading *Indignant Heart: A Black Worker's Journal* by Charles Denby. He seems like an extraordinary man of many dimensions and experiences. Two things have stood out in my mind so far: One, that as early as the 1940s Denby, as a Black man, was criticizing the NAACP for not truly speaking to the needs of the Black masses. Two, the descriptions by Denby of work in the auto plants in the 1940s—it seems that there was a period of cooperation then between Black and white workers which disintegrated later. I'm trying to think through why that happened.

Black artist  
California

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The American Labor Relief Fund aims to provide support for workers suffering from long and short term unemployment. In the last decade 13 million jobs were lost; 25 million are now living in official poverty and six million are homeless. We, in organized labor, have a responsibility to reach out to those growing numbers. We invite union endorsements, financial contributions, ideas for new projects and funding sources. Write to:

American Labor Relief Fund  
400 Second Ave. South  
Minneapolis, Minn. 55401

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I took a little trip to a small town in Virginia. It is a predominantly Black town, with the first union shop being a textile mill. Now some heavy industry and service workers are organized there. But you get the feeling that if the right signal goes up, the small towns like this are just going to mobilize their own labor movement in a second, with Black workers as the vanguard. The places I visited were white-managed plantations, with the workers valuing the union quite highly, as restrained as it is. This place is near Courtland, so I

## Readers' Views

went around looking for historical markers of Nat Turner's rebellion. Over a period of time going up to the recent past, these markers were sabotaged by the white citizenry. At least one old man had the nerve to tell me that the heroism of Turner was Northern mythology. I know now what Charles Denby meant when he said that the South did have a revolution beginning with the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Union activist  
New York

WOMEN'S STUDIES,  
WOMEN'S FREEDOM

Terry Moon's article, "Women's studies, women's freedom: two separate paths?" (July N&L) really struck home to me. I am a graduate student at a midwestern university active in Women's Liberation and with a knowledge of women's writings and history. I decided to apply for a graduate assistantship in the Women's Studies Department at my school.

When the director of Women's Studies interviewed me, she informed me that many of the women who sit on the applicant review committee had some questions. I was shocked when I heard their content. First I was asked whether or not I would change my style of dress if hired by Women's Studies. From this it was apparent that their priorities were askew. Then I was asked if my "political activities" would interfere with my work in women's studies. Given that my political activities are all centered around Women's Liberation I could not understand how these women would ask such a question.

When I read Terry Moon's article about two weeks later, the meaning behind the committee's question became clear. The Women's Studies Department at my school has certainly forgotten its roots when it decides that women who struggle to radically change the system which oppresses them are unqualified to teach their students! After this disheartening experience I have decided that if I continue my work outside of this system, I will be more effective in helping bring about change.

Women's Liberationist  
in the Midwest

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I greatly appreciated Terry Moon's article on the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) Conference—and even more so, after receiving the latest issue of the feminist publication off our backs that has endless pages of reports on the conference, but derives no meaning from Black feminist Audre Lorde's critique of NWSA's elitism and stagnation. off our backs quotes Lorde's trenchant critique—against the \$50 NWSA "Daughter of the Feminist Revolution" button—as merely one statement amongst a dozen or a hundred others.

I was struck also with Moon's critique of the workshop led by long-time feminist activist and theorist Charlotte Bunch. The very title Bunch chose for her workshop, "Translating Our Vision for the Practice of Freedom: Feminist Pedagogy for the 21st Century" made me think of Rosa Luxemburg: "Revolutions cannot be schoolmastered!"

Women's liberationist  
Los Angeles

## Muvman Liberasyon Fam



The aims of Muvman Liberasyon Fam are to fight for all women, for true equality between all women and men in all fields, and total liberation of women. We are receiving N&L regularly. We are sending an order for the four books by Raya Dunayevskaya whom we are dying to know more about.

Muvman Liberasyon Fam  
Forest-Side, Mauritius

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I have two young tribal women as co-workers who are really good. We have regular meetings of groups of women in many places. They are very responsive and it looks as if they were waiting for

a long time to have this chance to sit together and reflect on their own lives and the situations around them. The women in these meetings bring up issues such as women working as contract laborers. This is very important because our area is undergoing a rapid process of industrialization and the majority of women go to work as contract workers—making roads, crushing stone, construction work. We also take up issues of dowry payments, witches, wife beatings, drinking water.

Feminist  
Bihar, India

GLOBAL DIALOGUE  
ON MARXIST-HUMANISM

I received the books you sent. Presently I am reading Marx's *Capital* and *Today's Global Crisis*. The greatness of Raya's thoughts could be found anywhere in this book. Immediately on opening it you discover a true humanist who is yet to be discovered by millions of people. I see it to be part of my duty on earth to be introducing Raya and her thoughts to the not-yet Marxist-Humanists. Without a doubt she left a big gap and people like you are struggling to make a continuation. It is really the "trial of the lonely hours." Raya's visit to Africa—now 26 years ago—was very useful. So many years later some of us have emerged to embrace her ideas, even though we didn't know her then.

Supporter  
The Gambia, West Africa

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I find the philosophic debate in N&L quite stimulating, a sign that you are recovering after the death of Raya. The professor (Kellner) who debated with Kevin A. Barry on Marcuse (May N&L) was right to say you need to put more flesh on the arguments. The article by Peter Wermuth (June N&L) on Marx, Lukacs and "externality" was fascinating, especially on Marx and the transition to nature. I'd have liked to have seen a somewhat deeper look at Lukacs' *The Young Hegel* and how all that stuff about Napoleon was Lukacs grappling with the problem of Stalin. I think it's tremendously relevant to today's situation.

Dave B.  
London, England

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We have started a group here called the "Anjuman Andishe Azad"—Committee for Free Thought. Several Iranian refugees are involved. We meet every week at a coffee shop and discuss democracy and the class struggle. Raya Dunayevskaya's name and works are brought up quite a bit. I am very happy to have found other human beings with whom to discuss Marxist-Humanist ideas.

Iranian exile  
West Germany

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The annual Mobilization for Peace, Jobs and Justice drew 7-8,000 people here this year. At the News and Letters table many old friends stopped by to get our literature and express support, but especially exciting was the international dimension. A Mexican man told me of reading Dunayevskaya's essay in Erich Fromm's *Socialist Humanism* in Spanish, and a young Irish man who had seen N&L in England said, "Marxist-Humanism, that's what they need now in Ireland."

Lillian W.  
Berkeley, Cal.

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It is a severe blow to learn of Raya Dunayevskaya's passing. Only a select few leave behind as much as she did. Politically I have been a "vegetable" for too long—living, working surviving. Suddenly I found myself re-reading *Marxism and Freedom* and wanting to search out News & Letters again. It was a great pleasure to read N&L again, even though it was to learn at the same time of such difficult times. No one else on the Left seems concerned with what happens to the Left before, during and especially after revolution. Please send me the bulletins of your National Gathering and put me back on your sub list. It is wonderful to be back in touch with Marxist-Humanist thought.

Back with you  
Canada

**NATURE OF THE RUSSIAN ECONOMY—THEN AND NOW**

The pre-Convention issue of N&L was extremely interesting, in particular the 1944 article by Raya Dunayevskaya on the question of the operation of the law of value in the USSR. This is, I believe, the greatest failure in the "degenerate workers state" analysis. I recently attended a meeting in London where Ernest Mandel spoke. His argument went something like this: the western bosses don't think the USSR is capitalist; the workers there don't think it's capitalist; the USSR bureaucracy doesn't think it's capitalist. The only person who thinks so is Tony Cliff (sic!). Raya, however, in her article, makes the point absolutely clear. Maybe Mandel would like to forget the Soviet article she was writing about, and the fact that even the official dogmatists admit that the law of value operates in "socialism."

Solidarity activist  
London, England

How can you say that Russia and the U.S. are "all alike"? What Gorbachev is doing all over the globe is trying to bring peace to regional conflicts, and on nuclear arms he is the one pushing for genuine disarmament. Certainly Reagan isn't. N&L is not very fair-minded when it comes to Russia.

Reader  
New York

I have been out of the country for several years and am back for awhile. Recently I talked with a young man who had been to Russia as a part of sister-city exchanges. He subscribed to a state-capitalist critique of Russia, but never heard of Raya. Fortunately I had placed several of Raya's books in the Duluth library years ago for just such occasions. So I talked with him about Raya and told him to read the books. I know he is reading them. And I will wait to see what he thinks.

Long-time friend  
Cloquet, Minn.

I was reading the English-language edition of Pravda—and found that "glasnost" and "perestroika" now have a third pillar of the "new" of Gorbachevism—"Cost accounting"! It seems astonishing, but isn't, if you read what Dunayevskaya wrote back in 1944!

Amazed  
California

I so enjoyed Raya's 1944 "New Revision of Marxian Economics" article (July N&L) because it showed how bla-

tant Stalin was when he rewrote Marx to read "distribution according to labor" rather than "to his needs." They never changed it back. They pretend that is Marxism. That article also shows, right from the beginning, how they tried to distort Marx's theory of surplus value and say that can operate in a socialist land.

What's so great about seeing this article now is that it makes it clear that Gorbachev's restructuring is just the same thing that Stalin did. He is trying to say the law of value operates in a socialist land and what he really means is that the workers are going to have to work even harder.

Professor  
Chicago, Ill.

**'ON GUARD'**

Have you seen *On Guard*? It's the newspaper put out by the "Citizen Soldier" group which has been agitating within the ranks of the U.S. Armed Forces since 1975. Often the Left forgets about the rank-and-file men and women in the armed services, especially in this period when there is no "official" draft. The poverty draft, however, brings poor and Third World youth into the service in large numbers, year after year. Just read *On Guard*, and you will see the kinds of battles they are waging—not at war, but against racism, sexism, and authoritarianism in the armed forces, and for the right to oppose U.S. policies. *On Guard* is well worth looking into. Their address is:

Citizen Soldier  
175 Fifth Ave., Suite 808  
New York, NY 10010

**QUESTIONS FOR SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS**

I was in the "peace contingent" of the Evanston Committee on Central America as part of the July 4th parade in Evanston, Ill. It was just one day after a U.S. ship shot down an Iranian civilian plane with 290 on board. Myself and a few friends, surprised no one was chanting anything in the peace contingent, began to say "Reagan, Reagan, you're insane, shooting down a civilian plane," and "Stop the Bombing, Stop the War, from the Persian Gulf to El Salvador."

Even though this was within a July 4th parade, we got a good reception from many onlookers. But it was the or-

ganizers of the "peace contingent" that gave us trouble! They tried to get us to stop the chants, saying "it will confuse people about the issue of Central America!" Can you believe that? We kept chanting anyway.

Marcher  
Evanston, Ill.

I recently got a lesson in how far one can be from genuine Marxism even with a position that Russia or China is "state-capitalist." Did you see the position that Tony Cliff's SWP/ISO now has on the Iran/Iraq War? They support Khomeini's side in the war, saying Iran is leading a fight "against imperialism" because of the presence of the U.S. fleet in the Persian Gulf. They go so far as to condemn anti-war protests by the Iranian masses, workers' strikes, and demonstrations as "playing into the hands of imperialism." These politics are as far removed from reality as heaven is from earth.

Anti-war activist  
Chicago

**FARMERS AND THE DROUGHT**

I noticed nothing relating to the drought in the last issue. Would the farmer who wrote in the April issue be able to comment? The whole way the drought is being discussed in the media angers me. It is being discussed as if "Nature," which is external to humanity, is responsible. But the fact is that the crisis on the farms underscores the dehumanization of agriculture under capitalism. Marx's concept of Nature becomes very real here.

Working mother  
Detroit

Editor's note: For a story on the drought and the farm crisis from a farmer's point of view, see p. 3.

**FIGHTING AIDS WITH HUMAN CREATIVITY**

I was tremendously moved by the AIDS Quilt Project which toured Chicago last month. In this project thousands of quilt pieces, approximately four feet by six feet, each representing a person who had died from AIDS, were sewn together and displayed. Each piece was created by friends, family, lovers, of the AIDS victims, and each was magnificently individual. Some had poems or letters or favorite items from the life of

their friend. It was as if a small piece of a person's life could suddenly be seen, even by someone who had not known that person. At the same time the vastness of the thousands upon thousands of pieces of cloth brought home in a new way the enormity of the tragedy. The project puts names and faces on the numbers who have died and stands in sharp contrast to the inhuman response of the Reagan administration, which is even now rejecting much of its own AIDS commission's recommendations. I hope others can visit this project if it comes to their city.

N&L Committee member  
Chicago



**FROM THE PHILIPPINES: AN APPEAL FOR HELP**

Warm greetings from the Philippines. We were delighted that we were able to get hold of N&L through our friend who came over to visit our office. We were established in 1982 to promote workers' human development through labor education and social development programs. We regularly conduct labor education for industrial workers which requires us to have information on workers problems, labor/capitalist relationships, and on the international labor movement. Much as we want to subscribe to N&L, our meager resources restrain us. We trust you would understand our predicament and assist us. It will surely redound to the benefit of Filipino workers.

St. Joseph Social Services  
Manila, Philippines

Editor's note: Many of our friends in the Third World and in East Europe cannot pay for their own subscriptions to N&L, either because they cannot afford it, or because they cannot send money out of their countries. The U.S. Post Office, however, requires us to prove that all subscriptions are paid for. Can you help by sending a donation to pay for subscriptions to N&L for those who can't pay for their own?

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## Black/Red View

by John Alan

The Democratic Party's Convention in Atlanta, Ga., has shown how vast is the separation between the interests of the Black masses and the interests of the Black middle class politicians who wheel and deal for the "sharing of power" rather than do battle for the interests of the Black masses. Jackson's passionate plea for social justices, human rights and peace can't conceal the fact that Michael Dukakis won a victory in shifting the Democrats to the right, toward Reaganism.

Jackson's decision not to openly oppose Dukakis' selection of the conservative Senator Lloyd Bentsen, as his Vice Presidential running mate in the interest of "party unity," was a clear message to everyone that Dukakis, the technocrat, the efficiency expert, was in control. And he plans to organize the government in the interest of monopoly capitalism, not in the "moral and populist" causes of Jackson.

Senator Bentsen is as rich and as conservative as George Bush. In the Senate he was recognized as the champion of the petroleum and real estate interests. He voted for Reagan's fiscal policies and Contra aid, issues that Jackson campaigned vigorously against.

### ILLUSIONS OF BLACK LEADERSHIP

Nor, in the interest of party unity, did Jackson, after all the prior talk about keeping up "the hope and morale of his delegates," make any substantial efforts to have included in the Party's program any of his populist planks like taxing the profits of the rich.

However, Jackson is not just an individual with per-

## Racist, sexist firing at NIU

*DeKalb, Ill.*—Students at Northern Illinois University (NIU) are continuing their struggle against racism and sexism on campus by forming a multi-racial coalition to fight the firing of Martha Palmer. Ms. Palmer, who is originally from Chicago's South Side, is a Black counselor for the CHANCE program at Northern. The CHANCE program, the only office at NIU which recruits minority students to campus, gives students who don't make the university's admission standards a chance at a college education.

Ms. Palmer was the only staff member to speak at the April 13th Day of Action protest against cuts to higher education. At the rally she spoke out against NIU's institutionalized racism and sexism claiming that NIU has a "divide and conquer" policy against minorities and women. She condemned the SAT, GRE, and ACT tests for being ethnically biased. And she encouraged students to unite together to fight for their liberty. By the end of her speech she had students of all races holding hands singing "Freedom isn't free. You have to pay the price. You have to sacrifice. For your liberty."

Immediately after the Day of Action, Ms. Palmer began receiving threats from her superiors which demanded that she begin to do things their way. The threats were vague, but the message was clear. Martha wasn't to continue to rally the students around these controversial issues or her job would be in jeopardy.

After school let out for the summer, Ms. Palmer received a six-month notice which stated that after December she would no longer have her job as counselor at the CHANCE program.

Though university officials have not given Ms. Palmer nor the students any concrete reason for the firing, many students see that this firing is not only racist and sexist, but that it reveals deeply rooted inefficiencies within the university's recruitment and retention of minority students on campus.

This July, 25 students, some armed with video cameras and a few people from Channel 13 and the *Northern Star*, marched to the CHANCE office to confront the director, Leroy Mitchell, and ask him why Ms. Palmer is being fired. Mitchell told the students that he didn't have to tell them anything and that his job was to run the CHANCE program, "not to please the students."

Ms. Palmer's firing has sparked off a stronger sense of Black, Latino, and white unity among students who are dissatisfied with the university as a whole. Ironically, the very thing the university does not want to happen, a joining together of Black, Latino and radical white students, is happening as a result of the firing of Martha Palmer. —Julia

## South African women

(continued from page 1)

the Leftists got injured and six of them died as there was no security for them from the police.

Before the war started the betrayers had been throwing the strugglers' property—TVs, furniture, beds, etc.—into the streets, demanding that we vacate the hostels. One of our revolutionary's car was burned by these enemies. Women were assisted by the male residents from all organizations. Our movement resisted and we won.

We are now proceeding and busy organizing the Thafeni hostels. As we women are not looking for a fight, we are relying on our comrade brothers to protect us. The conflict is usually started during the night and we run away with our children. The Thafeni section has no electricity, no fencing, the men sleep four in one room. The hostels were sold for R1800 (\$749.34) yet we had to renovate them as some had broken windows, rough walls and no ceiling. So we have rejected the system of sale and stayed without payment until now. —Tembisa revolutionary

## Where has Jesse run?

sonal ambitions, he is the phenomenal representation of a whole class of Black politicians who have emerged as a predominant force within the Black leadership since the end of the Civil Rights Movement. Once the racial barriers were relaxed and the voting rights took effect they plunged into politics. Some, at first, with the illusion that it was the pathway to Black freedom. Others saw politics as the fruit of the victory of the Civil Rights Movement, as the road to power, a veritable solution to the marginal economic status of the Black middle class. Jackson personifies all of this on the national scene.

Jackson created the further illusion that the Black middle class could share power with the capitalists in the running of the state. No one has expressed that concept more succinctly, without Jackson's moral implications, than William H. Gray III, the Black chairman of the House Budget Committee.

In an interview he gave to *Life Magazine* last Spring, Gray enlarged on the scope of Black politicians' interest: "If (Blacks) are to become effective politically, they must continually demonstrate the ability to handle issues that affect all Americans, and not just an ethnic constituency." He said Jackson's candidacy is "training a whole cadre of technicians in the electoral process—issue development people, researchers, organizers, managers, coordinators, press secretaries—who will go on to higher places."

### BLACK BOURGEOISIE

In Atlanta this is a fact of life that exists alongside a sharp separation between the affluent of both races and the mostly Black poor. Michael Lomax, the Black chairman of the Fulton County Commission, describes the situation as being where "one group winds up living in a twilight zone of privilege and affluence and the other in a kind of inferno of destruction and blight."

To be aware of the contradiction that the economic boom in Atlanta has produced, both wealth and poverty, does not mean that the Black middle class leadership in Atlanta is conscious of the contradiction of their own role in the political process that brought this about. Instead, they speak with pride about the fact that the city is governed by an informal consensus of Black politicians and white businessmen.

The truth of the matter is, that the more the Black middle class drives to overcome their own marginality as a class in capitalist politics and government, the less they're concerned with the fundamental cause of the ongoing crisis in Black reality. As a class it becomes impossible for them to comprehend that their "success" in politics rests upon a society that creates simultaneously wealth and privileges at one end and unemployment, poverty and Black urban ghettos at the other end.

Jackson's plunge into national bourgeois politics created no new beginning along the path of total Black freedom, rather he created a limited illusion of a "solution" to the crisis in Black reality, that met its death in Atlanta at the hands of an abstraction called "party unity." We have to seek new beginnings of the Black movement within the thinking and actions of Black masses, as well as in the crucial activity of developing and projecting the philosophy of Marxist-Humanism as the objective transcendence of the present society.

## Black World

(continued from page 1)

so-called "Massachusetts Miracle"—welfare "reform." The underside of the "Massachusetts Miracle" exposes the real retrogression behind the liberal disguise of Michael Dukakis.

Not only does Dukakis' ET Program (Employment and Training Program), like the workfare bills now before Congress, punish welfare recipients, but the Massachusetts Supreme Court has upheld a lower court suit brought against the Dukakis administration by the Coalition for Basic Human Needs and the Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless, charging that welfare benefits were so low that thousands of recipients have been forced into homelessness. (See *Survival News*, Vol. 2, #1, Winter 1988.)

Welfare activists in Dukakis' own state describe his ET Program as "forced work with the window dressing of fake liberal reform" to make the poor take the jobs the "educated middle class don't want." Dukakis' perspective of extending his "Massachusetts Miracle" to the rest of the country is already underway in the Congress where Sen. Daniel Moynihan's Family Security Act (sic) was recently passed with Reagan's "benign" concurrence. This is welfare reform South-African style by Reagan-restructured liberals who intend to manage Reaganomics into the next century.

### MARX'S CRITIQUE OF BUREAUCRACY

The patriarchal, racist mentality of this "new breed of reformers" has moved, in these Reagan years, to "overhaul" welfare because in its narrow administrative view, welfare has done nothing but "breed illegitimate children, dependency and erode the work ethic." And the only distinguishing mark between conservative and liberal is that whereas the former translate welfare "reform" as workfare, forcing recipients to work off their benefits or lose them, liberals add a few "incentives" like inadequate childcare subsidies and training to the workfare requirement. Yet, no one ever stops to ask why liberals are quick to talk about "training" for the

## South African Freedom Journal

## Shop stewards under fire

*Johannesburg, South Africa*—The London-based Morganite Company headed by G.K. Harmon recently dismissed shop-stewards of the South African Transport Scooter and Allied Workers Union (SATSA-WU). Since the 3-day stayaway in June, protesting the union-busting Labour Bill, we have been routinely harassed and detained.

The union got recognition at Morganite back in November. And on April 18 of this year we gave Morganite the necessary membership validation. At that time management gave us promises that they would negotiate in good faith. Since then three shop stewards have been arrested, and I have been threatened with arrest for confronting management with its own promises. The company has said that whenever I set foot on company premises they will have me arrested.

Senior shop stewards have been given notices to appear in court, although no witnesses for detained shop stewards are allowed to testify. This is part and parcel of the kind of discipline employees have been subjected to since April 18 when we complied with Morganite's request for our membership rolls.

Because Morganite is an European company, which comes under the EEC (European Economic Community) Code of Conduct, we want to bring its violation of those rules and its blatant collaboration with apartheid against workers' right to union representation to the attention of the international trade union community, and to British authorities. —Black trade unionist

## Latinos protest killer-cops

*Perth Amboy, N.J.*—Not as many people came to the rally in Perth Amboy, July 30, as I expected. It was planned after an off-duty white policeman shot and killed a young Mexican man, Carmen Coria, in a bar in June. His brother, Mateo, was also seriously wounded. The local people may have been afraid because the police now have records on the people who were the leaders of the original demonstration. The organizers had a hard time getting a permit because the police didn't want any trouble.

The first demonstration after Carmen was killed was spontaneous. It was just born. It was the whole Hispanic community. The first three days were like that. Though many are undocumented they couldn't take this kind of treatment anymore. The mayor had refused to speak to them so they exploded.

Carmen Coria was in the process of applying for U.S. residency through the legalization amnesty program.

My family heard from the television news, and my mother called from Guatemala to make sure I was alright. She knew I lived nearby, but didn't know I actually work in Perth Amboy and knew Carmen Coria.

The good thing I saw about the demonstration was the signs, written in Spanish or in broken English. These were blue-collar workers. Their signs said things like "Narcotized police killed Carmen." They asked, is it narcotics policeman, or policeman on narcotics? One said "he's not a cop, he's a criminal."

I also found out that the Catholic priest who conducted the funeral service for Carmen Coria has received a lot of anonymous letters threatening him.

—Central American

## Workfare racism

poor, and "education" for the middle-class.

Karl Marx, long before he wrote his greatest work, *Capital*, disclosed this punitive reactionary side of the liberal administrative mentality. Indeed Marx's original confrontation with the crisis of modern bourgeois society began with his concern with the conditions of the poor and the bureaucratic mentality of the state. From the beginning of his dialectical digging, he saw that "an administrative body...has everywhere, alongside the actual reality, a bureaucratic reality which retains its authority however much the times may change...it (tries) to reform not the administration itself, but only the object administered."

Marx saw that the more pervasive and permanent the crisis grows, "so much more profound, sincere and decisive will be the conviction that this is an incurable state of distress, which the administration, i.e., the state, can do nothing to alter, and which requires rather a change on the part of those administered."

Thus, child-care and "training" (rather than education) for women on welfare does not remedy the problem. They are half-way measures which cost the state little and that never get to the root of the problem. At the same time, compulsory workfare means telling people to lift themselves up by their bootstraps while denying them a right they previously had. Where the welfare recipient wanted only help, she got only coercion. She comes to feel that she exists for the sake of welfare, not welfare for her.

These intimations of what will follow the Reagan era have become translucent in the weeks after Michael Dukakis won the Democratic Party presidential nomination. Nowhere has that been more so than on the question of welfare. For the dialectic of the Black dimension of American civilization reveals not only that the differences between Dukakis and Reagan are little or none, but, that on the anniversary of the discovery of the bodies of the civil rights martyrs, Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney in Neshoba County, there is little difference between the "Massachusetts Miracle" and the Mississippi Golgotha.

# Who was Bukharin and what does Gorbachev want with him?

Suddenly, after nearly 50 years as a non-person from Stalin through "deStalinization," through Brezhnev and Andropov, Nikolai Bukharin has been written back into the Russian history books. He was first recalled from official oblivion when Gorbachev mentioned him in a speech on the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution last Nov. 2. Next a commission set up by Gorbachev rescinded Bukharin's 1938 execution and later announced his reinstatement into the Communist Party.

Suddenly, many of Bukharin's own writings are being republished, and Party representatives are ex-

*[The dialectic] is relegated [by Bukharin] from its position as a doctrine of knowledge and the very marrow of historiography and the science of politics, to the level of a sub-species of formal logic and elementary scholastics.*

—Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci, p. 435.

...essing what Gorbachev himself has only implied—that Bukharin is to be regarded as Lenin's true heir. Who is this Nikolai Bukharin?

Bukharin joined the revolutionary upsurge in the first Russian Revolution of 1905 and became one of its most talented theoreticians, particularly after the 1917 Revolution as a member of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party. After Lenin's death and Stalin's consolidation of power against Trotsky, Bukharin was Stalin's leading economic theorist in the early 1930s. In 1938 he was falsely convicted and executed as part of Stalin's purge trials.

## BUKHARIN AND PERESTROIKA

Why is he being rehabilitated now? The purpose certainly is not to correct Russia's notorious looseleaf notebook history. Part of Gorbachev's objective certainly is ideological foundation for his perestroika (economic restructuring).

Gorbachev's Nov. 2 speech did not simply mention Bukharin. On the 1920s New Economic Policy—a limit-retreat to state capitalism that Lenin saw as a necessary temporary backward step—Gorbachev recalled Bukharin's view that it was a way forward; but he tried to fit those words into Lenin's mouth, and then tied it to the goal of "from each according to his abilities to each according to his work." This was actually Stalin's capitalist distortion of Marx's vision, from each according to his abilities to each according to his needs."

In other words, far from perestroika being any change in the class nature of Russian state-capitalism, it is a search for ways to extract even more sweat from the workers. And this practical purpose makes it clear that the ideological foundation is not "merely" ideology, but a theoretical basis for the application of science.

## SCIENCE VS. THE MASSES

In fact, science and technology is where Bukharin was working in the early 1930s in his search for ways out of

*Bukharin is not only the most valuable and greatest theoretician of the party, but also may legitimately be considered the favorite of the whole party; but his theoretical views can only with the very greatest doubt be regarded as fully Marxian, for there is something scholastic in him. (He has never learned, and I think never fully understood, the dialectic.)*

—Lenin's Will

economic crisis. He elaborated this in a speech at the 1931 International Congress of the History of Science and Technology. After making science, not the masses, the subject, he concluded that the highest stage reeking down the division between mental and manual labor was the question of planning science.

At one of its resolutions, the recent extraordinary Communist Party conference in Moscow showed that

such concerns are still front and center:

**"Revolutionary perestroika is impossible...without progress of science and technology, without increasing the scientific-technical contribution by scientists and engineers, without raising their prestige and improving the conditions of their work...."**

Clearly what is involved in Bukharin's rehabilitation

is his theory where the masses are objects—the theory that Stalin and his successors up to and including Gorbachev have long been practicing, the theory of "socialism in one country" that helped state-capitalism establish and maintain its grip. It is this theory that Gorbachev wants to use as a basis for Russia's future development.

—Franklin Dmitryev

## Dunayevskaya on Bukharin

*Editor's note: In numerous writings over a period of 40 years, Raya Dunayevskaya critiqued Nikolai Bukharin on subjects from economics and the Plan to imperialism, from science to philosophy, from theory and practice to the national question and the dialectics of revolution. Below are brief excerpts from her writings:*

### 'The technical intelligentsia'

The whole point of Bukharin's "General Theory" [in his *Economics of the Transition Period*]...is that in the development of capital from industrial to finance stage (his division)—a movement from "unorganized" to "organized" capitalism—there arose a "technical intelligentsia." (Hold onto that term—"technical intelligentsia"—it is Bukharin's new category, the new universal around which everything revolves, not only under "state capitalism" but in the "transition period" with not much chance of its disappearing under the transition period. In fact, the state is not seen as anything that would wither away until it is a world system and even [then] nothing concrete is said about any withering away. The masses are seen as completely subordinate to this "technical intelligentsia," or more precisely, the masses are seen not as a developing subject, but as an object of the "development of humanity," or at most, as a very abstract subject that has "power," is a "ruling class," but that is something given, something established, while the intelligentsia is concrete, develops, brings about "equilibrium," and all is well with the world once again.)

Now the "technical intelligentsia" was born to replace "the blind laws of the market"...[Bukharin's] new universal is not the self-developing proletariat but the self-developing intelligentsia.

3/2/1951 letter of Raya Dunayevskaya to C.L.R. James

(Raya Dunayevskaya collection, microfilm #9291)

### Bukharin vs. Lenin on dialectics

[Dialectics] is the central feature of all of Lenin's disputes with Bukharin, beginning with the National Question during World War I and ending with the Will. That was so not only in his public debates but in his commentary on Bukharin's theoretical works which Lenin did not publicly criticize. We have Lenin's Notebooks of 1920 in which he commented on Bukharin's *Economics of the Transition Period*. The book puts forward the theory of an allegedly classless force, "a third group," (neither capitalist nor worker that is) which Bukharin calls "the technical intelligentsia"...This is the new absolute for state capitalism and for the dictatorship of the proletariat, "the transition period." No wonder Bukharin found himself alongside Trotsky in the Trade Union debate. As Lenin put it, in his "Remarks on Bukharin's *Economics of the Transition Period*," when he reached a passage where Bukharin finally remembered the two fundamental laws of capitalist production—centralization of capital and socialization of labor—"Finally, thank god! Human language instead of 'organized' babbling. All is well that ends well." But two pages later he is hitting out at Bukharin again. He quotes Bukharin: "Once the destruction of capitalist production relations is really given and once the theoretic impossibility of their restoration is proven." Then Lenin comments: "Impossibility" is demonstrable only practically. The author does not pose dialectically the relationship of theory to practice."

Marxism and Freedom p. 175, 206-207



Nikolai Bukharin, 1888-1938.

### Self-determination of nations

In 1917 the opposition to national self-determination should have ended. In fact, it only took on a new form. This time Bukharin contended that it was no longer possible to admit the right of self-determination since Russia was now a workers' state, whereas nationalism meant bourgeois and proletarian together, and "therefore" a step backward. In his admission that in some cases he would be for it, he listed the "Hottentots, the Bushmen, and the Indians." To which Lenin replied:

"Hearing this enumeration I thought, how is it that Comrade Bukharin had forgotten a small trifle, the Bashkirs? There are no Bushmen in Russia, nor have I heard that the Hottentots have laid claim to an autonomous republic, but we have Bashkirs, Kirghiz....We cannot deny it to a single one of the peoples living within the boundaries of the former Russian Empire."

Bukharin, for whom all the questions from "self-determination of nations" to state-capitalism were "theoretical" questions, may not have suffered from Russian chauvinism. But he created the theoretical premises for Stalin, who did turn the wheels of history straight back to capitalism....

Despite the fact that Bukharin played no small role in the revolution, his concept of revolution was so abstract that all human activity was subsumed under it. Thus he was inescapably driven to preclude self-movement, which was precisely why labor remained an object to him. As an object, the highest attribute Bukharin could think of assigning labor was its becoming an "aggregate." People were referred to as "human machines." *Philosophy and Revolution*, pp. 111-112, 115

### Bukharin vs. Marx on science

...Bukharin treated society as "dead matter"...If society can be turned into such an abstraction, it shouldn't surprise us that science too is made into an abstraction under which human activity is subsumed. Hegel had the right word for that method: "For this reason determinism itself suffers from an indeterminateness which forces it to go on to infinity; at any point it may halt and rest satisfied, because the Object to which it has passed over is rounded in itself as a formal totality and is indifferent to determination by another." (Chapter on "Mechanism," *Science of Logic II*, p. 352.)

In place of self-activity, Bukharin, like all good determinists, looks for states of equilibrium, "laws" of development, uniformity. Indeed, his hostility to self-determination is so absolute that he conceives of two forms of uniformity, teleology and causality, and causality, for Bukharin, is one event, cause, being followed by another event, effect. His thinking is confined within intellectual planning or what Hegel would call "self-determination applied only externally" (*ibid.*, p. 391).

Having defined science as objective content in and for itself, Bukharin can classify "bourgeois" science and "proletarian" science according to the abstract universal of usefulness or what would nowadays be called "neutrality." His choice of "proletarian" science is therefore quantitative—it is more "far-sighted." Even as today's Soviet as well as American scientists, Bukharin keeps using categories of a lower order, particularly mathematical categories which preclude self-movement and transformation into opposite for he seems not very oppressively aware of the fact that specific contents have specific forms of movement, and man's self-activity cannot be subsumed under science, whether that is "near sighted" or "far sighted." Not only far distant but completely unapproachable with Bukharin's categories stands the young Marx: "To have one basis for life and another for science is a priori a lie."

11/22/1960 letter of Raya Dunayevskaya to Herbert Marcuse (microfilm #9941)

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**Gorbachev's Drive for Perestroika — Does it signal any fundamental change in the state-capitalist nature of Russian society?**

An Analysis of the Russian Economy, 1943. (#69)

Critique of the Russian Communist Party Draft Program, 1961. (#2941)

Andropov's Ascendancy Reflects State-Capitalism's Degeneracy, 1982. (#7411)

Gorbachev, the New Russian Ruler (in Marxist-Humanist Draft Perspectives, 1985). (#10342)

*All these documents can be found in the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection: Marxist-Humanism—Half-Century of Its World Development. Order the complete microfilm from Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Detroit, MI 48202. The Guide and Supplement to the Guide to the Raya Dunayevskaya Collection are available for \$3 from News & Letters, 59 E. Wabash, Chicago, IL 60605*

# Massive demonstrations in Ukraine challenge Party bosses

by Patrick Kane, *Ukrainian Peace News*

The authorities in Ukraine have initiated proceedings which may result in the deportation of five opposition leaders from the city of Lvov. The move comes as the massive unrest that has been sweeping the USSR in demonstrations and strikes has emerged in the republic of the largest non-Russian nationality, Ukraine. Lvov, capitol of Western Ukraine, has been the scene of four mass demonstrations in less than a month and until now the regime in the area has been almost powerless to act against them.

On June 16, before the Party Congress in Moscow, a mass meeting of 8,000 people took place at the initiative of an informal cultural club *Ridna Mova*. Editors of the *Samizdat* bulletin *Ukrainian Herald*, Mykhailo Horyn and Viacheslav Chornovil (ex-political prisoner), addressed the crowd. They denounced the delegates chosen by the local Party to attend the conference, arguing that they were unfit to represent the people because they were involved in repression and Russification policies under Brezhnev in Ukraine.

**INFORMING THE CROWDS** of the fate of political prisoners in the Gulag under Gorbachev, Horyn attacked the double standards on freedom of speech applied to Party leaders on the one hand and the people on the other. Party delegates to the conference who attended the meeting were heckled by the crowd when they couldn't come up with suitable answers.

Following demands that members of the Ukrainian Writers Union be allowed to attend the conference, the delegates told the crowd that they would be prepared to meet them again on June 21. The evening before the meeting, however, the authorities put leaflets through doors in the city threatening people not to "succumb to agitation."

## 50,000 RALLY IN LVOV

The response of the people was the opposite—50,000 turned out at the local stadium where the meeting was to take place and were denied entry. The rally moved onto the Lenin Statue in Lvov where verbal confrontations ensued with supporters of the authorities. The demonstrators carried banners with slogans in defense of the Ukrainian language, against Russification and for the re-election of delegates to the conference.

On July 7, a mass demonstration took place attended by 20,000 people next to the monument of Ivan Franko, a 19th century national poet. The local Communist Party bureaucrats organized numerous meetings to discuss how to react in order that they do not lose control. An hour before the meeting took place Party heavies and



—Ukrainian Peace News

stooges took up positions next to the monument. When Ivan Makar, an oppositionist, arrived the authorities demanded that the sole purpose of the meeting be to decide the location of a statue of Taras Shevchenko. The crowd then realized that within the audience were plants who were attempting to disrupt the meeting. The audience then proceeded to ostracize them. The July 7 meeting turned into a spontaneous demonstration against the Party and local bureaucratic gangsters.

## DEMOCRATIC FRONT FORMED

Whilst the Party officials tried to drown them out, the two editors of the *Ukrainian Herald* announced to the crowd that reforms in Ukraine had made little headway and proposed that the protests express themselves in an organizational form through the formation of a Democratic Front. The Front which was founded at this mass meeting consists of all informal organizations in Western Ukraine. These include the Helsinki Group which publishes *Ukrainian Herald*, the Lvov Trust Group (a radical peace group), and a number of others. The Democratic Front clearly sees perestroika differently from Gorbachev. In the outline of its main aims, it calls for "citizens control of the democratization process," and to challenge the Party monopoly in elections.

The Democratic Front has already established a branch in the capital of Ukraine, Kiev. The authorities in Ukraine are clearly worried that the situation will develop into a second Armenia on a larger scale. Already the different oppressed nationalities have formed an

umbrella organization to coordinate their struggle. Coordinating Committee was founded by Ukrainian Armenians, Georgians and representatives of the three Baltic states. The Committee attacked the inability of the authorities to resolve the national question. They also criticized the fact that many of the Russian opposition groups did not fully understand the struggle for national rights and democracy stating that "nations can not be genuinely free if they oppress other nations, or they serve as instruments of such oppression."

**THE SITUATION NOW** in Ukraine is becoming increasingly volatile. Unlike in Russia a movement from below has emerged but is being denied even the slight benefits of glasnost that Russian oppositionists have. April on the anniversary of Chernobyl, protests in Kiev were suppressed and open air meetings of up to 20,000 have taken place organized by informal groups demanding monuments to the victims of Stalinism. The bureaucracy is seen to be running cities like Chicago-style gangsters without any resistance despite Gorbachev. In one area a Party official from Pravda was beaten to death by the KGB for attempting to investigate corruption.

Alongside all the promises of reform, people are seeing no fundamental changes and are moving to challenge Party boss Valodymir Sherbytsky on their own terms. Despite the fact that some are carrying pictures of Gorbachev, the perestroika that they are proposing as in Armenia, is in sharp conflict with that of the Kremlin reformers.

# Campaign hoopla can't hide cutbacks, racism and revolt

(continued from page 1)

sify even further both Reaganomics and his retrogression of all the hard-won civil rights of both the Black masses and women.

What magnetized Jackson's audience, not only at the Convention but throughout the nation that heard his speech on prime-time TV that week, was that he recalled for everyone the revolutionary nature of the Civil Rights Movement that this nation had lived through. The stories of Goodman, Schwerner and Chaney, of Viola Liuzzo, of Fannie Lou Hamer at the 1964 Atlantic City Convention, all were a vivid reminder that the truth of American democracy is surely what Nelson Mandela called "no easy walk to freedom." What destroyed that dialectic which Jackson was retelling was the twist he then forced on it that there could be any "common ground" between those forces driving for a totally new human society and the forces of the ruling power structure today, within either the Republican or the Democratic Parties.

Indeed, it was precisely Jesse Jackson's demand for sweeping economic and political changes, which was interpreted by his audiences as a total rejection of Reaganism, that inspired the seven million who voted for him—not only Blacks but also white workers, women and youth, especially in ravaged and depressed Michigan, where he won his first major victory that gave notice he was to be taken seriously.

What is the "world of reality" that those millions want to uproot to build a new world of totally new human relations?

## THE REAL WORLD: "TEAMS"=SPEED-UP

Auto workers, not only in Detroit, but throughout the U.S., view the future with great apprehension. They know that the last round of UAW negotiated contracts that approved the "team" concept and cutbacks on job classifications will result in ever greater speed-up on the line, more lay-offs and an attempt to pit worker against worker not only in individual plants, but among different plants producing the same products.

Union-management committees were set up to report back on ways to increase production and improve quality within six months. Those reports will provide the basis to pit workers against workers. The so-called Japanese "team" concept is designed not only to shift workers from one job to another, but also to gain the benefits of their thinking on how to increase production—and nobody knows more about that than the workers who do it every day.

● In the joint Toyota-GM plant in Fremont, Cal., workers are increasingly opposing the "team" practices after experiencing the speed-up and worker-busting consequences of the system.

● At the Kyocera International chip capacitor plant

in San Diego, unionized workers accepted every job assignment believing the promise of "lifetime" employment. The plant closed in 18 months for one day, and opened the next day with lower-paid non-union employees. Union employees now have a legal suit against the company.

● At Nissan's non-union Smyrna, Tenn., auto plant, the deception is over. Japanese management has been mostly supplanted by American bosses whose push for production has resulted in increasing worker injuries, reduced product quality, growing worker rebellion and a drive to unionize the plant.

## THE REAL WORLD: LAY-OFFS, CUTS

Meanwhile, in auto the projections are that there will be 15.3 million autos produced in the U.S. by 1993, which is three million more than can be absorbed by the market. Factories are slated for future closing.

In this same period, GM plans to double its Mexican auto parts plants along the U.S.-Mexican border which presently employ over 35,000 Mexican workers. The 2,000 mile stretch of borderland between the U.S. and Mexico has spawned a belt of maquiladoras (production sharing plants).

The attraction of maquiladoras to American and Japanese capitalism is that labor costs are from 50 cents to \$1.00 per hour, compared with the average \$13.50 per hour wages for American auto workers. Karl Marx pointed out over 100 years ago that under capitalist economic laws, cheap labor will drive more expensive labor out of the market place. It is seen today in the way Reagan's ruthless drive to make American labor competitive with that of other nations has meant a drastic decline in the standard of living of American workers.

How much of this has been accomplished by the Reagan-Bush administration over the past eight years can be seen in many areas. Fully one-third of American workers make less than \$5 per hour in wages; more than three-fourths of contracts negotiated reflect wage and benefit concessions; the average wage increase last year was 1.3%, the lowest in recent U.S. history, showing a dramatic decline in workers' standard of living in light of the more than 4% inflation rate last year.

On the other hand, Lee Iacocca, Chrysler Corporation chairman, was paid \$8,608 an hour last year (nearly \$18 million); in three hours he got the equivalent of a whole year's work for the average American auto worker, and in one hour matched the income of those living at the poverty level.

Another measure of the anti-labor policies of the Reagan-Bush administration can be seen in the recent welfare reform legislation, supported by both Republicans and Democrats, mandating compulsory work programs for welfare parents with children over three years old. One of the most shocking statistics is that over 80

million Americans live below the poverty level—and more than 50% of that total is children.

Now we see the spectacle of both political parties making the campaign issue of the year nothing less than child-care, so yawning is the "gender gap." Even Ronald Reagan, the most anti-women president of this century, has come out in support of Bush's hare-brained scheme to give women with children all of \$1,000 in tax credits to stay home with their children and quit their jobs! Dukakis' "Massachusetts Miracle" has already been called nothing more than a "workhouse without walls, where all the workers are women," by welfare activists in his own state.

For the nation's farmers, the Reagan administration has spelled utter disaster. Over one million farm families have left their land since 1980—and that is before the impact of the recent drought that forced thousands more into bankruptcy and abandonment of family land.

Adult Blacks, meanwhile, continue to suffer from more than double unemployment rate than whites. Among Black youth, the national unemployment rate is triple that of white youths, while in major urban areas Black youth unemployment rates often exceed a horrifying 60%.

## THE REAL WORLD: SIMMERING REVOLT

Despite the devastating attacks by the Reagan administration against the American working class and ethnic minorities, resistance never ceases. The simmering revolt beneath the surface erupts in many forms: workers, there is the daily opposition to automation and the dehumanization it represents that is never reported in the capitalist press. Only the tip of the revolt is exposed, as when 42,000 General Electric workers reject a contract that is nevertheless forced down their throats by their union bureaucrats; when 63% of 180,000 Teamster union truck drivers reject a contract, yet denied because of a provision requiring a 75% reject vote; when 53% of 100,000 United Parcel Service workers reject a contract—for the first time in 24 years.

The Draft for our Marxist-Humanist Perspective 1988-89\* summed it up well: "These are the conditions facing U.S. workers in election year 1988. Reagan seen to it that the ground has been set, politically, ideologically, economically: No matter who gets in they have to 'manage Reaganism.' But the next President will also have to face the revolt...The fact that millions voted for Jesse Jackson has little to do with where they want to lead—into restructuring the Democratic Party. Rather, it was an expression of their passion to uproot the whole exploitative, racist, sexist system."

\* See July N&L for the full Draft for Marxist-Humanist Perspective prepared by the Resident Editorial Board for discussion at the National Convention of News and Letters Committees over Labor Day week. It is printed in N&L to invite your participation in the discussion.

## Youth

In-Person Report:

## U.S. solidarity activist in El Salvador

by Christina

**San Salvador, El Salvador**—On July 29, I participated in a demonstration commemorating the death of 34 students who were assassinated on July 30, 1975. This demonstration became also a protest against the assassination of Rigoberto Orellano, a young leader of the Movement for Bread, Land, Work and Liberty (MPTL), the day before.

The march started at the National University, where Salvadoran students were disguised with sunglasses, sport caps and bandanas over their mouths. There were hundreds of people there, including internationals from the U.S., Guatemala, Costa Rica, Panama, Spain, Germany, Sweden.

Everyone carried water and a small bag of water and sodium bicarbonate in case we got tear-gassed. The police were fully armed and well equipped with machine guns, tear gas bombs, rifles, billy clubs, all made in the U.S. They played their biased propaganda through their loudspeakers: "Foreigners, you come from a country of peace and liberty, why do you come to take ours away?" or "Salvadoran citizens, look at these university students dressed like delinquents. Why do they hide their faces?" There were other disgusting slogans.

## FUNERAL FOR RIGOBERTO ORELLANO

On Saturday, July 30, there was a very large demonstration and funeral for Rigoberto Orellano. It incorporated campesinos, workers, mothers, children and everyone with the "MPTL," which is one of the strongest popular movements in the country along with the Union of Salvadoran Workers. Over 2,000 people participated. Not many internationals showed up at this demonstration but our group did. It was amazing that throughout the march, not one shot was fired and no one was hurt. The police were very intimidating. But the spirit of the people could not be broken.

## Jobs program bites dust

**Detroit, Mich.**—With only one-and-one-half days' notice, all 275 Michigan Youth Corps (MYC) workers in Detroit's Recreation Department were abruptly laid off after only four weeks of "summer" employment. Six years ago Michigan's Governor Jim Blanchard had bragged about making his new MYC into a year-round jobs program. But this year he was the head of that Democratic Party Platform Committee and didn't even pretend to object to the lay-offs.

Ironically, this year there was less "make work" and more real contribution to park maintenance by these young workers than ever before. Budget cuts and the aggrandizement projects of Mayor Coleman Young had decimated the regular staff. Hence the MYC program: the state and federal government making young people "scabs"—doing for minimum wage what others had done for \$8 and \$9 per hour plus fringes.

Though many participants came that first day rebellious and sullen, insulted by yet another government program, many settled into the program and were proud of what they were doing. One girl told me, after her crew had cleaned a particularly overgrown and glass-filled playlot, "Some kids came down to play before we were even finished!" Though angry at the lay-off, some went to apply for other municipal jobs. Even though you know it is only a few steps from "workfare," you are glad to see anyone in it become more positive about him or herself.

The program officials said they laid the participants off because of insufficient funds—too many were hired. But I say, we didn't have to wait but a couple of weeks to see that the Democratic Party has no intention whatever of putting "what Jesse wants" (read "what poor and Black people want") on their agenda.

—Susan Van Gelder

Before these demonstrations, I spent a week in Santa Marta, a repopulated area which has been the focus of a special project. (see March 1988 N&L.) After a four-hour drive from San Salvador, we had to get to a place called Sensutepeque and get permission from the commander of the second battalion. We were detained, questioned and baited by the soldiers for seven hours. As we entered Santa Marta, we saw more and more soldiers, and we spotted a North American advisor who was trying to hide himself from us. We found out that the battalion had been there for quite some time, searching and ransacking the homes of the campesinos.

## MILITARY PSYCHOLOGICAL TERROR

Our presence did not stop the military from psychologically terrifying the people. One day the body of a young man was found by a group of children. He had been shot twice in the back but nobody could recognize him as being part of the community. It turned out that he was from Sensutepeque.

On another day, a group of young actors who work with the Catholic church came to perform a theatre show for the children. As the performance was set forth, three army helicopters appeared and circled the area many times. One helicopter hovered around continuously and swept across, very low, toward the people. Everyone ran to their homes and children screamed. I was terrified, but understood that this psychological terror is the daily reality for these people.

In another part of El Salvador, I had the opportunity to meet with a member of the armed opposition. He told me why he had joined the armed struggle. He was a campesino with a family to feed. They worked the land of the rich landowners and only had enough to eat, tortillas and salt. It was then that he saw the injustice. He told me that although the repression has escalated,

the guerrillas do have a strong base of support in the rural areas as well as in the large cities. In San Salvador, they have had four "paros"—transportation stoppages—in the last several months.

His last words to me were: "Do you see my rifle? It was made in the U.S. We captured it from the Salvadoran armed forces. If your president tells you that the Soviet Union or Nicaragua sends us arms, that is a lie."

When I left El Salvador, I knew that the Salvadorans remain in a war zone. More will die now that the right-wing ARENA Party is sure that it will win the "election" next year. But the people know that the military cannot kill everyone. They are willing to sacrifice their lives for the future of their children and their people. I think we as North Americans have a lot to learn from the Salvadoran people.

## South African students

(continued from page 1)

Thousands of South African Defense Forces have died in Angola in a losing cause. Those who returned to South Africa took revenge on the students. Students participate in rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, school crises and workers' strikes. Without students no success can be achieved by the masses.

I would like to express my views on students in regard to their participation in the struggle. I would like to congratulate them in their protection of their leaders all over the world. Whenever I read *News & Letters* I notice that youths are the target of the police, of shootings, killings and kidnappings. They have more conviction than their parents. This happens because the young generation are the rulers and governors of tomorrow. Only abolishing structures and systems will enable there to be unity, a government able to proceed with the youth's concern to be against apartheid's racial oppression. I appreciated "Youth condemn apartheid and racism." (May 1988 N&L.) This youth movement applies to the South African Youth Congress.

## Youth in Revolt

by Franklin Dmitryev

Members of the outlawed Independent Students Union protested July 11 after Gorbachev's arrival in Warsaw, Poland. Some banners read, "We demand removal of the Russian army from Poland," and "Sovereignty for all nations living under the USSR."

A four-month school boycott by 75,000 pupils in Namibia was put on hold in late July to assess the situation and reorganize. Earlier in the month, 60,000 workers struck to support the pupils' demands, including the release of detained students, parents and teachers; reinstatement of expelled students; withdrawal of paramilitary units from the townships; and removal of South African army bases from the vicinity of schools.

Dozens of graduating high school students in Israel, due to be drafted, have written the Defense Ministry to say they will not serve in the occupation forces in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. At least 30 soldiers have been jailed for similar refusals. A group that fosters such resistance needs money for its fund that gives small grants to needy families of jailed refuseniks. They are: Yesh Gvul, P.O. Box 4172, Tel Aviv 61041, Israel.

In July, police killed another student at San Marcos National University in Peru (see July N&L), this time during a student demonstration supporting a labor strike. Both trade unions and universities have been targets of the government's repression, supposedly aimed at the Maoist Shining Path terrorists. Virtually no protests have been given permits, hundreds of students have been arrested, and police have raided campuses with armored cars and helicopters.

## H.S. doesn't teach reality

**Venice, Cal.**—What makes the USA so supposedly great, as we are taught in school? When you open your eyes and really begin to look around you, things look very different. There's not this equality and freedom we were taught about.

In my high school library, you could never find a book on Black liberation, or on international politics. In history classes, we study the Declaration of Independence and learn that Abraham Lincoln freed the slaves. This is not reality. I've recently been learning about the Franciscan missionaries here in California, how, from an Indian perspective, Christianity left a legacy of genocide. But they don't teach us that in school.

I have friends at Santa Monica High School, and in that school they've formed clubs and groups like a Black Student Union. That helps give people an interest, helps get them out of gangs. There are so many youth gangs in Venice—Black, Mexican, white, Asian.

Sometimes youth join gangs because they have nothing to do. Or they come from a very traditional family, and are pressured very early to get a job. But youth want to think differently about life.

Some youth in gangs are very pessimistic about life, but who brought that upon them? Adults, and white people in general, call Black and Chicano youth violent. But look at this world that we live in, that youth have to grow up in today. —High school graduate



## Quebec youth seek dialogue

**Montreal, Canada**—The Syndicat des Eleves came into existence in 1986 when various students at a Montreal high school decided to organize against the authoritarian nature of their school in particular and of their society in general. A new principal was called in to deal with the troublemakers and "ringleaders," and after a few months the school environment had become so dead and boring that most of the Syndicat either dropped out, got expelled or forgot all about rebellion.

The Syndicat is now a clearing-house for any information pertaining to youth/children's liberation. For purposes of clarity the Syndicat defines youth/children's liberation as:

- being opposed to the many cultural forms of children's and youths' oppression—the family (as we know it), ageism, sexism, racism, sexphobia (sexphobia meaning the fear that we have of children's sexuality).
- being opposed to the many structural forms of children's and youths' oppression—schools (including most alternative schools), psychiatric hospitals, orphanages, reform schools, youth detention centres and all laws and classes;
- being opposed to lots of other things that are too many to list.
- supporting attempts by children to take power over their own lives. When young people organize collectively to get something done, they show to all those who care to see (including other young people) that children/youth can organize autonomously and can take care of things themselves.

All groups and individuals that are interested in discussing or adding to the above definition of children/youth liberation, or, even more important, who are interested in doing something about it, are invited to write: the Syndicat des Eleves, c/o Librairie Alternative, 2035 Boul. St-Laurent, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, H2X 2T3. —Syndicat des Eleves

## HOW TO CONTACT NEWS &amp; LETTERS

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Meets Wednesdays, 6:30 p.m.

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## Our Life and Times

by Kevin A. Barry and Mary Holmes

After more than a week of counting ballots, and amid report after report of ballot fraud, the Mexican ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party's (PRI) handpicked presidential candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, had won the July 6 election with barely 50% of the vote. Yet both workers and peasants had voted in big numbers for his chief rival, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, in search of a government modeled after Cárdenas' father, General Lázaro Cárdenas—a leader in the Mexican revolution, a PRI founder and the most popular president, carrying out vast land reforms and standing up to U.S. and British imperialism when he nationalized oil in 1938.

In truth, no one expected the PRI to "lose" the presidency, no matter what the vote. They have ruled Mexico since its founding in 1929 out of the Mexican revolution. At contention was how big to make the PRI's margin if victory.

Cárdenas, in fact, asserted that he had won because his National Democratic Front (NDF) had carried Mexico City, the seat of the government's power, where one fourth of Mexicans reside. Cárdenas had bolted the PRI to first run as an independent, then as the candidate of the NDF, a multi-party, mostly left coalition.

The main loser in the election was the National Action Party (PAN), the right-wing party of small capital-

## Mexican elections show move to the Left

ists with close ties to Reaganite Republicans, which had been considered the main threat to PRI. Manuel Clouthier, PAN's candidate, finished third with a smaller vote than in the 1982 presidential election.

The election showed more than an emergent political opposition in Mexico from the Left. Cárdenas accepted, on his own terms, support from various established parties, from reformist and liberal, to left and revolutionary. But his strongest, most spontaneous support came from the many Mexicans so fed up with the rapid deterioration of their lives, that they voted against the PRI and for Cárdenas. Cárdenas had begun the "Democratic Current," a reform movement within the PRI, to counter the party's entrenched corruption and undemocratic practices.

Throughout his campaign, Cárdenas identified himself as the candidate to take Mexico onto the "true path of the Mexican Revolution," a role the PRI had always considered that it owned. His program called for a renewal of "social justice" through support for education and health, ending unemployment, aiding rural areas, and halting payment on the \$104 billion foreign debt.

Undoubtedly many voters cast a ballot equally against Salinas-PRI as for Cárdenas. Salinas is the author and overseer of a harsh austerity program instituted in 1982 when the world market price of oil, on which Mexico relies, collapsed. Salinas has vowed to continue government "streamlining" and to encourage private

capitalists to step in to "modernize" the Mexican economy.

Under Salinas' brand of economics, Mexicans have suffered these past six years from burgeoning unemployment and a 50% cut in real wages. Workers struck for pay increases in many industries, including auto where in many cases wages are kept artificially low. It is the second largest export in Mexico, and many autoworkers, especially in plants along the U.S. border, barely make \$45 for a six-day work week.

Workers, university students who mounted strikes at the beginning of the year for open admissions and genuine democracy, peasants who have organized land invasions and anti-government demonstrations, housewives, the unemployed—all voiced disgust with the PRI government before the July election.

In the days after the election, Salinas reportedly told party members that the era of PRI one-party rule was ending. NDF and PAN supporters held massive demonstrations in Mexico City to protest the election results. Cárdenas has focused on "defending the vote" he received, calling for more demonstrations this summer, and trying to wrest some concessions, such as more access to the PRI-controlled media.

Yet as the election recedes, a much broader opening for discussing the future has appeared. The dissent and dialogue within Mexico are sure to intensify beyond Dec. 1, when Salinas is sworn in as President.

## Jordan dumps Palestinians

Jordan's King Hussein announced suddenly on July 30 that he would cut off all ties to the West Bank, Jordanian territory from 1948 until 1967 when it was conquered by Israel. To many of the West Bank's 357,000 Palestinian Arabs, this will mean statelessness (loss of Jordanian passports), loss of Arab financial aid channeled legally through their occupier, the Israeli state.

Hussein hypocritically termed his callous abandonment of the Palestinians a "liberation," and said that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) should now assume all responsibilities for the West Bank, knowing full well that the Israelis would never allow this. But so hated is King Hussein among Palestinians for his years of betrayal and massacre, that many youths involved in the intifada uprising actually hailed his cutoff. The U.S. and the Israeli Labor Party were mortified since they had for years advocated an illusory "Jordanian solution" including a "Palestinian entity" dominated by Jordan, but without the PLO. Hussein's speech seemed to sweep away such illusions.

Why did Hussein do it? The one honest point in his speech may have been where he spoke of Jordanian "national unity" as "the basis of our stability" and warned against any "attempt to undermine it." He was of course referring to the 800,000 Palestinian refugees who today live in Jordan, the largest concentration of Palestinian Arabs anywhere in the world. The King, whose own rule was shaky enough before 1988, having experienced serious student unrest in 1986 during the last period when he allowed the PLO back in Jordan, has literally become petrified today that the intifada could spread across the Jordan river into his land.

His fear is, in fact, the fear of all of the Arab rulers not only against the Palestinians, but against their own masses. As is usual in any crisis involving actions by an Arab ruler, the PLO leadership waffled, with Arafat calling for silence in the ranks for the time being.

## North Sea workers killed

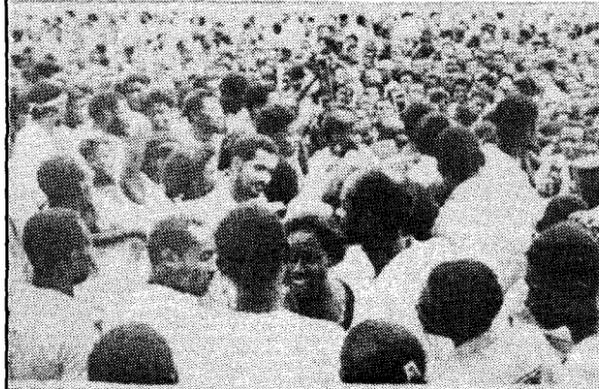
A searing explosion and fire on Piper Alpha offshore oil platform killed 167 North Sea oil workers, most trapped as they slept in crew quarters the night of July 6. The 63 men who survived made it through the first blast and shooting flames which quickly engulfed the platform, as well as the 150-foot leap into icy waters slicked with burning oil. Piper Alpha is the world's worst offshore oil rig disaster.

Within days, nearly 150 oil workers had quit their jobs over safety concerns on at least three British Petroleum North Sea platforms. The several million dollars poured into a fund for survivors and families of the dead men—by Armand Hammer, head of the U.S. Occidental Petroleum Company which was primary owner and full operator of Piper Alpha, and by Margaret Thatcher's British government which was getting 15% of its entire oil production from Piper Alpha—did not stifle the outcry over flagrant disregard for human safety on the platform.

Relatives and friends told of many conversations with Piper Alpha workers who had complained only days before the explosion that their warnings of gas leaks were brushed off. In one such phone conversation the day before the blast, several men said they had to wear respirators on the job due to the high gas levels. A former Piper Alpha safety engineer said conditions were never corrected after a gas explosion there injured 55 men four years ago.

Piper Alpha was one of the first and largest North Sea oil platforms built. It went into production in 1976 during the stampede for oil, and little or no regulation existed in the offshore industry. No escape ladders or chutes, no metal construction of crew quarters and separation from the production plant, no blast walls, and no secure locations for lifeboats were required then or now for Piper Alpha. The rig's crew housing was built partially of wood and located alongside compressors which built gas up to lethal pressures.

## Haiti demonstrations



—Photo from Haiti Progress

On July 28, close to 4,000 people filled St. Jean de Bosco Cathedral in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, where church, human rights, labor and student activists blasted both American imperialism and its bourgeois and military henchmen inside the country. The meeting was held on the anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Haiti in 1915.

## Crisis deepens in Burma

The tottering military regime in Burma, in power ever since 1962, saw its own leader, Ne Win, resign abruptly in late July. Ne Win's frightened cohorts immediately replaced him with the vastly unpopular and brutal security head, Sein Lwin, who had commanded the very forces which had slain over 200 students in March.

Growing unrest, first among students and then among workers and the ethnic Burmese urban population as a whole, has opened up a very serious crisis. After the new government immediately arrested 24 dissidents, including popular critic and former Ne Win associate, Aung Gyi, thousands demonstrated in the streets. Martial law was declared in Rangoon, Aug. 3. Over 100 have been killed in demonstrations in 24 cities, at least 1,500 arrested and students called for a general strike.

The country is fed up with 26 years of corrupt, authoritarian rule, a period which has seen the living conditions of the masses plummet. Ethnic minorities, who compose 40% of the population, as well as Maoist Communists, have in recent years escalated their guerrilla campaigns against the ethnic Burmese-dominated state, draining the regime's meager resources in a decades-long civil war.

Ne Win was originally the chief military man within a group of Burmese nationalists who came to power with considerable popular support behind them, when British imperialism granted independence in 1948. Their philosophy was an eclectic mixture of Communism, Buddhism, Gandhism and nationalism, which from the start denied national rights to the ethnic minorities.

U Nu, Ne Win and the others jockeyed for power until 1962, unable to suppress the ethnic and Communist rebellions, or to improve the lot of the masses. When the military man, Ne Win, swept away the politicians in 1962, initially there was actually a sigh of relief among much of the population.

That was short-lived, indeed, as Ne Win soon rivaled the Marcoses or the Duvaliers in his life style, all the while mouthing phrases about the "Burmese Way to Socialism," which essentially meaning isolating the country from foreign influence, and giving over the direction of the economy and the state to the military.

The first massive student rebellions occurred in 1974 and were repressed brutally. But by 1987-88, the population as a whole joined in. How can the brutal and unpopular Sein Lwin succeed where Ne Win, the wily politician and survivor, could not? With its borders facing both China and India, and with only Thailand separating it from crisis-ridden Cambodia, Burma's crisis is sure to involve outside imperialist powers as well.

## Protests in Yugoslavia

More than 5,000 workers from Yugoslavia's biggest rubber and shoe factory climaxed two days of protests by storming the Federal Parliament building in Belgrade, July 6. They shouted "We want bread," and "We can fight!" as they battled police. The workers demanded a 100% increase in pay, a drastic reduction of plant administrators, better working conditions and full payment of their June wages.

These workers from Borovo, in Croatia, were not acting in isolation, as strikes and protests continued across Yugoslavia. But theirs was one of the most direct confrontations with the government since an austerity program was decreed in mid-May. Under this government policy, workers' wages were severely cut, so-called self-management gutted, the profit motive instituted and prices left to rise.

A woman worker at a bottling plant said she could no longer survive on \$64 a month wages. This was before the government cut workers' pay. Instead of going through workers' councils at the plant to deal with the issue, she and the other workers went out on strike. She said of the situation: "We couldn't wait for the council to act. It was impossible to live."

Now workers in Yugoslavia are protesting the government's entire economic policy, and not only the unlivable wages. As part of their protest, the Borovo workers "fired" local government and Communist Party officials as well as their entire plant management.

## Waste poisons West Africa

As illegal industrial waste dumping in close offshore waters has provoked protests at home, the industrialized countries have found a new and cheap disposal site—West Africa. The dumping was exposed this year by West Africans who were outraged not only by what damage had already taken place in their lands, but also by the enormity of the dumping schemes, with plans stretching years into the future.

Just this past March, a Norwegian shipping company unloaded 15,000 tons of cargo described as spent building material onto a resort island off Guinea. A short time later, visitors to the island noticed that the vegetation cover over the cargo site (an abandoned bauxite quarry) had begun to die off.

The material was analyzed to be ash from municipal incinerators in Philadelphia—the first delivery of a total contract shipment of 85,000 tons. Guinea officials claimed they were not informed of the nature of the transaction by private "importers." Outrage in Guinea forced Norwegian shippers to remove the waste.

The experience of residents in the small Benin River port of Koko, in Nigeria, was even more horrifying. Since last fall, 10,000 leaky barrels of toxic industrial waste, primarily from Italy, were offloaded in an empty lot in the town, costing the waste brokers a mere \$100 a month to "store." Investigators later found deadly PCBs among the waste materials. Once the scandal was exposed, the Nigerian government instituted the death penalty for anyone caught dealing in toxic wastes. Yet the fact remains that no dumping could have occurred without involvement at certain official levels.

A Nigerian journalist summed up the outrage when he wrote "that Italy did not contemplate Australia or South Africa or some other place for industrial waste, re-echoes what Europe has always thought of Africa: a wasteland. And the people who live there, waste beings."

Before the outcry within West Africa, the government of Guinea-Bissau had signed a five-year, \$120 million-per-year contract to "receive" 15 million tons of tannery and pharmaceutical wastes from Europe. In the Congo, officials had agreed to an \$84 million contract to dispose of chemical wastes.

Caught up to their elbows in this lucrative but lethal mess, the West African governments have since disavowed all contracts for dumping, in what African consumer organizations have called "toxic terrorism."